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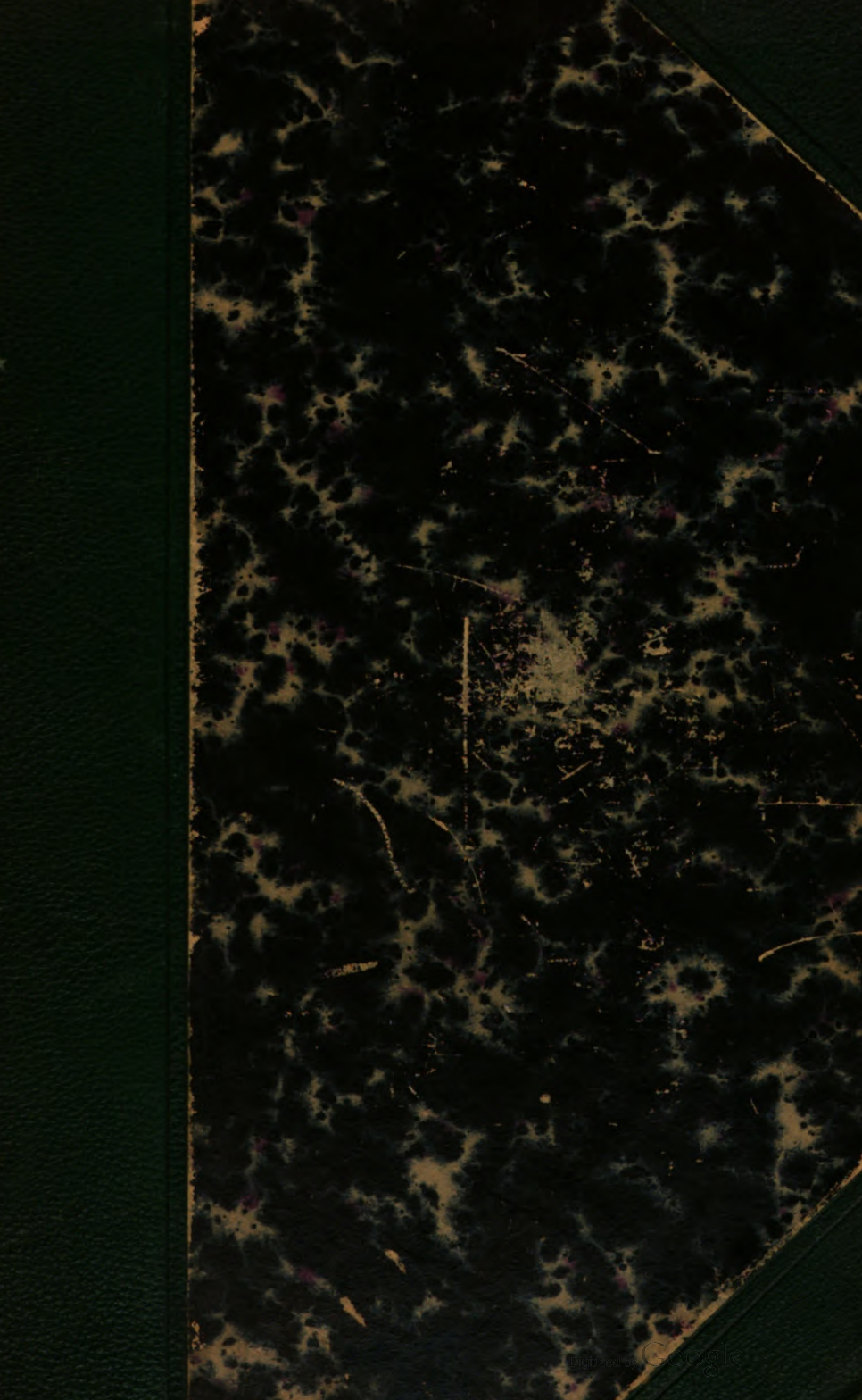
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THE  
REMAINS  
OF  
THOMAS CRANMER, D. D.

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

COLLECTED AND ARRANGED

BY

THE REV. HENRY JENKYN, M. A.

FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

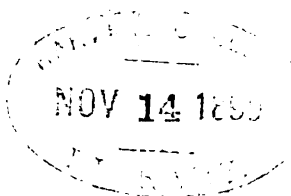
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# GENERAL CONTENTS.

## VOL. I.

	Page.
PREFACE of the Editor.	i.
List of Cranmer's writings from Bale.	cxxiii.
————— from Tanner.	cxxvi.
————— from Todd.	cxxxi.
Facsimiles.	cxxxiv.
Letters.	1.

## VOL. II.

Collection of Extracts from the Canon Law.	1.
Substance of a Speech on the authority of the Pope, and of General Councils.	11.
Speech in Convocation.	16.
Queries and Answers on Confirmation.	18.
Injunctions for the diocese of Hereford.	19.
Corrections of <i>The Institution of a Christian Man</i> , by Henry VIII.	21.
Annotations on the King's Book.	65.
Seventeen Questions and Answers on the Sacraments, &c.	98.
Preface to the Bible.	104.
Speech at the Coronation of Edward VI.	118.
Notes and Authorities on Justification.	121.
Homily of Salvation.	138.
———— of Faith.	151.
———— of Good Works.	164.
Queries and Answers on the Mass.	178.
Articles of Visitation for the diocese of Canterbury.	185.
Articles of Visitation for the Dean and Chapter of Can- terbury.	196.

## GENERAL CONTENTS.

	Page.
Injunctions to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury.	200.
Answer to the Devonshire Rebels.	202.
Notes for a Sermon against Rebellion.	245.
Sermon on Rebellion.	248.
Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament, &c.	275.

### VOL. III.

Answer to Rich. Smythe's Preface.	1.
Answer to Gardyner's Explication.	25.
Notes of Gardyner's Errors.	555.

### VOL. IV.

Declaration concerning the Mass.	1.
Disputation at Oxford with Chedsey.	4.
————— with Harpsfield.	67.
Condemnation, by Weston.	77.
Examination at Oxford before Brokes.	79.
Appeal to a General Council.	118.
Prayer, Exhortation, and Confession of Faith at St. Mary's Church.	130.
Confutation of Unwritten Verities.	145.
Appendix.	245.

# CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

---

## PREFACE.

**OBJECT** of the publication, p. i. Cranmer's Printed Works, *ibid.* His Manuscripts, p. ii. His Letters, p. iii. His Miscellaneous Remains, p. vi. His Book on Henry VIII.'s marriage to Catharine of Arragon, *ibid.* His Opinion on the Papal Supremacy, p. ix, on the constitution and authority of General Councils, p. xi. His Speech in Convocation 1536, p. xii. Articles of 1536, p. xiv. Draft of additional Articles in the Chapter House at Westminster, p. xv. Institution of a Christian Man, p. xvii. Annotations on the King's Book, p. xviii. Conferences with the German protestants in 1538, p. xx. Thirteen Articles supposed to have been then agreed on, p. xxii. Act of the Six Articles, p. xxv. Translations of the Bible, p. xxvii. Cranmer's Preface to the Great Bible of 1540, p. xxviii. Commission for compiling Articles of Faith in 1540, p. xxix. Seventeen Questions and Answers on the Sacraments, p. xxxii. Erroneous opinions maintained in them, p. xxxiii. Necessary Doctrine and Erudition, &c. p. xxxvii. how far approved by Cranmer, p. xxxviii. English Litany, 1544, p. xl. Farther Reformation designed by Henry VIII. p. xli. Extent of that actually effected by him, p. xlii. Cranmer's Speech at Edward VI.'s Coronation, p. xlv. Notes on Justification, p. xlvi. The Homilies, p. xlvii. their alleged inconsistency with the Necessary Doctrine, p. xlviii. Discussion respecting the Mass, p. l. Order for the Communion in English, p. li. Edward VI.'s First Service Book, p. lii. Ordination Services, p. liii. Story of Cranmer's having drawn up a more perfect Book of Prayer, *ibid.* His Catechism, p. liv. Confutation of Unwritten Verities, p. lv. Marquis of Northampton's Divorce, p. lvi. Articles of Visitation, p. lix. Insurrections in 1549, p. lxi. Answer to the Devonshire rebels, p. lxiv. Sermon on Rebellion, p. lxvi. Con-

## CONTENTS.

troversy on the Eucharist, p. lxvii. Reformers divided on the subject, p. lxviii. Caution of the English Sacramentaries, p. lxix. Their persecution, lxx. Frith, p. lxxi. Lambert, p. lxxiii. Barber, *ibid.* Cranmer's Collection of Authorities on the Eucharist, *ibid.* His opinions probably at one time Lutheran, p. lxxiv. when changed, p. lxxvi. Publication of the Defence, &c. p. lxxx. its plan, *ibid.* exposition of the true doctrine, *ibid.* refutation of Romish errors, lxxxiii. Answered by Smythe, p. lxxxvii. and by Gardyner, p. lxxxviii. Cranmer's Reply, p. xci. answered by Gardyner under the name of Marcus Antonius Constantius, p. xciv. Cranmer's preparations for a second Reply, p. xcvi. interrupted by his death, *ibid.* Review of the controversy, p. xcix. Plan for a General Reformed Confession of Faith, p. civ. The Forty-Two Articles of the Church of England, p. cvi. *Reformatio Legum*, p. cviii. Accession of Queen Mary, p. cxi. Cranmer's Declaration concerning the Mass, p. cxii. Disputations at Oxford, 1554, p. cxiv. Examination before Bishop Brokes, 1555, p. cxvi. Appeal at his Degradation, Feb. 1556, p. cxvii. Prayer, &c. before his death, *ibid.* Notice of Libraries examined for the present publication, p. cxviii.

List of Cranmer's writings from Bale.	p. cxxiii.
_____from Tanner.	p. cxxvi.
_____from Todd.	p. cxxxi.
Facsimiles.	p. cxxxiv.

## LETTERS.

- I. TO THE EARL OF WILTSHIRE. Hampton Court, 13 June [1531.] Account of Reginald Pole's book on Henry VIII.'s matrimony—The King and Anne Boleyn gone to Windsor.  
p. 1.
- II. TO KING HENRY VIII. Regenspurg, 4 Sept. [1532.] Contract of merchandise between England and the Low Countries—Subsidy to the Emperor—Preparations against the Turk—The Emperor's proclamation concerning a General Council.  
p. 6.
- \*III. TO KING HENRY VIII. Villach, 20 Oct. [1532.] Journey of Charles V. through Italy to Spain—Mutiny and excesses of the Italian troops in Germany—General discon-

\* The Letters marked by an asterisk, are now, it is believed, printed for the first time.



## CONTENTS.

- tent at the conduct of the campaign against Solymán—Outrages committed by the boors on the Emperor's suite—Ferdinand unpopular—Appearance of a comet—The plague in the Emperor's household—Variance in the accounts of the Turkish losses—Report of Andrew Doria's successes in Greece—Duke William of Bavaria—Duke Dalby—The French ambassador engaged to speak to Duke Frederic concerning the King's cause. p. 8.
- \*IV. To CRUMWELL. Westminster, 8 Feb. [1533.] In favour of Newman. p. 16.
- \*V. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 21 April. Concerning Mr. Benet's advowson of Barnack. p. 17.
- \*VI. To THE ABBOT OF ST. AUGUSTIN'S, CANTERBURY. Mortlake, 28 April. Letter of credence. p. 18.
- \*VII. To THE ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER. Mortlake, 4 May. Recommendation of John Smythe for a vicar's place in the College of St. Martin's, London. ibid.
- \*VIII. To CRUMWELL. Mortlake, 6 May. Declines to allow Crumwell to nominate a prior of St. Gregory's, Canterbury—The principles on which the Archbishop intended to dispose of such preferments—Ambition of men of the church. p. 19.
- IX. To KING HENRY VIII. Lambeth, 11 April [1533.] Application for license to try the King's cause of matrimony. p. 21.
- X. To KING HENRY VIII. Dunstable, 12 May [1533.] The Lady Catharine pronounced *contumax* for non-appearance. p. 23.
- XI. To KING HENRY VIII. Dunstable, 17 May [1533.] The final sentence of divorce to be given on the Friday following. p. 24.
- \*XII. To CRUMWELL. Dunstable, 17 May [1533.] Notice of the approaching sentence of divorce—Apology for not writing before—Injunction to secrecy. p. 25.
- XIII. To KING HENRY VIII. Dunstable, 23 May [1533.] Announcement of the sentence of divorce—Procuracy concerning the second matrimony. p. 26.
- XIV. To ARCHDEACON HAWKYNs. Croydon, 17 June [1533.] Proceedings in the suit between Henry VIII. and Catharine—Coronation of Anne Boleyn—Time of her marriage—

## CONTENTS.

- False reports respecting Cranmer—Examination and condemnation of Frith and Andrew Hewet for denying the corporal presence—Ambassadors gone to France—Hawkyns' preferment doubtful—Money sent to him. p. 27.
- \*XV. To THE MAYOR OF CAMBRIDGE. Croydon, 25 June. In favour of Humfry Stockewith. p. 33.
- XVI. To THE MASTER OF JESUS COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE. Croydon, 26 June. With a present of venison. p. 34.
- \*XVII. To ——. Croydon, 26 June. His house overcharged with servants—Dr. Elyston. ibid.
- \*XVIII. To THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN. Croydon, 5 July. Requests the Bishop of Lincoln to assist John Creke in obtaining a preferment in the University of Oxford. p. 35.
- \*XIX. To BALTHASOR, the King's surgeon. Croydon, 5 July. Letter of thanks for attention to his chaplain Witwell. ibid.
- \*XX. To THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN. Croydon, 8 July. Variance between the Warden of All Souls College Oxford and a priest, respecting a chauntry. p. 36.
- \*XXI. To PORTKYNs, his Registrar. [1533.] For a collation of a benefice. p. 37.
- \*XXII. To HIS CHANCELLOR. Croydon, 8 July. Variance between Pery and Benbowe. ibid.
- \*XXIII. To ——. Application for the speedy determination of a dispute. p. 38.
- \*XXIV. To ——. Otford, 18 July 1533. Warrant for a buck from his park at Slyndon. ibid.
- \*XXV. To KYNGESTON. Otford, 19 July. Concerning Anthony Kyngeston's suit for divorce. p. 39.
- \*XXVI. To CERTAIN CURATES. Otford, 19 July. For contributions to the repairs of Malling Church. p. 41.
- \*XXVII. To THE ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER. Otford, 19 July. Application for a beadman's place for John Fisher. ibid.
- \*XXVIII. To HIS CHANCELLOR. Variance of matrimony between Thomas Perry and Jane Benbow. p. 42.
- \*XXIX. To CRUMWELL. Otford, 19 July. Preaching license of a Prior at Bristol—Application for his servant to be appointed Esquire Bedel at Oxford—The office at the disposal of the King. ibid.
- \*XXX. To THE PRIORESS OF ST. SEPULCHRE'S, CANTERBURY.

## CONTENTS.

- Otford. [1533.] Summons to bring the Nun of Kent to Otford. p. 43.
- ✓ \*XXXI. To LORD ABERGAVENNY. Otford, 19 July. Desires Lord Abergavenny to maintain the privileges of his tenants at Mayfield. ibid.
- \*XXXII. To THE DEAN OF THE ARCHES. Otford, 21 July. Variance of matrimony between James Bulstrode and Edwardes. p. 44.
- \*XXXIII. To THE DEAN OF THE ARCHES. Otford, 22 July. Appoints Perry and Benbowe, Bulstrode and Edwardes to appear before him—Dr. Townsend—Mr. Chancellor—Pottkyns. p. 45.
- \*XXXIV. To DR. BELL. Otford, 22 July. Concerning the farm of the benefice of Normanton near Southwell—Master Basset. ibid.
- \*XXXV. To DR. BELL. Letter of thanks. p. 46.
- \*XXXVI. To DR. CLAYBROKE AND DR. BASSETT. Letter of thanks. ibid.
- \*XXXVII. To THE DUCHESS OF NORFOLK. Otford, 23 July [1533.] Concerning the permutation of the benefice of Chevening for Curry Malet—Mr. Baschirche. p. 47.
- \*XXXVIII. To LORD ARUNDEL. Application for venison according to a composition. p. 48.
- \*XXXIX. THE DUKE OF NORFOLK TO CRANMER. Greenwich, 5 Sept. [1533.] Application for books and process relating to Henry VIII.'s divorce. ibid.
- \*XL. To THE DUKE OF NORFOLK. 7 Sept. [1533.] Answer to the foregoing application. p. 49.
- \*XLI. To ROSELL. Otford. Respecting the education of Rosell's son, his nephew. ibid.
- \*XLII. To HIS CHANCELLOR. To admit Dr. Cave to the Arches. ibid.
- \*XLIII. To THE DEAN OF THE ARCHES. To the same effect. p. 50.
- \*XLIV. To DR. TRYGONELL. Desires Trygonell to intercede with the Lord Chancellor in behalf of Hutton. ibid.
- \*XLV. To BROWGH. Otford. Summons to appear before him. ibid.
- \*XLVI. To ——. Otford. Second summons to appear before him. p. 51.

## CONTENTS.

- \*XLVII. To JOHN FLEMING. Otford, 17 Sept. Summons to attend him. p. 51.
- \*XLVIII. To CRUMWELL. Otford, 23 Sept. To hasten John Broke's suit before the Lord Chancellor—In favour of John Padley. ibid.
- \*XLIX. To THE PARSON OF CHEVENING. Otford, 2 Oct. Application for a house for his servant, the farmer of the parsonage. p. 52.
- \*L. To THE PRIORESS AND CONVENT OF WILTON. Concerning the election of an abbess. p. 53.
- \*LI. To ——. Otford, 5 Oct. His readiness to redress grievances. p. 54.
- \*LII. To GRESHAM. Otford, 6 Oct. Respecting his debts. ibid.
- \*LIII. To LORD ROCHFORD. Otford, 6 Oct. Recommends P. M. to be secretary to the Duke of Richmond. p. 55.
- \*LIV. To COLLMAN. 7 Oct. Authority to sell wood. ibid.
- \*LV. To HIS CHANCELLOR. Nomination to the Vicarage of Withbroke given to the Prior of Coventry. p. 56.
- \*LVI. To THE CURATE OF SUNDRIDGE. Otford. Licenses the Curate of Sundridge to solemnize a marriage without banns. ibid.
- \*LVII. To THE PRIOR OF CHRIST'S CHURCH, CANTERBURY. Thanks the Prior for a present—His debts. p. 57.
- \*LVIII. To R. ASTALL, parson of Chevenyng. Otford, 8 Oct. Desires reduction of rent on behalf of his servant Abberforde. ibid.
- \*LIX. To DR. DOWNES. 9 Oct. In behalf of John Thorpe, farmer of Dr. Benet's prebend in Southwell. 58.
- \*LX. To A PARK-KEEPER. 10 day. Authority to deliver wood to Roger Herman. p. 59.
- \*LXI. To THE DEAN OF THE ARCHES. 11 day. Refuses a new commission in Edwardes's suit—Bedell's great business—Trygonell substituted for him in a commission on that account. ibid.
- \*LXII. To STAPLETON, Parson of Byngham. Otford, 12 Oct. Sends his nephew, Thomas Rosell, to Stapleton's school. p. 60.
- \*LXIII. To ROSELL, his brother in law. 12 [Oct.] About sending his nephew to Stapleton's school. p. 61.

## CONTENTS.

- \*LXIV. To CRUMWELL. Otford, 17 Oct. Wishes to procure Benet's advowson for Newman. p. 61.
- \*LXV. To THE BISHOP OF HEREFORD. Otford, 18 Oct. Dispute about tithes—Desires the Bishop to see justice ministered. p. 62.
- \*LXVI. To PALLGRAVE, Parson of St. Dunstan's in the East. Agreement for the fruits of Pallgrave's benefice—Such matters referred to Pottkyns—The Archbishop's want of money. p. 63.
- \*LXVII. To THE LORD CHANCELLOR AUDELEY. Otford, 24 Oct. Requests the Chancellor to interfere with Dr. Clyff and others for the delivery of the records of Ely to his Vicar General, Dr. May. p. 64.
- \*LXVIII. To ——. Authority to agree with Chesewryght for the fruits of the benefice of Wysbeche. p. 65.
- \*LXIX. To HIS CHANCELLOR. Complaint of the vicar of Milton, that he is overcharged for the King's subsidy. ibid.
- \*LXX. To ——. His inability to comply with a request in consequence of a previous promise. p. 66.
- \*LXXI. To ——. Wishes to obtain the auditorship of the Church of Lincoln for Henry Byngham. ibid.
- \*LXXII. To ——. Respecting the payment of the arrears of an annuity to Jeffry Eton. p. 67.
- ✓ \*LXXIII. THE EARL OF ESSEX TO CRANMER. [Stansted,] 13 Oct. Reasons for not complying with Cranmer's intercession in favour of Stansbye. ibid.
- ✓ \*LXXIV. To THE EARL OF ESSEX. Proposes that two indifferent persons should arbitrate between the Earl and Stansbye. p. 68.
- ✓ \*LXXV. To CERTAIN GENTLEMEN IN HERTFORDSHIRE. Desires them to inquire into the grievances of Thomas Wigginton of Tring. p. 70.
- \*LXXVI. To THE ARCHDEACON OF CANTERBURY. Asks for the farm of the parsonage of Hayes for John Creake. p. 71.
- LXXVII. To BONER. Lambeth, 22 Nov. [1533.] Concerning his appeal from the Pope to a General Council. ibid.
- \*LXXVIII. To CRUMWELL. Otford, 26 Nov. Presses that Newman may have the benefice which had been promised. p. 72.
- LXXIX. To CRUMWELL. Otford, 26 Nov. Having been in-

## CONTENTS.

- formed by Goderich that the King will lend him 1000 marks, desires 500*l.* to be delivered to his secretary Thomas Berthlet. p. 74.
- \*LXXX. To LORD ABERGAVENNY. Otford, 27 Nov. Thanks him for offer of attendance at Canterbury—Applies for venison. p. 75.
- \*LXXXI. To THE ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER. 29 Nov. Desires the fulfilment of his promise to make Fisher a beadman. ibid.
- \*LXXXII. To KING HENRY VIII. Canterbury, 13 Dec. [1533.] The people glad that the impostures of the Nun of Kent were discovered—Intercedes for the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, who were greatly dismayed—Supposes that they will offer the King, as a pleasure, 300*l.* or 400*l.*—The monastery in debt. p. 76.
- \*LXXXIII. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 16 Dec. [1533.] Applies for instructions as to the treatment of the Parson of Aldington, Dering the monk, and Father Lawrence. p. 78.
- LXXXIV. To ARCHDEACON HAWKYNs. Lambeth, 20 Dec. 1533. Account of the feigned revelations and detection of the Nun of Kent—New bishops—Birth of a princess—Marriage of the Duke of Richmond. p. 79.
- \*LXXXV. To A PRIOR. Ford, 25 Dec. Applies for a grant of the next admission of a student to the University of Oxford. p. 84.
- \*LXXXVI. To THE CHANCELLOR AND DEAN OF THE ARCHES. Ford, 27 Dec. Respecting matters at Calais. ibid.
- \*LXXXVII. To THE ABBOT OF READING. In behalf of a friend for the benefice of Aston. p. 85.
- \*LXXXVIII. To ——. Concerning the will of Thomas Broune of Bristol. ibid.
- LXXXIX. To CRUMWELL. Otford, 5 Jan. Mr. Hethe well calculated to defend the King's great cause, but in want of means for his journey. p. 86.
- \*XC. To CRUMWELL. Otford, 6 Jan. [1534.] Wishes to obtain a book written by the monk Dering in defence of the revelations of the Nun of Kent. The book said by Dering to have been burnt; by another, to have been delivered to Hen. Golde. p. 88.
- \*XCI. To JOHN BUTLER, Commissary at Calais. Otford,

## CONTENTS.

- 13 Jan. His Visitation at Calais—Marriage cause of Francis Hastings. p. 89.
- \*XCII. TO THE RECTOR OF PETWORTH. Lambeth, 8 Feb. Applies for the renewal of the lease of the parsonage of Petworth to John Bower. p. 90.
- \*XCIII. To ——. Lambeth, 8 Feb. Proposes to settle a dispute about tithe. p. 91.
- \*XCIV. TO THE PRIORESS OF STANFELD. 14 Feb. Concerning the resignation of the Vicarage of Quadryng in favour of Nic. Roberts. ibid.
- \*XCV. TO THE PARSON OF CHEVENYNG. Croydon. Desires the Parson of Chevenyng to effect a reformation between John Durmeryght and his wife. p. 92.
- \*XCVI. TO THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER. Applies for a fellowship at St. John's College, Cambridge, for Master Devenyshe. ibid.
- \*XCVII. TO THE WARDEN OF ALL SOULS COLLEGE, OXFORD. Applies for the lease of a farm at Loys Weedon to a friend. p. 93.
- XCVIII. TO THE INHABITANTS OF HADLEIGH. Lambeth, 20 March. Exhortation to charity—In favour of Thomas Ros their curate. p. 94.
- \*XCIX. TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK. [1534.] Desires the Archbishop to suspend the reading of the General Sentence. p. 96.
- \*C. To ——. Croydon, 4 April [1534.] To the same effect. p. 97.
- CI. TO A BISHOP. Lambeth, 1534. Inhibition of preaching. Instructions to be given to all who are licensed for the future. ibid.
- \*CII. TO THE PRIORESS OF STANFELD. Lambeth. Thanks the Convent for preferring N. Roberts to the Vicarage of Quadryng. p. 99.
- \*CIII. TO MR. N. ROBERTS. Advises him to give no vexation to the Prioress of Stanfeld. ibid.
- \*CIV. TO THE PRIORESS OF SHEPPEY. That Thos. Abberforde may have the farm of the parsonage of Gillingham. p. 100.
- \*CV. TO THE PRIORESS OF SHEPPEY. Requests the Convent to show favour to Thos. Abberforde in his lease. ibid.
- CVI. TO CRUMWELL. Croydon, 17 April [1534.] That Bi-



## CONTENTS.

- shop Fisher and Sir Thomas More might be sworn to the Act of Succession, without the preamble. p. 101.
- \*CVII. To CRUMWELL. Croydon, 26 April. In favour of Robert Markeham. p. 103.
- ✓\*CVIII. To CRUMWELL. Croydon, 28 April. Furthers an exchange of lands between Henry Hatfilde and the prebendaries at Southwell. An end would thus be put to unquietness which had continued for an hundred years, and had caused much manslaughter—Mr. Roodd ready to conform himself to the King's contentation. ibid.
- \*CIX. To ——. In favour of John Hutton. p. 105.
- \*CX. To ——. In favour of a friend. ibid.
- \*CXI. To ——. That an Enchiridion should be restored to Richard S., or cause shown for withholding it. ibid.
- \*CXII. To THE VICAR OF CHARYNG. Intercedes for W. S. prosecuted for defamation, and now repentant. p. 106.
- CXIII. To DR. COCKS, his Chancellor. Recommends a charitable end to a tithe suit. p. 107.
- \*CXIV. To ——. 1 May [1534.] About tithes in Romney Marsh. ibid.
- \*CXV. To A PREACHER AT PAUL'S CROSS. Croydon, 6 May. Reproof for changing the day for preaching. p. 108.
- \*CXVI. To CRUMWELL. Croydon, 7 May [1534.] In favour of Edward Mowll, late chaplain to Dr. Benet. ibid.
- \*CXVII. To ——. Thomas Donkester of Newesham a fit person to be abbot. p. 109.
- \*CXVIII. To THE CONVENT OF NEWESHAM. Lambeth, 18 May. Recommends Thomas Donkester for their abbot. p. 111.
- ✓\*CXIX. To ——. Requests that Thomas Mounteforde, priest, committed to the Fleet for words spoken against him, might be discharged—Inquires how those who cannot write are to subscribe the oath of succession—Other questions about the oath. ibid.
- CXX. To ARCHDEACON THIRLBY. Croydon, 24 May. A billet received from the King—Thirlby's negligence in not ascertaining the King's pleasure concerning some alterations in it—The billet sent back on that account—Thirlby ought to have consulted Drs. Shaxton and Buttes—The parchment copy of the articles sent to Crumwell—The Cambridge bill of preachers at Paul's Cross lost. p. 113.

## CONTENTS.

- \*CXXI. To **BAKER**, Recorder of London. Croydon, 25 May.  
In behalf of Mrs. Pachette. p. 115.
- \*CXXII. To **THE DUCHESS OF NORFOLK**. Requests her to  
promote the suit of Thomas Cade to the King for an office at  
Calais. p. 116.
- \*CXXIII. To **CRUMWELL**. Croydon, 3 June. His visitation  
at Rochester—Thanks Crumwell in behalf of James Barnard.  
p. 117.
- \*CXXIV. To **CRUMWELL**. Croydon, 6 June. That the Master  
of his mint at Canterbury might not be prevented by the  
Provost of the King's mint in the Tower from having work-  
men from thence. ibid.
- \*CXXV. To **CRUMWELL**. Croydon, 7 June. Thanks Crum-  
well in behalf of Molyneux. p. 119.
- \*CXXVI. To **CRUMWELL**. Croydon, 7 June. That Friar  
Oliver might be removed from being Prior of the Black Fri-  
ars at Cambridge, and Hilsey, or some other worshipful man,  
placed there in his room—Oliver a defender of the Pope's  
authority. ibid.
- \*CXXVII. To **CRUMWELL**. Otford, 10 June. Suggests that  
the King should send the Elector Palatine a present of grey-  
hounds. p. 120.
- CXXVIII. To **LATYMER**. [1534.] Directs Latymer to give  
the necessary injunctions to those who were licensed at his  
request to preach within the province of Canterbury. p. 121.
- \*CXXIX. To **CRUMWELL**. Knoll, 26 Dec. In behalf of John  
Brice, who had incurred Crumwell's displeasure. p. 122.
- CXXX. To **LATYMER**. Summons him to preach before the  
King in Lent. Gives hints for his discharge of the duty.  
p. 123.
- CXXXI. To **THE DEAN OF THE CHAPEL ROYAL**. Otford.  
Notice of Latymer's being appointed to preach—Desires that  
Shaxton may preach before the King on the 3d Sunday in  
Lent. p. 125.
- \*CXXXII. To **CRUMWELL**. Knoll, 15 Jan. That Nevell,  
by Crumwell's favourable letters, might be restored to his  
office in Wilton Abbey. p. 126.
- \*CXXXIII. To **CRUMWELL**. Knoll, 22 Jan. Applies for the  
King's letters in favour of two chaplains who were to be sent  
to Calais. ibid.

## CONTENTS.

- \*CXXXIV. To ——. In favour of the Prior of the Charter House in the Isle of Axholme. p. 127.
- \*CXXXV. To ——. In behalf of Jackson, whose goods were distrained for rent. ibid.
- \*CXXXVI. To ——. That Jackson may have a new lease. p. 128.
- \*CXXXVII. To A PRIOR. Letter of introduction for Thomas Hogeson. ibid.
- \*CXXXVIII. To ——. In favour of Tho. H., his servant. p. 129.
- CXXXIX. To ——. Feb. [1535.] Order to a parish priest for enforcing the due performance of penance. ibid.
- \*CXL. To CRUMWELL. Knoll, 1 March. Requests Crumwell to take back Thomas Barthelet into his service. p. 130.
- \*CXLI. To CRUMWELL. Knoll, 14 March [1535.] Reports an information against Dr. Benger for affirming the authority of the Bishop of Rome—The King's subsidy—Valuation of the tenths and first-fruits. ibid.
- \*CXLII. To ——. In favour of Mrs. Creke—Mr. Rix appointed chaplain to Lord Wiltshire. p. 132.
- \*CXLIII. To MR. RIX. Notice to meet Lord Wiltshire at Maidstone. p. 133.
- \*CXLIV. To CRUMWELL. Otford, 6 April. Desires Crumwell to suspend his judgment concerning Jesus College, Cambridge—Intends shortly to do his duty to the King and Queen. ibid.
- \*CXLV. To CRUMWELL. Otford, 30 April [1535.] Intercedes for Webster, Prior of Axholme, and Raynold, a monk of Syon, convicted of high treason. p. 134.
- \*CXLVI. To CRUMWELL. Otford, 6 May. In favour of the bearer. p. 135.
- CXLVII. To CRUMWELL. Otford, 12 May [1535.] Defends, against Gardynier, the title "*Totius Angliæ Primas*," and his Visitation of the diocese of Winchester. ibid.
- \*CXLVIII. To CRUMWELL. Otford, 25 May [1535.] Encloses intelligence for the King—Sir John, the parish priest of Wytesham, in prison. p. 139.
- \*CXLIX. To CRUMWELL. Otford, 27 May. In favour of Mr. Roode, having a suit in Chancery. p. 140.
- \*CL. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 4 June [1535.] Acknowledges the receipt of the King's letter touching the declara-

## CONTENTS.

- tion of his supremacy—Intends to satisfy the King's commandment—Applies for the resolution of some doubts respecting parts of the King's letter. p. 140.
- ✓ \*CLI. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 7 June. Sends a priest who had called for vengeance on the King, and a woman who had called for vengeance on the Queen. p. 141.
- \*CLII. To CRUMWELL. Otford, 30 June [1535.] His servant, James Arnold, candidate for the swordbearership of London. p. 142.
- \*CLIII. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 12 July. Newman taken into Crumwell's service. p. 143.
- ✓ \*CLIV. To CRUMWELL. Otford, 15 Aug. [1535.] Sends two letters concerning treason—Recommends Holbech for the Priory of Worcester. ibid.
- CLV. To CRUMWELL. Otford, 8 Oct. Learned curates much wanted at Calais—Wishes Crumwell to move the King to give the benefices there to fit men—Recommends Garret for St. Peter's, near Calais—Intercedes for the bearer, Henry Turney—Requests Crumwell to second his application to the Queen. p. 144.
- \*CLVI. To CRUMWELL. Wyngham, 12 Oct. The bearer complained of by some, much lauded by others—Cranmer inclined to think well of him—Wishes Crumwell not to withdraw his favour. p. 146.
- \*CLVII. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 17 Oct. [1535.] Claims lands lately held by the Priory of Davyngton. p. 147.
- \*CLVIII. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 26 Oct. That Dr. Thornidon may be continued in the office of Warden of the manors of Christ Church, Canterbury; and that the Cellarer, being corpulent, might have some liberty. p. 148.
- \*CLIX. To CRUMWELL. Dover, 27 Oct. In behalf of Henry Turney. p. 149.
- \*CLX. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 2 Nov. [1535.] Concerning his claim to lands and tithes lately held by the Priory of Davington—Relates his proceedings for the maintenance of the King's supremacy—Had drawn up articles on that point for the guidance of the clergy, and certain doubts to be moved in the Council—Hutton—Petre. p. 150.
- \*CLXI. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 3 Nov. In favour of Sir John Markeham and Sir William Merynge. p. 153.

## CONTENTS.

- \*CLXII. To CRUMWELL. Canterbury, 18 Nov. [1535.] Applies for an interpretation of one of Crumwell's Injunctions. p. 155.
- \*CLXIII. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 22 Nov. Sends his chaplain Champion, whom he trusted as himself, to receive a confidential communication. p. 157.
- \*CLXIV. To CRUMWELL. Knoll, 18 Jan. [1536.] Thanks Crumwell for the preferment of Dr. Mallet to the Mastership of Michel House, Cambridge—The King's visitation of the University. p. 158.
- ✓\*CLXV. To KING HENRY VIII. Knoll, 18 Jan. Libel on the King by Thomas Baschurche—Baschurche a predestinarian, believing himself created to damnation. p. 159.
- \*CLXVI. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 25 March [1536.] That his brother-in-law might have the farm of some suppressed religious house—In favour of Francis Basset. p. 161.
- \*CLXVII. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 29 March. Letter of credence for Champion. p. 162.
- \*CLXVIII. To CRUMWELL. Knoll, 22 April. Reminds Crumwell of the situation of Smyth of the Exchequer—Is in a heat with the cause of religion—Wishes to break his mind on the subject to Crumwell. ibid.
- CLXIX. To KING HENRY VIII. Lambeth, 3 May, [1536.] Intercedes for Queen Anne Boleyn. p. 163.
- CLXX. To CRUMWELL. Aldington, 9 Aug. In behalf of Hambleton, a Scotchman, driven from his country for favouring God's word. p. 166.
- CLXXI. To KING HENRY VIII. Ford, 26 Aug. [1536.] Reports his sermons on the King's supremacy—The Prior of the Black Friars at Canterbury had preached against him—The contradictory statements of the Prior—Cranmer requests that provision may be made for hearing the case—Returns thanks for a stag. p. 167.
- CLXXII. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 7 Sept. Answers Crumwell's application that Massey may have dispensation to marry his late wife's niece—Refuses it on the ground of its being contrary to the law of God—The Act of Parliament on the subject not so clear as could be wished. p. 172.
- \*CLXXIII. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 5 Oct. Divers friars' houses suppressed—Applies for that of the Grey Friars at Canterbury for Thomas Cobham. p. 174.

## CONTENTS.

- CLXXIV. To KING HENRY VIII. Knoll, 18 Nov. [1536.]  
 News from Italy—Assembly of prelates—Reginald Pole much  
 favoured by the Pope—Notice of a General Council sent  
 through Christendom—Friar Denis—Emperor at Genoa—  
 Hopes of peace—Rebels in England. p. 175.
- \*CLXXV. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 4 Jan. Requests Crumwell  
 to promote James Arnold's appointment to the sword bearer-  
 ship of London. p. 178.
- \*CLXXVI. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 15 Jan. Sends by R.  
 Nevell a fee of twenty pounds. p. 179.
- \*CLXXVII. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 28 Jan. [1537.] Miscon-  
 duct of Hugh Payne, late curate of Hadley—Informations  
 against certain monks of Christ Church, Canterbury—Letter  
 from Turney of Calais. p. 180.
- CLXXVIII. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 16 Feb. [1537.] Con-  
 cerning the monks of Christ Church—The King's Injunctions  
 not observed in the monastery—The Sub-cellarer Rob. An-  
 thony gone his ways for fear of examination—Matters at  
 Calais. p. 182.
- \*CLXXIX. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 28 Feb. That Mr. Ham-  
 bleton may have somewhat to live on in England. p. 184.
- \*CLXXX. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 13 March. Concerning  
 plate, wherein should be profit to the King. ibid.
- \*CLXXXI. To CRUMWELL. Croydon, 31 March. That Lord  
 Cobham might be put in the commission for Rochester.  
 p. 185.
- \*CLXXXII. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 26 May. That Gun-  
 thorpe, who had been molested by Dale in the diocese of  
 Norwich, might have the King's license to preach within the  
 realm—None that be of right judgment approved to preach  
 by the Bishop of Norwich—Recommends the grant of King's  
 licenses to supply the defect. ibid.
- \*CLXXXIII. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 20 July. That  
 Henry Stoketh might have a lease of, or be allowed to pur-  
 chase the demesne lands of the Charter House in the Isle  
 of Axholme. p. 187.
- \*CLXXXIV. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 21 July [1537.] The  
*Institution of a Christian Man* nearly finished—Applies for  
 leave to quit Lambeth on account of the plague, and for a  
 license from Crumwell to visit his diocese—His exchange

## CONTENTS.

- with the King, and his debts—Treatment of offenders against the King's Injunctions—The Vicar of Croydon. p. 187.
- \*CLXXXV. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 22 July [1537.] That rewards for their books might be sent to Capito and Seb. Munster by Tybbold. p. 191.
- \*CLXXXVI. To WOLFGANG CAPITO, [1537.] Capito's book, with some exceptions, approved by the King—its merit acknowledged by a present of 100 crowns—The power and zeal of Crumwell—How the King formed his judgment of books—Cranmer's esteem for Capito—Apology for the smallness of his gift—Thomas Tybald. p. 192.
- CLXXXVII. To JOACHIM VADIAN. Acknowledges the receipt of Vadian's work on the Eucharist—Disapproves of its attack on the Real Presence—Laments that Ecolampadius and Zuinglius had trodden down the wheat with the tares—The authority of the Fathers decidedly in favour of the Real Presence—Deprecates the revival of so bloody a controversy. p. 193.
- CLXXXVIII. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 4 Aug. [1537.] Sends a new translation of the Bible—Desires Crumwell to procure the King's license for its being sold and read. p. 196.
- \*CLXXXIX. To CRUMWELL. Canterbury, 5 Aug. The induction of a person to St. Quintunes, stayed. p. 197.
- \*CXC. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 8 Aug. In favour of Sir Edward Ryngsley. p. 198.
- CXCI. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 13 Aug. [1537.] Thanks Crumwell for obtaining the King's authority for the publication of the Bible in English. p. 199.
- CXCII. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 28 Aug. [1537.] Repeats his thanks for Crumwell's diligence in procuring the Bible to be set forth by the King's authority—Gives an account of his Visitation—The abrogated holydays still kept—A bad example therein set by the Court—In behalf of Wm. Gronnow. *ibid.*
- \*CXCIII. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 31 Aug. [1537.] His debts to the King—Entrusts the management of the exchanges at Maidstone and Otford to Crumwell—Is ready to prove his charges against the prior of the Black Friars at Canterbury—Recommends Ant. Nevell to be Custos Rotulor. of Nottinghamshire—Commissions for the subsidy—Withdrawal of the Process against Mr. Chamberlain. p. 203.



## CONTENTS.

**CXCIV. To POTKYN HIS REGISTRAR.** Ford, 16 Sept. Directs Potkyn to publish the Act of Convocation for the abolishing of certain holydays. p. 204.

**\*CXCV. To CRUMWELL.** Ford, 20 Sept. Thanks Crumwell for his favour to Thomas Wakefeld—Wishes him to be instituted to the parsonage of St. Quintyne of Spellacke. p. 205.

✓**\*CXCVI. To A JUSTICE.** Ford, 2 Oct. 1537. Remonstrates with him for opposing the word of God—Warns him that either the prescribed ordinances must be obeyed, or complaint made to the King—*The Institution* misreported, and the men of the New Learning slandered by the Justice's servants—The people deterred by his threats from reading the Bible—His servants liable to a prosecution for heresy—Cranmer trusts that they will be better ordered in future. p. 206.

✓**CXCVII. A JUSTICE TO CRANMER.** Sandwich, 3 Oct. 1537. Professes his love to God and His word—Does not fear complaint to the King—Accuses the Archbishop of hearing the tongues of false liars—Repels indignantly the charge of being a papist—Will use his Majesty's authority notwithstanding the Archbishop's spies—Spoke openly of *The Institution* at Sessions, and will abide by his own words, and let his servants answer for theirs—Did not need to be reminded of the King's benefits—Approves of *The Institution*, which requires no expositor—Desires the Archbishop to convent his servants for heresy, if there is sufficient cause. p. 211.

✓**CXCVIII. To A JUSTICE.** Oct. 1537. Replies to the preceding letter—Complains that his friendly admonition was misunderstood—The communication hitherto private, but if not so taken, must be remitted to the King and his Council. p. 214.

✓**CXCIX. A JUSTICE TO CRANMER.** Rainham, [7 Oct. 1537.] An Answer to the foregoing—Has done his duty, and fears not the complaints of Cranmer or of any other. p. 219.

**\*CC. To CRUMWELL.** Ford, 9 Oct. Hethe the bearer of news from Germany—That Wm. Gronno may be restored to his place at Calais. p. 222.

**\*CCL. To CRUMWELL.** Lambeth, 11 Nov. That Towker may have a patent of the office of physician to Christ Church, Canterbury. p. 223.

**\*CCII. To CRUMWELL.** Lambeth, 4 Dec. Requests an order

## CONTENTS.

- from the Council for the view of the pix belonging to the mint at Canterbury. p. 223.
- \*CCIII. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 6 Dec. Desires Crumwell to promote the suit of Sir John Markham to the King. p. 224.
- CCIV. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 14 Jan. [1538.] Concerning the King's Corrections of *The Institution*, and the late Duke of Richmond's marriage. p. 225.
- \*CCV. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 25 Jan. [1538.] Sends his Annotations on the King's Corrections of *The Institution*—Reports the punishment of seditious persons—Gives a farther opinion on the Duke of Richmond's marriage. p. 227.
- \*CCVI. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 28 Jan. In favour of John Culpeper, gentleman waiter to the King. p. 230.
- \*CCVII. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 29 Jan. Reports the punishment of seditious persons—Praises Sir Edward Ryngisley. ibid.
- \*CCVIII. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 7 Feb. [1538.] That John Gylderde might be instituted to the benefice of Sutton Magna, Essex, in preference to Hugh Payne. p. 231.
- ✓\*CCIX. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 28 Feb. That John Wakefelde, who had suffered for his fidelity to the King in Lord Darcy's rebellion, might have the farm of the priory of Pomfret. p. 233.
- \*CCX. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 7 March. That the Prior of the Charter House in the Isle of Axholme might not be deposed, there being hope of his resignation. p. 235.
- \*CCXI. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 14 March. Desires Crumwell to correct Wm. Bridges, who had carried off a woman from sequestration, and married her without banns, license, or dispensation. p. 236.
- \*CCXII. To CRUMWELL. Canterbury, 16 March. That Wm. Chevenay, parson of Kingston, might have license for non-residence. p. 237.
- \*CCXIII. To CRUMWELL. Canterbury, 17 March. That Rich. Thornden might be preferred to Wm. Sandwych for the Prior's office in Christ Church, Canterbury. p. 238.
- \*CCXIV. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 6 April [1538.] Concerning Friar Forest. p. 239.
- \*CCXV. To CRUMWELL. Croydon, 8 April. Concerning a dis-

## CONTENTS.

- pute between Francis Bassett and the Earl of Shrewsbury. p. 240.
- CCXVI. To CRUMWELL. Croydon, 11 April. Malet occupied in the affairs of the Church Service—Much pity that his means are small. p. 241.
- \*CCXVII. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 29 April. In behalf of favourers of the New Learning at Smarden and Pluckeley, who had been indicted for unlawful assemblies. p. 242.
- \*CCXVIII. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 1 May. That Thomas Lawney might be preferred to the Vicarage of Roydon, Essex. p. 243.
- \*CCXIX. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 2 May. In favour of a kinsman. p. 244.
- \*CCXX. To CRUMWELL. Croydon, 29 May. Requests Crumwell to interfere in behalf of John Tamworth, who was kept out of an inheritance in Lincolnshire. ibid.
- \*CCXXI. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 5 June. Recommends John Robynson to Crumwell's service. p. 246.
- \*CCXXII. To CRUMWELL. Croydon, 12 June. The Pope's name not erased from a mass book at Croydon. p. 247.
- \*CCXXIII. To CRUMWELL. Croydon, 13 June. Represents that he is not provided for receiving Ambassadors at Lambeth. p. 248.
- CCXXIV. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 22 June [1538.] Request of the Duke of Saxony's Chancellor that the penance of Atkynson, a sacramentary, might be altered—The Archbishop and Bishop of Chichester being merely commissaries appointed by Crumwell, could not accede without his authority—Sir Edward Ryngelay. p. 249.
- \*CCXXV. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 24 July [1538.] That his Commissary at Calais may have authority from Crumwell to take away images—In favour of Adam Damply. p. 250.
- \*CCXXVI. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 11 Aug. [1538.] Rob. Antony returned from abroad, and readmitted to Christ Church, Canterbury. That Nevell might continue in his farm of Boughton. p. 253.
- \*CCXXVII. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 3 Aug. In favour of Wm. Swerder—of Mr. and Mrs. Statham—of Hutton and his wife. p. 256.

## CONTENTS.

- \*CCXXVIII. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 15 Aug. [1538.] Intends to examine Robert Antony respecting his journey to Rome—Adam Damply had admitted the real presence, but denied transubstantiation—Had withdrawn himself from fear of the law—The Archbishop proposes to send two chaplains to Calais—Desires authority to prevent a prior, who hindered the word of God, from returning thither—In favour of Hutton. p. 257.
- \*CCXXIX. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 18 Aug. [1538.] Respecting the Prior from Calais, and Crumwell's letters to the Lord Deputy—Hutton. p. 259.
- \*CCXXX. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 18 Aug. [1538.] Orators of Germany unwilling to stay longer in England—Had consented to delay their departure for a month—Cranmer's suspicion that the blood of St. Thomas at Canterbury was red ochre. p. 260.
- CCXXXI. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 23 Aug. [1538.] The English bishops unwilling to come to terms with the Orators of Germany—The Orators badly lodged—The Abbeyes of Tudberye, Rocester, Crokesdon—Francis Basset. p. 263.
- \*CCXXXII. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 25 Aug. That the bearer, though he intended to renounce his priesthood, might continue in the office of schoolmaster at Ludlow. p. 265.
- \*CCXXXIII. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 28 Aug. For the preferment of Dr. Barons to the Deanery of Tamworth College. p. 266.
- \*CCXXXIV. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 2 Oct. That Mr. Vaughan might be instructed to send home Mrs. Hutton. p. 267.
- \*CCXXXV. To CRUMWELL. In behalf of Mrs. Hutton. p. 268.
- \*CCXXXVI. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 8 Oct. Encloses complaints from a scholar of Oxford—In favour of Mr. Bull. ibid.
- \*CCXXXVII. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 10 Oct. Thanks Crumwell for the preferment of Markham to the farm of the priory of Newsted—Two Observants had confessed high treason. p. 272.
- \*CCXXXVIII. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 23 Oct. Recommends Nicholas Bacon for the townclerkship of Calais. p. 273.
- \*CCXXXIX. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 14 Nov. [1538.] For

## CONTENTS.

- the preferment of Dr. Champion to the Benefice of Shepton Mallet, Somersetshire, in the place of Crofts, attainted of treason. p. 274.
- \*CCXL. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 19 Nov. Begs to be released from the King's order to be at two sundry places about one time. p. 275.
- \*CCXLI. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 21 Nov. That Dr. Barbar may be preferred to a Prebend in the King's College at Oxford, on the resignation of Dr. Cave. ibid.
- \*CCXLII. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 28 Nov. In behalf of Henry Cortbeke, a Dutch priest. p. 276.
- \*CCXLIII. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 14 Dec. [1538.] Crumwell appointed High Steward of the Archbishop's franchises, and Master of the game—Francis Basset. p. 277.
- \*CCXLIV. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 11 Jan. 1539. Reports the naughty communication of Henry Totehill—Had committed two priests for breaking the King's Injunctions—Sir Edw. Ringeley. p. 278.
- ✓CCXLV. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 21 Jan. Concerning Crumwell's patents for the Stewardship of the liberties and Master-ship of the game—Legal difficulties respecting them—Pitiable situation of the young Lord of Abergavenny and of Sir Edw. Nevell's son. p. 280.
- \*CCXLVI. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 31 Jan. Concerning a sermon to be preached by Dr. Cronkhorne. p. 281.
- \*CCXLVII. To CRUMWELL. Canterbury, 6 April. Concerning the wardship of Thomas Wyate's son. p. 282.
- \*CCXLVIII. To LORD LISLE. Croydon, 13 July [1539.] Promises Lord Lisle to provide him, if possible, with a discreet parish priest, and a learned commissary—Directs that no one should preach out of his own cure without authority from the King or himself—That the Bible should not be read so as to interrupt the service—That if doubts arise, resort should be had to lawful preachers—Concerning Ralph Hare, and Broke. p. 283.
- CCXLIX. To CRUMWELL. Croydon, 21 July. Returns a Primer, corrected. p. 285.
- \*CCL. To CRUMWELL. Croydon, 30 July [1539.] Concerning a priest and a woman. p. 286.

## CONTENTS.

- \*CCLI. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 10 Sept. Regrets that he cannot appoint Dr. Petre to succeed Dr. Wotton, as Master of the Faculties, having promised the office to Dr. Nevynson. p. 287.
- \*CCLII. To CRUMWELL. Croydon, 7 Oct. Henry Corbett the Dutch priest in despair of a living. p. 288.
- CCLIII. To CRUMWELL. Lambeth, 14 Nov. Respecting the price of the Great Bible, and an exclusive license for the printers—Wishes to know whether his Preface was approved by the King. p. 289.
- CCLIV. To CRUMWELL. Croydon, 29 Nov. [1539.] On the new foundation at Canterbury—Objections to Prebendaries—Students may be substituted with advantage—Recommendation of Dr. Crome to be Dean. p. 291.
- \*CCLV. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 28 Dec. [1539.] Requests Crumwell to show favour to Edward Askew, preferred to be one of the new spears. p. 295.
- CCLVI. To CRUMWELL. Canterbury, 29 Dec. [1539.] Concerning the reception of Anne of Cleves at Canterbury. p. 296.
- \*CCLVII. To CRUMWELL. Ford, 20 Jan. Sends Crumwell 20*l.* for his half year's fee—Concerning a compensation to Nevell for Boughton. p. 298.
- CCLVIII. To KING HENRY VIII. 14 June, 1540. Intercedes for Crumwell. *ibid.*
- CCLIX. To WRIOTHESLEY. Lambeth, 21 Sept. 1540. Sends a Letter from Dantiscus, animadverting on proceedings in England—Inquires whether or not it is the King's pleasure that it should be answered. p. 299.
- CCLX. To OSIANDER. Lambeth, 27 Dec. Complains of abuses of marriage among the Germans—Such irregularities not justified by examples from the Old Testament. p. 303.
- CCLXI. To KING HENRY VIII. [Nov. 1541.] Describes his interview with Queen Catharine Howard—Her disturbed state of mind—Her precontract with Derame. p. 307.
- CCLXII. To KING HENRY VIII. Lambeth, 13 Dec. [1541.] Encloses a letter from Olisleger in favour of Anne of Cleves—Reports an overture from the Duke's Ambassador for a reconciliation—Applies for instructions. p. 311.
- \*CCLXIII. To LORD COBHAM. Bekisborne, 18 April. Con-

## CONTENTS.

- cerning a suit between John Holland and Wm. Porter—  
Thanks Lord Cobham for wine—Lady Baynton—Cobham  
College and Hall. p. 313.
- CCLXIV. To KING HENRY VIII.** 7 Oct. Sends the King  
Prayers of Procession in English for festival days—Describes  
the kind of music fit for them. p. 315.
- CCLXV. To PRINCE EDWARD.** Encourages Prince Edward  
to persevere in his studies. p. 316.
- CCLXVI. To KING HENRY VIII.** Bekisbourne, 24 Jan. 1546.  
Concerning the reform of the ecclesiastical laws—the aboli-  
tion of some superstitious practices—and the alienation of  
church lands. Minute of a letter to be written by the King.  
p. 317.
- CCLXVII. To THE CHAPTER OF CANTERBURY.** Croydon,  
12 Dec. 1546. Interprets a doubtful statute. p. 322.
- CCLXVIII. To BONER.** Oteland, 18 Dec. 1547. Gives di-  
rections for a Sermon, a Procession in English, and Te Deum,  
at St. Paul's, for the victory of Pinkey. p. 323.
- CCLXIX. To BONER.** Lambeth, 27 Jan. 1548. Directs the  
bearing of candles on Candlemas day, and the use of ashes  
and palms to be discontinued. p. 324.
- \*CCLXX. To MATTHEW PARKER.** Lambeth, 5 May [1548.]  
Gives Parker notice of his appointment to preach at Paul's  
Cross. p. 325.
- CCLXXI. To KING EDWARD VI.** 1548. Letter of Dedic-  
ation prefixed to the translation of Justus Jonas's Catechism.  
p. 326.
- CCLXXII. To JOHN A LASCO.** London, 4 July, 1548. Invites  
John a Lasco to come to England, and if possible to bring  
Melancthon, to assist in drawing up a Formulary of Faith.  
p. 329.
- \*CCLXXIII. To ALBERT HARDENBERG.** Cambridge, 28 July,  
1548. Requests Hardenberg to persuade Melancthon to  
come to England. p. 331.
- CCLXXIV. To MARTIN BUCER.** London, 2 Oct. 1548. Invites  
Bucer to England. p. 335.
- \*CCLXXV. To MATTHEW PARKER.** Lambeth, 17 Feb. 1549.  
Gives Parker notice to preach before the King in Lent.  
p. 336.
- \*CCLXXVI. To MELANCTHON.** London, 10 Feb. 1549. Invites



## CONTENTS.

- Melancthon to England—The Germans desirous that he should be accompanied by Hardenberg. p. 337.
- \*CCLXXVII. To MARTIN BUCER. Lambeth, 30 Nov. [1549.] Letter of condolence on the death of Fagius—Sends money to his widow. p. 338.
- CCLXXVIII. To VOYSEY, BISHOP OF EXETER. Lambeth, 20 April, 1550. Requires a return of impropriated Benefices. p. 340.
- CCLXXIX. To MARTIN BUCER. Lambeth, 2 Dec. 1550. Asks two Questions on the use of the habits. p. 341.
- CCLXXX. To MATT. PARKER. Lambeth, 12 Feb. 1551. Gives Parker notice to preach before the King in Lent. p. 342.
- \*CCLXXXI. To CECIL. Croydon, 23 Aug. 1552. That Coverdale might be enabled to depart to his diocese. ibid.
- CCLXXXII. To CECIL, OR CHEKE. Croydon, 29 Sept. 1551. That Wolf might be licensed to print and sell the *Answer to Gardyner*. p. 343.
- \*CCLXXXIII. To BULLINGER. Lambeth, 20 March, 1552. Informs Bullinger that there was no intention of sending an English representative to the Council of Trent—Proposes to hold a Synod of reformers in England for drawing up a Declaration of doctrine—Had written to Melancthon and Calvin on the subject—The controversy respecting the habits between Ridley and Hoper terminated. p. 344.
- CCLXXXIV. To CALVIN. Lambeth, 20 March, 1552. Proposes a Synod of reformers in England, to draw up a Declaration of doctrine, and in particular to settle the controversy on the Eucharist. p. 346.
- \*CCLXXXV. To MELANCTHON. Lambeth, 27 March, 1552. Proposes a Synod of reformers—George Major. p. 348.
- \*CCLXXXVI. To KING EDWARD VI. 1552. Recommends Rodolphus Chevalærus. p. 349.
- CCLXXXVII. To CECIL. Croydon, 21 July [1552.] The Pacification—The Bishop of Cologne—Mr. Mowse—Answers the charge of covetousness. p. 351.
- CCLXXXVIII. To CECIL. Croydon, 25 Aug. 1552. Nominates persons for Archbishoprics in Ireland—His health. p. 352.
- CCLXXXIX. To CECIL. 26 Aug. 1552. Concerning the

## CONTENTS.

- King's health—The peace in Germany—The translation of the Book of Common Prayer into French. p. 354.
- CCXC. To CECIL. Croydon, 19 Sept. [1552.] Turner unwilling to be Archbishop of Armagh—The Book of Articles—Rayner Wolfe. p. 355.
- CCXCI. To CECIL. Ford, xx Nov. 1552. His reason for not proceeding in a commission—Reflection on wars abroad. p. 356.
- CCXCII. To THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL. Ford, 24 Nov. [1552.] That the bishops might have the King's authority to cause their clergy to subscribe the Book of Articles. p. 357.
- CCXCIII. To CECIL. Ford, 30 Nov. [1552.] His unwillingness to be in contention with the Lord Warden his neighbour. p. 358.
- CCXCIV. To CECIL. Lambeth, 14 Aug. [1553.] Wishes to know the grounds of Cheke's indictment—Anxious that efforts should be made for him and Lord Russel—Would gladly confer with Cecil. p. 359.
- CCXCV. To QUEEN Mary. Expresses his sorrow for having consented to the will of Edward VI.—Had subscribed unwillingly, in compliance with the opinion of the judges, and the personal request of the King—Had held no private communication with the Duke of Northumberland—Asks permission to write his mind on religion to her Majesty—Acknowledges it to be the Queen's office to see the reformation of things amiss. p. 360.
- CCXCVI. To MRS. WILKINSON. Advises her to withdraw from persecution. p. 363.
- CCXCVII. To THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL. 23 April, 1554. Concerning his consent to Edward VI.'s will—Complains of the confused and hurried Disputation at Oxford—Ridley, Latymer, and himself condemned for heresy. p. 365.
- CCXCVIII. To MARTYN AND STORY. Sept. 1555. Encloses letters to the Queen—complains of not having been allowed to correct his answers according to their promise. p. 367.
- CCXCIX. To QUEEN MARY. Sept. 1555. Relates the proceedings before Brokes—Details his reasons for refusing the Pope's authority—The matter not fully opened in the Parliament house—Brokes twice perjured. p. 369.

## CONTENTS.

- CCC. To QUEEN MARY. Sept. 1555. The Queen's oath to  
the Pope inconsistent with her oath to the realm—The strict-  
ness of his imprisonment—His readiness to appear at Rome if  
the Queen permits. p. 383.
- CCCI. To A LAWYER. Nov. 1555. Concerning his appeal  
from the Pope to a General Council. p. 384.

## P R E F A C E.

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IT is the object of the present publication to bring together all that is extant from the pen of Archbishop Cranmer. The utility of such an undertaking was pointed out more than a century ago by Strype. "As the Archbishop," says that diligent antiquary, "had been an hard student, so he was a very great writer, both in respect of the number of books and treatises he compiled, as of the learning, judgment, and moment of them." He then proceeds, after enumerating them at considerable length, to remark: "If somebody of leisure, and that had opportunity of libraries, would take the pains to collect together all these books and writings of this Archbishop, and publish them, it would be a worthy work, as both retrieving the memory of this extraordinary man, who deserved so well of this Church, and serving also much to illustrate the history of the Reformation<sup>a</sup>." But notwithstanding this Cranmer's suggestion, no complete edition<sup>b</sup> of Cranmer's Works has Printed Works. ever appeared. And yet many even of those which have

<sup>a</sup> Strype, *Cranmer*, pp. 394. 398.

<sup>b</sup> The nearest approach to such a publication is the Selection from Cranmer's Works, which forms the third volume of *The Fathers of the English Church*, London, 1809. This contains the *Prologue to the Bible*, *The Annotations on the King's Book*, *The Catechism of 1548*, *The Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament*, *The Answer to R. Smythe*, *The three Homilies of Salvation, Faith and Works*, *A Letter to Mrs. Wilkinson*, and some Extracts from the *Answer to G rdyner*. Another Selection on a similar plan, but of an inferior description, has issued from the press more recently under the direction of the Religious Tract Society.

Cranmer's  
Manu-  
scripts.

been published, cannot now be consulted without difficulty. His most elaborate production, the controversy with Gardyner on the Eucharist, has not been reprinted entire<sup>c</sup> since 1580, and the greater part of his minor compositions are only to be found by an irksome search in the pages of our ecclesiastical historians. Curiosity too is naturally excited by the expressions of Strype<sup>d</sup>, respecting the contents of the Archbishop's unpublished manuscripts. It is however to be feared, that the expectations which may be entertained on this point, will in great measure be disappointed. Though the principal repositories of such documents have been examined, no very extensive discoveries can be announced. It is true indeed, that a large number of MSS.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>c</sup> The *Defence*, &c. besides being inserted in *The Fathers of the English Church*, was reprinted in 1825, by Mr. Todd, with an Historical and Critical Introduction: but all that has been lately published of the *Answer to Gardyner* are the Extracts mentioned in the preceding note.

<sup>d</sup> Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 395—399.

<sup>e</sup> Many of these manuscripts are scattered papers of no great length, but the following are of some bulk.

*In the Lambeth Library.*

No. 1107. Archbishop Cranmer's Collections of Law.

No. 1108. Archbishop Cranmer's Collections of Divinity.

For an account of the contents of these volumes, see Strype, *Cranmer*, Oxf. 1812. Addenda, No. 1.

*In the State Paper Office.*

A large bundle entitled, Archbishop Cranmer's Papers.

*In the British Museum.*

Royal MSS. 7 B. xi. xii. Two manuscript volumes folio, entitled, T. Cranmer. C. A. Collectiones ex S. Scriptur. et Patribus.

*In the Chapter House at Westminster.*

Cranmer's Correspondence with Crumwell.

For a description of the numerous manuscripts relating to Cranmer in the *Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, see Nasmyth's Catalogue.

It does not appear what is become of the bundle of books seen by

are in existence, connected with the name of Cranmer ; but few only contain any thing, which can fairly be classed among his Works. Some of them consist wholly of quotations from various sources; many were obviously tracts drawn up by others for his perusal ; and several of the rest, which may possibly, with more reason, claim him as their author, cannot be ascribed to him with any satisfactory degree of confidence. The search however has not been altogether fruitless. Though the importance of these papers may have been overrated, they yet possess much interest, and have furnished for the present Collection some valuable materials<sup>f</sup> not before generally known. But even if no new matter had been procured, and nothing could have been attained, beyond presenting what was already published in a more convenient form, an acceptable service would still, it is believed, have been rendered both to the divine and the historian.

A considerable portion of Cranmer's Remains consists of Letters. Many of these were long since published in the works of Coverdale, Foxe, Burnet, and Strype ; others have been only recently given to the world in the *State Papers*, or in Mr. Todd's *Life of Cranmer* ; and a large number has, down to the present time, still continued in manuscript. All these Letters have been now brought together, and form the first of the following volumes. An attempt has been made to arrange them in chronological order, but the materials for fixing their dates are frequently so very imperfect, as scarcely to afford a foundation even for the most vague conjecture.

Ant. Wood in the Palace Treasury at Westminster, and " written, as " was supposed, by Dr. Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. " Clark, Bishop of Bath and Wells. Which books contain a defence " of the King's title of supreme head, and of the divorce from his first " wife, Queen Catharine, and several matters against Cardinal Pole." Wood, *Athenæ Oxon.* p. 676.

<sup>f</sup> The extent of these additions may be seen by referring to the Table of Contents, where they are distinguished by asterisks.

The Correspondence commences in 1531, and closes in 1556, a short time only before the Archbishop's martyrdom. It is most copious during the years<sup>ε</sup> which elapsed between his elevation to the see of Canterbury in Feb. 1533-1540. 1533, and the death of Crumwell in July 1540. And the greater part of what belongs to this period, was addressed to that powerful minister. Much of it will be found to relate to the most interesting occurrences of the day: but much also is on very trifling subjects, and perhaps may be deemed scarcely worthy of publication. But it is hazardous to condemn as unimportant, any genuine relics of a man who bore so leading a part at such an eventful crisis. Dates may be determined, local history illustrated, the temper of the times discovered, and slight shades of character distinguished, by what may appear, at first sight and without reference to other circumstances, altogether undeserving of attention. The very trifles for instance, on which Cranmer thought it necessary to consult the King's Vicar General, prove the extensive power of that favourite, and the perfect subjection of the ecclesiastical authorities to the newly acknowledged supremacy of the Crown. Again, the numerous solicitations of the Archbishop in behalf of his friends and dependents, display in a strong light that benevolence of heart, which few even of his bitterest enemies have ventured to deny. And in another case, a very brief, and apparently immaterial remark, is of essential service, when taken in connexion with its date, towards overthrowing the credit of an improbable tale, that has been too hastily admitted by several protestant writers<sup>h</sup>. For these reasons it has been thought best to err on the side of

<sup>ε</sup> The numerous Letters of this period, which have come down to us, are preserved chiefly, either in a book of copies in the Harleian Collection, (No. 6148.) or among Crumwell's papers in the Chapter House at Westminster.

<sup>h</sup> See Letter ccxxx.

tediousness, rather than suppression, and to withhold nothing.

The objection to the publication of unimportant matter does not apply with equal force to the other periods of Cranmer's life; his correspondence being in general more scanty, but on weightier topics. Three Letters only have been preserved of an earlier date than his appointment to the Primacy: but one of these gives almost the only particulars known respecting a book presented to Hen. VIII. by Reg. Pole on the validity of Queen Catharine's marriage; and the others, being Cranmer's dispatches to the King, during his embassy to the Emperor Charles V, are curious memorials of his diplomatic transactions. There are also but 1540-1547. few of his Letters extant from the death of Crumwell in 1540, to that of Henry VIII. in 1547; but these few contain a very remarkable narrative of an interview with Queen Catharine Howard after the discovery of her incontinence, an account of a singular overture for a reconciliation on the part of Anne of Cleves, and some authentic details of the designs entertained during the latter years of Henry's reign, for the reformation of the public worship, and the more complete abolition of superstitious practices<sup>i</sup>. Nor are the remains of his correspondence under Edw. VI. much more 1547-1553. copious: yet they furnish, besides several other interesting records, some valuable fragments of his negotiations with foreign Protestants for forming a general union of the Reformed Churches<sup>k</sup>. And lastly, his Letters after the acces- 1553-1556. sion of Mary, though very limited in number, not only derive a peculiar interest from his altered circumstances, but also give us an insight into the principles, by which he had been guided as Primate during the preceding reigns. The

<sup>i</sup> See Letters CCLXI. CCLXII. CCLXIV. CCLXVI.

<sup>k</sup> Most of the Letters on this subject are now printed for the first time from manuscripts at Zurich. See Letters CCLXXIII. CCLXXVI. CCLXXXIII. CCLXXXV.



long Letter<sup>1</sup> addressed to the Queen in Sept. 1555, is in fact a formal vindication of the English Church, for throwing off the papal dominion, and for removing the corruptions, doctrinal and practical, by which it had been attended. However trivial therefore some parts of this correspondence may appear, it is yet hoped, that when viewed as a whole, it will be found to supply a rich fund of curious and authentic information on a most important period of our history.

Cranmer's  
Miscella-  
neous Re-  
mains.

The first volume being occupied by Cranmer's Correspondence, the subsequent ones are devoted to the remainder of his writings. These also, with a few exceptions, have been arranged chronologically. They are very miscellaneous in their character, and some of them probably will seem of too inconsiderable value to deserve a place in the Collection. But, as has been already observed, it is scarcely prudent to reject any thing that fell from the chief director of the English Reformation. Papers, intrinsically of little moment, may derive importance from the events with which they are connected, or from the light which they may throw on the Confession of Faith and the Form of Prayer still in use. Such fragments then may surely be published with advantage: but they often will not explain themselves. Sometimes, indeed, they will be hardly intelligible, without a knowledge of the circumstances in which they originated. It may therefore be useful, without entering on the Archbishop's life in general, to prefix some account of his literary labours.

Queen Ca-  
tharine's  
divorce.

Cranmer is recorded to have first employed his pen on the memorable question respecting the validity of King Henry VIII.'s marriage with Catharine of Arragon<sup>m</sup>. Ac-

<sup>1</sup> Letter ccxcix.

<sup>m</sup> Although this appears to have been the first occasion on which Cranmer came forward as a writer, he had long enjoyed at Cambridge a high reputation for ability and learning; and he had probably before

according to the well-known narrative of Foxe, he was the person at whose suggestion the King appealed to the Universities, when indignant at the unexpected adjournment of <sup>1529</sup> the trial by Cardinal Campegio, and the subsequent removal of the cause to Rome <sup>n</sup>. But this statement has with reason been disputed <sup>o</sup>: there can be no doubt however of his having expressed an opinion on the case at a very early stage of the proceedings, and of his having afterwards been specially commissioned by Henry <sup>p</sup> to explain his views in writing. This was the origin of his Book on the Divorce. The points which it was his chief object to establish in it were, that marriage with a brother's widow was contrary to

this time formed some of those extensive Collections of authorities on theological subjects, which are described by Strype and Burnet, and of which several are still preserved. See Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 395—399.

<sup>a</sup> The following is Foxe's account of Cranmer's answer to the questions of Gardynere and Fox. "Dr. Cranmer answered, that he could say little to the matter, for that he had not studied nor looked for it. "Notwithstanding he said to them, that in his opinion they made more ado in prosecuting the law ecclesiastical than needed. 'It were better, as I suppose,' quoth Doctor Cranmer, 'that the question, whether a man may marry a brother's wife or no, were decided and discussed by the divines, and by the authority of the word of God, whereby the conscience of the Prince might be better satisfied and quieted, than thus from year to year, by frustratory delays, to prolong the time, leaving the very truth of the matter unbolted out by the word of God. There is but one truth in it, which the Scripture will soon declare, make open, and manifest, being by learned men well handled, (and that may be as well done in England in the Universities here, as at Rome, or elsewhere in any foreign nation,) the authority whereof will compel any judge soon to come to a definitive sentence: and therefore, as I take it, you might this way have made an end of the matter long since." Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. iii. p. 634. Burnet, *Reformat.* vol. i. p. 155. The editions referred to, here and elsewhere, unless there is a notice to the contrary, are that of Foxe printed at London, 1641, and that of Burnet printed at Oxford, 1829.

<sup>o</sup> Fiddes, *Life of Wolsey*, p. 444; Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 52; Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biogr.* vol. iii. p. 437.

<sup>p</sup> Burnet, *Reformat.* vol. i. p. 171.

the law of God, and was consequently incapable of being legalized by a papal dispensation. He maintained farther, that if these propositions were controverted, their truth ought to be determined, not by the Pope, who was a party interested, but by the judgment of Universities and learned men. The work is said to have been executed with ability, and seems at the time to have excited much attention. It was not only laid before the two English Universities, and the House of Commons<sup>9</sup>, but was presented by its author at a formal embassy to the Pope, with a profession of his readiness to defend it in open disputation against all impugn<sup>1</sup>ers. Yet it appears, notwithstanding the publicity thus acquired, to be now lost<sup>2</sup>: and it happens singularly enough, that his only extant composition<sup>3</sup> on the

<sup>9</sup> Strype, *Cranmer*, pp. 7. 13; Todd, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 25; Lord Herbert, *Life of Hen. VIII.* p. 352.

<sup>1</sup> Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. iii. p. 636.

<sup>2</sup> Its loss may perhaps have been occasioned by the incorporation of its arguments into a Summary of the reasons for the divorce, which was published shortly afterwards by the King's printer, Berthelet, with the judgments of the Universities prefixed. The contents of this Summary are described by Burnet, *Reformat.* vol. i. p. 195. See also Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 141; Ames, *Typogr. Antiq.* ed. Dibdin, art. 1133.

<sup>3</sup> It is scarcely necessary to qualify this assertion by the mention of Cranmer's final Sentence of Divorce, printed in Burnet; (*Reformat.* vol. i. App. b. ii. no. 47.) this being merely an official instrument. It is material however to notice the contradictory statement of Strype, that "there is a short account of Archbishop Cranmer's judgment of the "unlawfulness of this marriage, digested under twelve articles, with "his own name written by himself on the top of the paper; which "Bishop Burnet transcribed from a Cotton manuscript." Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 29. This, it must be admitted, is wholly irreconcilable with what has been said above. But Strype is neither accurate in his description of the manuscript, nor justified in attributing it to Cranmer. The volume referred to, contains not only the twelve articles of which he speaks, but also a formal demonstration of each. And although it is true that it bears the Archbishop's name in his own handwriting, yet this was obviously inserted for no other reason than because the book belonged to him. There are no grounds whatever for concluding,

question is of a directly opposite tendency, being a long Letter to the Earl of Wiltshire, in which he details, with much commendation the arguments used by Reginald Pole in support of Queen Catharine's marriage, and brings nothing against them on his own side, beyond a brief expression of dissent.

After the part which Cranmer had taken against this marriage as a private individual, he was not likely in his official character to hesitate about pronouncing the sentence of its nullity. This sentence was delivered in 1533, and led almost immediately to the great question of the Papal Supremacy. For all hope of procuring a confirmation of his decision from the Court of Rome soon vanished. The Pope on the contrary, without regarding the appeals of Henry and Cranmer to a General Council, declared the marriage valid, and commanded the King to return to his wife on pain of excommunication. The result of this command was an inquiry into the authority by which it was issued. The right of the Bishop of Rome to exercise jurisdiction in England was openly debated both in the Council and the Parliament; and, according to Strype, "the chief burden of this weighty cause was laid on the shoulders of the Archbishop." His Speeches on the subject have not come down to us, but their general tendency may be easily gathered from the public instruments to which he was a

that he was the author as well as the owner of it: nor indeed is such a supposition in any way countenanced by Burnet. See his *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 195.

A note in the late Oxford editions of Burnet would lead us to apprehend that this document is now lost. "This article," it is there stated, "cannot be found. Either the MS. here copied has a wrong reference, or the article was lost from it in the fire which damaged the Cotton Library. The MS. is much burnt." Burnet, *Reformat. Oxford*, 1816, and 1829. vol. i. App. b. ii. no. 36. But there must have been some mistake here. For the manuscript in question may still be seen in the Cotton Library, exactly according to Burnet's reference, in *Vespasian*, B. v. and is in most excellent condition.

party, from a Collection of Extracts from the Canon Law<sup>t</sup>, formed probably to supply materials for this discussion, and from several of his later writings. Upon the evidence of these documents he may be believed to have maintained, that the papal dominion was incompatible with the royal; and that consequently, a King who acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope, was not sovereign in his own realm. It may be said perhaps, that this line of argument, though well calculated to gratify the arbitrary temper of his master, in no degree affected the real merits of the case. Even if this be granted, it still cannot be inferred, that Cranmer was actuated in his choice of it by a corrupt motive; since he urged it no less strenuously under Mary, when she was occupied in restoring the papal power, than he had done under Henry, when that monarch was meditating its overthrow. But in truth his reasoning was by no means devoid of force. It will scarcely be denied, that the collision of authorities which he pointed out, established at least the necessity of inquiry. If this inquiry had ended in demonstrating, that universal dominion was given to the Pope by the word of God, the inconveniences of such an appointment, however great, must of course have been endured as inevitable. But a very different result was anticipated by the Archbishop. He was confident that the Papal Supremacy would be found to depend on human institutions alone; and then, the same evils which had suggested the examination into its origin, would also show the expediency of its abolition. And the right to abolish it would clearly reside in the party by whom it had been created, namely, the English nation<sup>u</sup>.

<sup>t</sup> See vol. ii. p. 1.

<sup>u</sup> The Protestation made in 1537, by the King, the Council, and the Clergy of England, against the Council of Mantua, states the argument thus: "That which [the Pope] hath usurped against God's law, and extorted by violence, we by good right take from him again. But he

The discussion on the Supremacy of the Pope was speedily <sup>General Councils.</sup> followed by another respecting General Councils. This was the tribunal to which both the King and the Archbishop appealed, when a rupture with the Court of Rome became inevitable. But there were many doubts respecting its constitution and its authority. It was very important but far from easy to determine, what constituted a General Council; and supposing this point to have been settled, another question would arise as to the extent of its power. Both these subjects were handled by Cranmer, in a Speech of which an abstract has been preserved by Burnet. He asserted <sup>x</sup>, that, strictly speaking, no truly General Council was ever held, but that some had been so called, "because the Emperor summoned them, and all Christendom did agree to their definitions." And thus "it was not the number nor authority of the bishops, but the matter of their decisions," upon which the universal submission to their decrees, and their consequent title of "General" depended. With regard to their jurisdiction, it was his opinion, that "it did not extend to princes' dominions or secular matters, but only to points of faith;" and even on these "he had much doubting with himself," and considered it a very "tender point, how much ought to be deferred to a Council." . . . "The word of God was the rule of faith in all controversies of religion;" and on this and on those expositions of it which had been agreed on by the doctors of the Church," Councils, he thought, "should

"and his will say, we gave them a primacy. We hear them well; we gave it you indeed. If you have authority as long as our consent giveth it you, and you evermore will make your plea upon our consent, then let it have even an end where it began; we consent no longer, your authority must needs be gone." Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. p. 375. See also Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i. App. no. 72; Burnet, *Reformat.* vol. i. p. 441.

<sup>x</sup> Vol. ii. p. 11.

“found their decisions.” If reference be also made to two public instruments <sup>1</sup> which he subscribed shortly afterwards, and in the composition of which he probably assisted, he will be found to have held moreover, that neither the Pope nor any other individual sovereign, now possessed the privilege of calling General Councils, and that “Christian Princes ought to foresee and provide, lest the most noble wholesome institutions of our elders in this behalf, be perverted to a most contrary and most wicked end and effect <sup>2</sup>.”

Speech in  
Convoca-  
tion. 1536.

The Speech just described, exists only in an abstract, but another delivered about two years later, on a question of equal if not greater moment, has been preserved entire by Foxe. It was addressed to the Convocation in one of the important debates which preceded the publication of the Articles of 1536. The attention of this assembly had been already directed to the increasing appetite for religious controversy, and the Lower House had presented a formal complaint, divided into sixty-seven heads <sup>a</sup>, against the new and erroneous doctrines that were “commonly preached, taught, and spoken,” when Crumwell came to the Upper House, as Vicar General, with a message from the King <sup>b</sup>. His Majesty, he said, “studied day and night to set a quietness in the Church,” and he was himself well able “by his excellent learning” to settle the prevailing disputes, yet he would “suffer no common alteration but by the consent of

<sup>1</sup> *The Judgment of the Convocation concerning General Councils*, vol. iv. App. no. v; and *The opinion of certain of the Bishops and Clergy touching the General Council*, Ibid. no. viii. See also the Protestations against the Councils of Mantua and Vicenza, in Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. pp. 372. 437. In the former of these it is declared, that “they that be wisest do despair of a General Council: wherefore we think it best, that every prince call a provincial Council, and every prince to redress his own realm.” Foxe, vol. ii. p. 375.

<sup>2</sup> *Judgment of Convocation*, vol. iv. App. p. 259.

<sup>a</sup> Fuller, *Church Hist.* b. v; Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 804.

<sup>b</sup> Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. p. 503.

“ them, and of his whole Parliament ;” and he therefore required them “ friendly and lovingly to dispute among themselves of the controversies moved in the Church, and to “ conclude all things by the word of God.” These controversies, as we learn from the Archbishop’s Speech<sup>c</sup>, were of “ no light matters, but even the principal points of the “ Christian religion ;” namely, “ of the true understanding of “ the Law and the Gospel ; of the manner and way how “ sins be forgiven ;” of the means by which doubtful consciences “ may be certified that they please God ;” “ of the “ true use of the sacraments, whether the outward work of “ them doth justify man, or whether we receive our justification by faith ;” and also, “ which be the good works “ which please God,” and what were the ceremonies which ought truly to be called sacraments. All these points were proposed for consideration, but the Archbishop recommended that the sacraments should be examined first ; and according to his advice, an inquiry into their nature and number formed the business of the present sitting.

It may be collected from Foxe, that Cranmer himself took a leading part in the debate, but the short Speech we possess, does little more than state the question, and lay down the authority, namely, that of the Scriptures, by which it was to be determined. Other addresses however have been reported, which enter more fully into the subject. Alexander Alesse, a Scotch refugee, who was introduced and commanded to speak by Crumwell, laid down a definition of a sacrament very similar to that of our Church Catechism, and argued from thence, that the only ceremonies entitled to the name, were Baptism and the Lord’s Supper. And Fox, Bishop of Hereford, on the same side, enlarged on the folly of attempting by sophistical subtleties to steal away from the people, that light which had now broken in on them from the reading of the Scriptures. The chief speaker

<sup>c</sup> Vol. ii. p. 16.



Articles of  
1536.

of the opposite party was Stokesley, Bishop of London, who defended the seven sacraments by an appeal to antiquity. The Bible indeed, he admitted, was the only Written Word of God ; but he asserted, that many traditions, inasmuch as they are mentioned by the old doctors of the Church, might be presumed to have been received from the Apostles, and being therefore of like authority with the Scripture, might “worthily be called the Word of God “Unwritten<sup>d</sup>.” The discussion was carried on with much freedom of speech, but led to no decision : and it seems to have been felt, that the Convocation was so much divided in opinion, as to render it very doubtful, whether, if left to their own deliberations, they would draw up any form of doctrine at all. To obviate this difficulty, a Book of Articles which had been previously prepared, was brought down by Crumwell. It gave rise to warm debates ; but was at length subscribed by a large proportion of the members of both Houses, and was published shortly afterwards with the following title : *Articles devised by the Kinges Highnes Majestie, to stablyshe Christen quietnes and unitie amonge us, and to avoyde contentious opinions : which Articles be also approved by the consent and determination of the hole Clergie of this realme.* These were the Articles of 1536, the first Formulary of Faith agreed on by the Church of England after its separation from that of Rome, and the foundation on which the more copious expositions of doctrine subsequently set forth by Hen. VIII. were constructed.

This Formulary has been attributed, on the evidence of the above title, wholly to the pen of the King, but the Introduction prefixed to it does not support this conclusion. It is more likely that it was drawn up by a committee ; and there is much probability in Strype’s conjecture, that “a great “share therein” belonged to the Archbishop<sup>e</sup>. This view

<sup>d</sup> Foze, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. p. 506.

<sup>e</sup> Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 40.

is confirmed by a draft for the Articles on images and on praying to saints, preserved at Lambeth, on which corrections in the handwriting of Cranmer and Tunstal may still be seen<sup>f</sup>. But there is reason to believe, that although this Formulary was not originally composed by Hen. VIII, it was yet revised by him, before it was submitted to the Convocation. For he speaks in his Preface to it, of having "in his own person many times taken great pain, study, labour, and travails;" and Burnet states, that he had seen copies of several parts of it, with alterations by the King's own hand<sup>h</sup>.

It has been often assumed, that the Reformers gained a great point by the omission in these Articles of four out of the seven sacraments; and that they lost ground in the following year, by the restoration of them to their former rank in *The Institution of a Christian Man*. But a document<sup>i</sup> in the Chapter House at Westminster proves

MS. Fragment of the Articles of 1536.

<sup>f</sup> Lambeth Library, No. 1107. *Archbishop Cranmer's Collection of Law*, p. 125—132. One of these corrections is very characteristic of the sentiments of the two prelates. Tunstal inserted a sanction of the practice of praying to saints, upon which Cranmer added a qualification, that it must "be done without any vain superstition." Both clauses are retained in the printed copies.

<sup>g</sup> *Formularies of Faith*, p. xv. Oxford, 1825.

<sup>h</sup> *Hist. of Reformat.* vol. iii. p. 237. Some manuscripts answering Burnet's description still exist among the Theological Tracts in the Chapter House at Westminster.

<sup>i</sup> The document alluded to, is an imperfect copy of the Articles on Matrimony, Confirmation, Orders, and Extreme Unction, subscribed by Crumwell, Cranmer, and thirty-three others. (Chapter House, Theological Tracts, vol. viii. p. 11—33.) It opens with a declaration of the inferior dignity and necessity of these four sacraments, agreeing in substance, and partly in expression, with a similar distinction at the end of the exposition of them in *The Institution*. Then follow the Articles on Confirmation and Orders, which are perfect, and which, like the three published Articles, were incorporated without much change into *The Institution* in the following year. Those on Matrimony and Extreme Unction are missing. As this fragment does not appear

such a supposition to be erroneous. From this it appears, that, whatever doubts may have been entertained by some of the New Learning, (as it was called,) their leaders on the present occasion not only allowed Matrimony, Confirmation, Orders, and Extreme Unction, to be styled Sacraments, but actually subscribed the Articles drawn up to explain them. And it may be suspected that the objection to the publication of the Articles thus subscribed, proceeded from the opposite party. The advocates for the Old Learning would be much dissatisfied with the broad line of distinction, by which the above-named rites were to be separated from Baptism, Penance, and the Lord's Supper, and by which in fact little was left to them beyond the name of sacraments. They might also have been unwilling to give their sanction to the Article on Orders, as it was finally arranged. For a dispute arose, as we learn from a note on one of the manuscripts <sup>k</sup>, respecting a clause originally contained in it, asserting the power of priests and bishops to take examinations and judge crimes. And the dispute was

to have been hitherto noticed, the signatures affixed to it are subjoined.

	Thomas Crumwell.	
T. Cantuarien.	Edouarde Ebor.	
Joannes London.	Cuthbertus Dunelm.	Joannes Lincoln.
Joannes Bathoniens.	Thomas Elien.	
Johannes Bangor.	Nicolaus Sarum.	Rich. Cicester.
Edwardus Herefordens.		Hugo Wygorn.
R. Woleman.	Robert Aldrige.	Joannes Bell.
Joannes Skyppe.	Edwardus Crome.	Edmundus Boner.
Nicholaus Heyth.	Cuthbertus Marshall.	Gulielmus Buckm <sup>r</sup> .
Galfridus Downes.	Marmaduke Waldeby.	Johannes Barbar.
Simon Matthew.	Nicolaus Wotton.	Gulielmus Maye.
Robertus Oking.	Thomas Robertson.	Jo. Hase.
Richardus Ewer.	Mauritius Griffyth.	Ricardus Cox.
		Thomas Garrarde.

<sup>k</sup> Chapter House, Westminster, Theological Tracts, vol. viii. p. 59.

settled, as appears from the finished copy, by expunging the obnoxious sentence. This may possibly have induced the staunch supporters of ecclesiastical authority to prefer a total silence on the subject, to the circulation of an exposition which in their judgment robbed the clergy of one of their most valued privileges.

It has been long believed, that the Reformers were mainly indebted to Cranmer for the larger Formulary of Doctrine above alluded to, entitled *The Institution of a Christian Man*.<sup>1537</sup> And this fact is now established beyond dispute, by the recent publication in the *State Papers* of some letters to Crumwell from Bishops Latymer and Fox<sup>1</sup>. These two prelates were members of the Commission to which the preparation of the work was entrusted. They had therefore abundant opportunities of being well informed: and from their testimony we learn<sup>m</sup>, among several other curious particulars, that the judgments of the Commissioners were "of such diversity," as to cause great difficulty in coming to an agreement; and that "much of the credit of what ever was praiseworthy in their doings, was due to the "Archbishop." The plan pursued by these divines in their deliberations cannot be ascertained on unexceptionable evidence; but Strype's conjecture<sup>n</sup> is highly probable, that the matter was reduced to questions, which were proposed separately to each Commissioner and answered in writing. Certain it is, that many papers of this description, and of about this date, are still preserved<sup>o</sup>. The book at last compiled by them, may truly be pronounced one of the most valuable productions of this reign. The Articles of 1536 were its foundation, but they were much enlarged and improved. Besides the Exposition of the four sa-

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers*, London, 1831, vol. i. part ii. Nos. 90, 95, 96.

<sup>m</sup> See some extracts from their letters, Vol. i. p. 188.

<sup>n</sup> Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 315.

<sup>o</sup> Among these is a brief judgment by Cranmer on Confirmation. See Vol. ii. p. 18.

craments, which had been already prepared but suppressed, it was further increased by long and useful notes on the Apostles' Creed, on the Ten Commandments, and on the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*. Thus the new Formulary contained copious materials for practical instruction, as well as a rule of faith. And since it was drawn up for the most part according to the views of the Reformers, it was better calculated to advance their cause than that by which it had been preceded<sup>p</sup>. But though superior in its contents, it was inferior in authority<sup>q</sup>; being neither approved by Convocation, nor set forth by the King. It was published indeed by his printer, but was not, like the former book, provided with a Preface by his Majesty, commanding it to be received by his subjects, as agreeable to God's word. Its only introduction was a Letter to him from the Commissioners, announcing its completion, and praying him to issue orders for its general use.

Annotations on  
The King's  
Book.

Closely connected with *The Institution of a Christian Man*, are Cranmer's *Annotations on The King's Book*. By some writers indeed, they are supposed to have been occasioned by it; while by others they are believed to relate to a work of later date, *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*<sup>r</sup>. But there is a fatal objection to both suppositions; namely, that neither of these publications contains the precise expressions criticised in the *Annotations*. Most of these, however, are found in some manuscript Notes, written chiefly by Henry VIII.'s own hand in an edition of *The Institution* preserved in the Bodleian Library: whence it may be fairly inferred, that

<sup>p</sup> It was, however, differently interpreted according to the different views of its readers. See a curious discussion on this point in the correspondence between Cranmer and a Kentish Justice, now first printed from manuscripts in the Chapter House at Westminster. Vol. i. p. 208.

<sup>q</sup> See Letter CLXXXIV; Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 142; Strype, *Cranm.* p. 54.

<sup>r</sup> See Vol. ii. p. 21. note.

either this identical volume, or some more perfect copy taken from it, was "The King's Book," on which Cranmer commented. The history of the matter appears to be, that, at the commencement of 1538, a plan was entertained for supplying the above-mentioned defect in the authority of *The Institution*, by a republication of it in the name of the King. This new edition being contemplated, Henry was probably induced, by his confidence in his theological acquirements, and by his unwillingness to sanction tenets which he had not fully examined, to take the pains of revising the work throughout. Vain however as he was of his own learning, he condescended to submit his revisions to the judgment of Cranmer. The task thus imposed on the Archbishop, will be readily admitted to have been of a very delicate nature. But those who are strongly impressed with the current accounts of his pliability, will have no difficulty in foretelling the course pursued by him. They will anticipate, that he approved the corrections without hesitation, and accompanied his approbation with many compliments to the King's superior wisdom. Such anticipations, however, will be altogether disappointed. It will be found on the contrary, that he criticised both the grammar and the theology of his master with a caustic freedom, which might have given offence to an author of far humbler pretensions than a sovereign who had entered the lists with Luther, and who prided himself on his titles of Defender of the Faith and Supreme Head of the National Church. It is true, that he softened the severity of his criticisms by an apology for his presumption, in being "so scrupulous and "as it were a picker of quarrels to his Grace's book<sup>s</sup>." But even when these excuses have been allowed their full weight, there will still remain enough of boldness to surprise those, who have no other idea of Henry, than that he was a dog-

Hen.VIII.'s  
Corrections  
of the *In-  
stitution*.

<sup>s</sup> Letter ccv.

matical tyrant, or of Cranmer, than that he was a cowardly timeserver.

These *Annotations*, as they were entitled by their author, though they have been long known to be in existence, were not generally accessible before 1809, when they were printed for the first time in *The Fathers of the English Church*. And they were still but imperfectly understood in the absence of the book, on which they were professedly comments. This deficiency has been now supplied by the discovery of Henry VIII.'s Notes in the Bodleian Library. And it is presumed that no apology is needed for inserting these specimens of Royal theology in the present Collection<sup>1</sup>. Though they cannot in strict right, claim a place among Cranmer's Works, they are yet most necessary for the clear understanding of his remarks. They will also tend to illustrate the much contested character and opinions of Henry himself. They will, for instance, prove on the one hand, that his temper, however imperious, could yet bear with patience the free remonstrances of an honest servant; and on the other, they will betray manifest indications of a rooted love of arbitrary power, of a lingering attachment to astrology and the like superstitions, and of an unscrupulous disposition to bend Scripture, even by alteration, into an accordance with his own views and passions.

Confer-  
ences with  
the German  
Protest-  
ants. 1538.

The united endeavours of the King and the Archbishop to improve *The Institution*, were not followed by a new edition. It was left untouched till 1543; when it appeared with far more considerable changes than were now contemplated, under the title of *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*. The abandonment of the plan for its immediate republication was probably occasioned by a project of a more comprehensive nature. Negotiations had now been on foot for some years between Henry and the German Protestants, for the double purpose of con-

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 21.

cluding a treaty of alliance, and of drawing up a joint Confession of Faith. Some progress in the business had been made by English embassies on the continent, particularly by one conducted by Fox and Hethe in the winter of 1585. Seckendorf<sup>u</sup> relates that several Articles of Religion were then agreed on by the two parties, and he recites the precise terms, in which they expressed their judgment of the Lord's Supper. But Henry was not satisfied with these deliberations at a distance: he was desirous that they should be transferred to his own dominions, and continually pressed the German princes to send ambassadors for the purpose. And his wishes were at length gratified; a mission being dispatched to England in the spring of 1588. It consisted of Francis Burcard, Vice-Chancellor to the Elector of Saxony; George à Boyneburg, a nobleman of Hesse; and Frederic Myconius, Superintendent of the Reformed Church at Gotha. On their arrival in London, Cranmer, with some other bishops and divines, was immediately directed to open conferences with them. The course of the present discussions, as well as of those which had been previously held in Germany, seems to have been regulated by the Confession of Augsburg. According to the order of that Formulary it was arranged, that the representatives of the two nations should first settle the chief articles of faith, and should then proceed to inquire into the abuses and corruptions alleged to have crept into the Church. They are known, from a letter by Myconius, to have brought the first division of their consultations to a happy issue; having decided on a form for declaring the principal points of Christian doctrine<sup>v</sup>. But this concord was broken when they came

<sup>u</sup> Seckendorf, *Comment. de Lutheran.* lib. iii. §. xxxix. Add. (f.)

<sup>v</sup> "In articulis et in summa doctrinæ Christianæ eousque progressi sumus, ut de præcipuis jam conveniat: et quod de abusibus est relinquitur, quum, cum in eis rebus tam verbo quam scripto, nostrorum Principum, Doctorum, Ecclesiarum, et nostram sententiam explicaverimus."



to examine the abuses: here Henry, who himself interfered in the proceedings, differed so widely from the Germans, as to cut off all hope of a satisfactory arrangement. The ambassadors persisted in asserting, that the three main corruptions of the Church of Rome were the denial of the cup to the laity in the administration of the Lord's Supper, the custom of private propitiatory Masses, and the prohibition of marriage to the clergy. The King was no less stiff in maintaining all these practices to be good and lawful; and either from his own strong feeling on these questions, or at the instigation of counsellors desirous of a rupture, he announced his resolution to undertake this part of the controversy in person<sup>w</sup>. The tract written by him in consequence, as well as the letter of the Germans to which it was a reply, is preserved in the Cotton Library, and has been printed by Burnet<sup>x</sup>. But the Confession of Faith previously settled, has not hitherto been given to the world. Yet it seems strange, that while the memorials of their disunion have reached us, the Articles on which they agreed, should have perished. And probably this is not the case. For a manuscript among Archbishop Cranmer's papers in the State Paper Office, may be reasonably conjectured to be a copy of them. It is a thin folio, entitled, "A boke conteynynge" "dyvers Articles De Unitate Dei et Trinitate personarum," "De peccato originali," &c. The documents tied up in the same bundle, relate chiefly to these negotiations with the foreign Reformers; and the "boke" itself is manifestly founded on the Confession of Augsburg, often following

MS. Book  
of Articles  
in the State  
Paper  
Office.

"mus, et Episcopi atque Doctores jam sententiam nostram teneant, "poterunt etiam nobis absentibus illa expendere." Myconius to Crumwell, in Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i. App. N<sup>o</sup>. 95. See also Cranmer's Letters, Vol. i. pp. 261. 263.

<sup>w</sup> This however must be understood with some allowance; for in the elaborate answer addressed in his name to the Germans, he was most materially assisted by Tunstal.

<sup>x</sup> Burnet, *Hist. of Reformat.* vol. i. Add. N<sup>os</sup>. 7, 8.

it very closely, and departing from it exactly in those instances, where the mixture of English with German theology might have been expected to cause a variation. It is also in Latin, and this circumstance adds to the probability of its having been composed in concert with foreigners: for such other Formularies of this reign as were designed for domestic use, are in English. And lastly, the only Article, namely that on the Lord's Supper, which there is an opportunity of comparing with the conclusions approved by Fox and Hethe in Germany, is word for word the same.<sup>7</sup> There seems therefore to be a fair presumption, that this "boke" is a copy of the Articles of Faith arranged at London by the English and German Reformers in the summer of 1538.

But whatever may be the value of this conjecture, there can be no doubt, either that this Book of Articles was considered at that time of great importance, or that Cranmer was concerned in framing it. This is clear from the number of rough drafts for different parts of it still existing in the State Paper Office and the Cotton Library<sup>2</sup>; one of which is corrected in the handwriting of the King, and several in that of the Archbishop. This document is interesting also in another point of view: it appears to have been the groundwork of Edward VI.'s Articles of 1552, and conse-

<sup>7</sup> Seckendorf, *Comment. de Lutheran.* lib. iii. §. xxxix. Add. (f).

<sup>2</sup> Six of these Articles have been printed from the drafts in the Cotton Library by Strype, who considered them to be part of a Formulary composed in 1540 by Commissioners then appointed under the authority of an Act of Parliament. This opinion, which has been adopted by Mr. Todd, and with some reserve by Archbishop Laurence, is in no respect inconsistent with the supposition advanced above. But no evidence has been adduced in support of it; and the Articles of 1540, even if they were ever completed, (which is doubtful,) being intended for the exclusive use of the English Church, were in all probability not drawn up in Latin. See below, p. xxx; Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 357. and App. N<sup>o</sup>. 112; Todd, *Declarations of Reformers, &c.* Introd. p. vi; Laurence, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 195.

quently of the Thirty-nine, still in use. It is not meant to dispute the common statement, that the Formulary of Edward VI. owes much of its materials to the Confession of Augsburg. But it is suggested, that it was probably taken more immediately from the Book of Articles just described, that this was the channel, through which the language of the German Confession was introduced into the English. At least such an inference is supported by the fact, that the expressions in Edward VI.'s Formulary, usually adduced to prove its connexion with the Confession of Augsburg, are also found in this Book of Articles; while it contains others, which can be traced as far as the Book of Articles, but which will be sought for in vain in the Confession of Augsburg. And to this Book, if it was in truth the result of the conferences of 1538, the framers of Edward VI.'s Articles would be likely to have recourse. They would naturally be anxious, in the execution of their undertaking, to meet, if possible, the views of their brethren on the continent, as well as of their countrymen at home; and they could scarcely pursue a surer method of attaining this object, than by borrowing from a form of doctrine already approved by both. Under these circumstances the reader probably will not be displeased at finding this Book of Articles printed in the Appendix <sup>a</sup>.

The failure of these negotiations<sup>b</sup> with the German princes, was one of the heaviest blows sustained by the English Reformation during the reign of Henry VIII. It both removed the salutary restraint hitherto imposed on the King's caprices by an unwillingness to break with those who were embarked in the same cause, and it also enlisted

<sup>a</sup> Vol. iv. Appendix, N<sup>o</sup>. XIII.

<sup>b</sup> Respecting some subsequent negotiations with the German princes, see Burnet, *Hist. of Ref.* vol. iii. pp. 277. 295. 311; Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i. pp. 339. 343. 367; *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 860.

his personal feelings on the side of the tenets he had so zealously pledged himself to defend. It thus probably contributed materially to the success of the great measure, by which, in the following year, the men of the Old Learning endeavoured to stifle the growth of the New, the memorable Act of the Six Articles<sup>c</sup>. In this example of theological legislation, the dogmas lately upheld by Henry against the objections of the Germans, occupied a conspicuous place. Cranmer however, timid as he is often represented to have been, now combated his Sovereign's errors in public, no less firmly and honestly than he had formerly done in private. Though desired by a Royal message to absent himself, he attended resolutely in his place in the House of Lords, and opposed the bill "with great reasons and authorities<sup>d</sup>." As

Act of the  
Six Arti-  
cles. 1539.

<sup>c</sup> The Six Articles were: "First, That in the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar, by the strength and efficacy of Christ's mighty word, it being spoken by the priest, is present really, under the form of bread and wine, the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesu Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary; and that after the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread or wine, nor any other substance but the substance of Christ, God and man; Secondly, That communion in both kinds is not necessary *ad salutem* by the law of God to all persons; and that it is to be believed, and not doubted of, but that in the flesh, under form of bread, is the very blood; and with the blood, under form of wine, is the very flesh, as well apart as though they were both together; Thirdly, That the priests after the order of priesthood received as afore may not marry by the law of God; Fourthly, That vows of chastity or widowhood by man or woman, made to God advisedly, ought to be observed by the law of God, and that it exempteth them from other liberties of Christian people, which without that they might enjoy; Fifthly, That it is meet and necessary that private masses be continued and admitted in this the King's English Church and Congregation, as whereby good Christian people, ordering themselves accordingly, do receive both godly and goodly consolations and benefits, and it is agreeable to God's law; Sixthly, That auricular confession is expedient and necessary to be retained and continued, used and frequented, in the Church of God." *Statutes of the Realm*, 31 Hen. VIII. c. 14.

<sup>d</sup> Foze, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. pp. 443. 508; Burnet, *Reformat.* vol. i. pp. 515. 518. vol. iii. p. 379; Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 73.

the Speech delivered by him was afterwards, at the King's request, reduced to writing, its preservation might have been fairly anticipated. We learn too from an amusing story in Foxe<sup>c</sup>, that though it encountered sundry perils in crossing the Thames, it was at last safely deposited in the hands of Crumwell. But the martyrologist failed in all his endeavours to recover it; nor can it be discovered among Crumwell's papers in the Chapter House at Westminster: so that there is reason to fear that it has utterly perished. The loss indeed may in some measure be supplied. Cranmer's opinions on all the points discussed are known, and several of them he has treated at length elsewhere. But still we are precluded from the opportunity of marking his skill, in tempering the production of "allegations and reasons so strong that they could not be refuted," with "such modesty and obedience in word towards his prince," that his "enterprize was not disliked" by him<sup>f</sup>.

For, notwithstanding his firmness in opposing the King, he yet, to the surprise both of his contemporaries and of posterity, retained the Royal favour. He was still, as before, constantly consulted on religious matters. Within a short period afterwards, he was applied to by Crumwell to correct a Primer<sup>g</sup>, was employed to prefix a Prologue or Preface to the Bible, and was placed at the head of a Commission for drawing up a declaration of the principal articles of the Christian belief. The edition of the Bible for which he wrote a Preface, is that of 1540, known by the names of "Cranmer's" and "The Great Bible." The same

<sup>c</sup> *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. p. 508.

<sup>f</sup> Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. p. 443.

<sup>g</sup> See Letter ccklix. Strype conjectured that Cranmer "had a considerable hand" in the Primer published in 1535, and attributed to Cuthbert Marshall. But the only reason assigned by him, is one which would appropriate to the Archbishop all the best works of that day, namely, that the book "had a strain of truth and serious piety in it."

titles have also been given, though, as it should seem, on less sufficient grounds, to a Bible of 1539: but neither of these was the first that the Archbishop was concerned in publishing. The translation and free circulation of the Scriptures had long been objects of his anxiety and at-<sup>Translations of the Bible.</sup>tention. As early as 1534 he prevailed on the Convocation to petition the King, "that the Bible might be translated by some learned men of his Highness' nomination<sup>b</sup>." And he soon afterwards distributed portions of an old version of the New Testament to several of the leading clergy to be corrected. But Stokesley having positively refused his assistance, and being probably supported in his opposition by others of his party<sup>i</sup>, the design seems to have miscarried. The whole Bible in English was however published by Coverdale in 1535<sup>k</sup>; and from its being dedicated to Henry VIII, is supposed by Lewis to have been circulated by his authority. But this appears to be a mistake; since, in June 1536, the Convocation again prayed the King, that he would indulge unto his subjects of the laity "the reading of the Bible in the English tongue, and that "a new translation of it might be forthwith made for that "end and purpose<sup>l</sup>." And in 1537 Cranmer presented to his Majesty, through Crumwell, an English Bible "of a "new translation and a new print;" and on permission being obtained for it to be "bought and sold within the "realm," he expressed his gratitude in terms far too warm to admit of the belief that the general use of the English Scriptures was already allowed<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 34.

<sup>i</sup> All the other divines, however, who were employed, completed their parts, and sent them to Lambeth on the day appointed. Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 48. Among the rest, Gardyner corrected the translation of St. Luke and St. John, "wherein," as he assured Crumwell, "he "spent a great labour." *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 430.

<sup>k</sup> Lewis, *Hist. of Engl. Translations of the Bible*, p. 91.

<sup>l</sup> Heylyn, in Lewis, *Engl. Translations of the Bible*, p. 102.

<sup>m</sup> See Letters CXCII. CXCIII.

The earliest translation therefore which received the public approbation of Henry VIII, may be concluded to be the Version recommended to him by the Archbishop in 1537<sup>n</sup>. And this not only enjoyed a formal license, but was also farther sanctioned by Crumwell's Injunctions<sup>o</sup>, and by a Royal Declaration<sup>p</sup>. Yet it was not secured from attack. The edition contained a prologue and notes, which, since they reflected on some of the Romish errors, were complained of as "scandalous and defamatory;" and it was in consequence revised<sup>q</sup>. This revision produced the two editions of 1539 and 1540; both, as has been said, known by the names of "Cranmer's" and "The Great Bible."

Preface to  
the Bible.  
1540.

The latter of these, besides being superior in size and typography, had also the advantage of a Preface by Cranmer<sup>r</sup>, designed, as he himself expressed it, "both to encourage "slow readers, and also to stay the rash judgments of them "that read therein<sup>s</sup>." With this view, he on the one hand urged the expediency of allowing the Scriptures to be read in the vernacular tongue by "all sorts and kinds of people;" and on the other, he laid down some rules for preventing this liberty from being abused. "And to the intent that his "words might be the more regarded," he used, as far as possible, the reasonings of Chrysostom and Gregory Nazianzen, rather than his own. Such a Preface was well calculated to disarm the hostility with which former translations had been pursued, and may perhaps have inclined the King, to whom it was submitted before publication<sup>t</sup>, to bestow peculiar marks of favour on the edition which possessed it. For the title-page announced, that it was the Bible

<sup>n</sup> This is usually called "Matthew's Bible," being published in the name of Thomas Matthew; but it was in reality the work of Tyndale, Coverdale, and Rogers. See Letter CLXXXVIII.

<sup>o</sup> Burnet, *Reformat.* vol. i. App. b. iii. N<sup>o</sup>. 11.

<sup>p</sup> Appendix, N<sup>o</sup>. xii.

<sup>q</sup> Lewis, p. 130.

<sup>r</sup> Vol. ii. p. 104.

<sup>s</sup> See Letter CCLIII.

<sup>t</sup> See Letter CCLIII.

appointed to be set in churches; and a proclamation was issued in May 1541<sup>u</sup>, ordering, under penalty of a fine for neglect, a copy to be provided for every parish before the ensuing 1st of November. And although complaints were still made of its incorrectness<sup>x</sup>, yet Henry seems to have thought with Cranmer, that the bishops were not likely to "set forth a better translation till a day after doomsday<sup>y</sup>," and to have therefore permitted it to be used, under certain restrictions<sup>z</sup>, as the authorized version during the remainder of his reign<sup>a</sup>.

But to return to 1540. The Archbishop was associated in that year with others "of the best learned, honestest, and most virtuous sort of the doctors of divinity," for the purpose of "declaring by writing the principal articles of faith<sup>b</sup>." It is remarkable that the mode of proceeding now adopted, was different from that which had been pursued on two similar occasions. The Articles of 1536 were subscribed by Convocation, and confirmed by the authority of the King. *The Institution of a Christian Man* emanated from an assembly of bishops and divines, called together for the task by Royal command.

<sup>u</sup> Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 856; Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 84. A similar order respecting Matthew's Bible had been given in Crumwell's Injunctions of 1538; but no penalty was then named for disregard of it, and it probably had not been duly obeyed.

<sup>x</sup> Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 860; Lewis, *Hist. of Translations*, p. 144.

<sup>y</sup> Letter CLXXXVIII.

<sup>z</sup> See the "Act for the advancement of true Religion, and the abolishment of the contrary," in *Statutes of the Realm*, 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1; and the Proclamation for the abolishing of English Books, 1546, in Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iv. p. 1.

<sup>a</sup> Though several smaller editions were published for general use, Cranmer's Bible continued to be "the Bible of the largest volume appointed to be read in churches," till the completion of Archbishop Parker's or the Bishops' Bible in 1568. Lewis, pp. 139. 175. 181—235.

<sup>b</sup> Stat. 32 Hen. VIII. c. 26.



But in the present instance, recourse was had to Parliament. Cromwell, as the King's Vicegerent, informed the Lords<sup>c</sup>, that his Majesty, anxious to terminate the religious dissensions of his subjects, had nominated two Commissions, one "to draw up an exposition of those things which are necessary for the institution of a Christian man," and the other "to examine what ceremonies should be retained, and what was the true use of them." The Lords having approved the nomination, the two Commissions seem to have applied themselves to their work. And it may be collected from an interesting scene described by Foxe<sup>d</sup>, that the mem-

<sup>c</sup> Burnet, *Reformat.* vol. i. p. 549.

<sup>d</sup> "After the apprehension of the Lord Cromwell, when the adversaries of the Gospel thought all things sure now on their side, it was so appointed amongst them, that ten or twelve bishops and other learned men, joined together in commission, came to the said Archbishop of Canterbury for the establishing of certain Articles of our religion, which the papists then thought to win to their purpose against the said Archbishop. For having now the Lord Cromwell fast and sure, they thought all had been safe and sure for ever: as indeed to all men's reasonable consideration that time appeared so dangerous, that there was no manner of hope that religion reformed should any one week longer stand, such account was then made of the King's untowardness thereunto. Insomuch that of all those Commissioners there was not one left to stay on the Archbishop's part, but he alone, against them all, stood in the defence of the truth: and those that he most trusted to, namely, Bp. Heath and Bp. Skip, left him in the plain field; who then so turned against him, that they took upon them to persuade him to their purpose: and having him down from the rest of the Commissioners into his garden at Lambeth, there by all manner of effectual persuasions entreated him to leave off his over much constancy, and to incline unto the King's intent, who was fully set to have it otherwise than he then had penned, or meant to have set abroad. When those two his familiars, with one or two others his friends, had used all their eloquence and policy, he, little regarding their inconstancy and remissness in God's cause or quarrel, said unto them right notably:

"You make much ado to have me come to your purpose, alleging that it is the King's pleasure to have the Articles, in that sort you have devised them, to proceed: and now that you do perceive his Highness by sinister information to be bent that way, you think it a

bers of the former, after much discussion, in which the King, as usual, interfered, assented at last to a Formulary of Doctrine, in accordance with the views of Cranmer. But this Formulary is not now to be found<sup>e</sup>, and was probably never sanctioned by any regular authority. Gardyner and his party, though they could not induce the King to withhold his approbation from it, may be conjectured to have had sufficient influence to prevent its publication. It certainly was not set forth before the rising of Parliament, (though the scene recorded by Foxe was probably prior to that date<sup>f</sup>), for an Act was passed, declaring it to be inex-

“ ‘convenient thing to apply unto his Highness’ mind. You be my  
 “ ‘friends both, especially the one of you I did put to his Majesty as of  
 “ ‘trust. Beware, I say, what you do. There is but one truth in our  
 “ ‘Articles to be concluded upon, which if you do hide from his High-  
 “ ‘ness by consenting unto a contrary doctrine, and then after, in pro-  
 “ ‘cess of time, when the truth cannot be hidden from him, his High-  
 “ ‘ness shall perceive how that you have dealt colourably with him, I  
 “ ‘know his Grace’s nature so well,’ quoth the Archbishop, ‘that he  
 “ ‘will never after trust and credit you, or put any good confidence in  
 “ ‘you. And as you are both my friends, so therefore I will you to  
 “ ‘beware thereof in time, and discharge your consciences in main-  
 “ ‘tenance of the truth.’

“ But all this would not serve, for they still swerved ; and in discharg-  
 “ ing of his conscience and declaring the truth unto the King, God so  
 “ wrought with the King, that his Highness joined with him against the  
 “ rest ; so that the Book of Articles passing on his side, he wan the  
 “ goal from them all, contrary to all their expectations, when many  
 “ wagers would have been laid in London, that he should have been  
 “ laid up with Cromwell at that time in the Tower for his stiff stand-  
 “ ing to his tackle.” Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. iii. p. 641. See  
 also Morice’s Statement in Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 430.

<sup>e</sup> Strype indeed has printed from a Cotton MS, Six Articles, which he  
 assumes to have formed a part of it : but the assumption does not rest  
 on any sufficient grounds. See above, p. xxiii ; Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i.  
 p. 357. and App. N<sup>o</sup>. 112.

<sup>f</sup> It manifestly took place before Cromwell’s execution, which was  
 on the 28th of July, 1540. The Parliament sat till the 24th. Burnet,  
 for what reason it does not appear, refers the whole transaction to 1543.  
*Reformat.* vol. i. p. 643.

pedient “for a thing of that weight to be rashly done, or  
 “to be hasted through in this session of Parliament,” and  
 enacting, that “whatsoever was determined by the arch-  
 “bishops and others now commissioned for that effect, or  
 “by any others appointed by the King, or by the whole  
 “clergy of England, and published by the King’s authority,  
 “concerning the Christian faith, or the ceremonies of the  
 “Church, should be believed and obeyed by all the King’s  
 “subjects, as well as if the particulars so set forth had been  
 “enumerated in this Act &.”

Answers to  
 Seventeen  
 Questions  
 on the Sa-  
 craments,  
 &c. 1540.

The Commissioners were thus empowered to continue their deliberations after the close of the session, and accordingly they seem to have resumed them in the following autumn. Some remains of their proceedings still exist in the Cotton Library and at Lambeth. These consist of Seventeen Questions<sup>h</sup>, chiefly on the sacraments, with Answers by the different Commissioners, and a Summary at the end, of their agreement and disagreement. Cranmer, though he probably drew up the Questions, was required also to answer them in the same form with the rest. The opinions thus elicited from him, afford a curious evidence of the fluctuations of a mind, which in escaping from the errors of Rome, did not immediately arrive at the truth: for several of them are wholly untenable, and have consequently, though he afterwards abandoned them, exposed him to no little animadversion. He at this time scarcely recognised any distinction between civil and ecclesiastical authority, asserting the Christian prince to be the sole fountain of both. To him, he said<sup>i</sup>, was “committed immediately of God the whole  
 “cure of all his subjects, as well concerning the administra-

<sup>g</sup> Stat. 32 Hen. VIII. c. 26.

<sup>h</sup> Cotton Library, Cleopatra, E. v. Lambeth Library, 1108. Stillingfleet, in his *Irenicum*, erroneously assigns these Questions to the year 1547. See Vol. ii. p. 98.

<sup>i</sup> Vol. ii. p. 101, &c.

“tion of God’s word for the cure of souls, as concerning the  
 “ministration of things political and civil governance:” and  
 as the Lord Chancellor and other civil magistrates were appointed by the Sovereign to discharge one part of this office, so were the Archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the clergy appointed to discharge another. The Apostles indeed, he did not deny, nominated ministers of God’s word, but they did so, as he argued, not by virtue of any “supremity, “impery, or dominion,” but merely in the way of recommendation and advice, which the people, as they chose, might accept or reject, and because there were then no Christian princes by whose authority such appointment could be made. He pronounced also, that “bishops and priests were not two “things, but both one office in the beginning of Christ’s religion;” and that they “needed no consecration by the “Scripture, for election or appointing thereto is sufficient.” He seems indeed to have approved “certain comely ceremonies and solemnities” used at their admission, but he maintained, that “if such offices and ministrations were “committed without such solemnity, they were nevertheless “truly committed.”

Thus extreme were the opinions into which the abuses of ecclesiastical power had driven him. But even at the moment of expressing them, he seems to have had some misgivings respecting their soundness<sup>k</sup>: and as he had but lately adopted, so he very quickly saw reason to forsake them. Shortly before, in 1537, he had held, “that “Christ and his Apostles did institute and ordain in the “New Testament, that besides the civil powers and governance of Kings and Princes . . . . there should also be “continually in the Church militant certain other ministers “and officers, which should have special power, authority,

<sup>k</sup> “This,” he said, “is mine opinion and sentence at this present, “which nevertheless, I do not temerarily define, but refer the “judgment thereof wholly unto your Majesty.” Vol. ii. p. 103.

“and commission under Christ, to preach and teach the word of God unto his people;” that “the said power and office hath annexed unto it assured promises of excellent and inestimable things;” and that it “was committed and given by Christ and his Apostles unto certain persons only, that is to say, unto priests or bishops, whom they did elect, call, and admit thereunto by their prayer and imposition of their hands<sup>l</sup>.” And shortly afterwards, in 1543, he had returned in a great degree to these earlier opinions. For in the *Necessary Doctrine*, to which he then assented, it is laid down, that “Order is a gift or grace of ministration in Christ’s Church, given of God to Christian men by the consecration and imposition of the bishop’s hands upon them<sup>m</sup>.” This later Formulary however is throughout much less favourable than *The Institution* to the authority of the Church: and it is positive in declaring, that the nomination of ecclesiastical ministers and the limitations under which they execute their office, must depend on the ordinances and laws of each particular Christian realm.

The doctrine here taught, namely, that the priesthood, though of divine origin, is subject in its exercise to human regulations, appears to be that in which Cranmer finally acquiesced. It is at least in unison both with the public documents<sup>n</sup> approved by him under Edw. VI, and also with his conduct, which was uniformly marked by a feeling of subordination to the civil magistrate<sup>o</sup>. Collier however, as might have been anticipated, is by no means satisfied with this method of reconciling the two

<sup>l</sup> *Institution of a Christian Man*, pp. 101. 104. Oxford 1825. See also Henry’s VIII.’s Corrections of the *Institution*, Vol. ii. p. 41, &c.

<sup>m</sup> *Necessary Doctrine*, p. 277, Oxford, 1825.

<sup>n</sup> See the Articles of 1552, the Ordination Services, and the *Reformatio Legum*.

<sup>o</sup> Cranmer having acted as Archbishop under a commission from Henry VIII, considered on that King’s death, that his authority was at

powers, and infers from the language of what is commonly called Cranmer's Catechism, that the Archbishop not only relinquished his erroneous views respecting the derivation of the ecclesiastical office from the civil, but eventually went the length of asserting its absolute independence. This inference however is scarcely warranted by the work on which it rests. The Instruction of the Keys there given, undoubtedly insists strongly on the divine commission, the uninterrupted succession, and the sacred character of the priesthood : but all this is perfectly consistent with its being to a certain extent subject to the civil power. And it is not credible, that Cranmer, in sanctioning its publication, could intend to claim an independent jurisdiction for the clergy, when he had just before surrendered all such pretensions by declining to exercise his own functions as Archbishop, until he was empowered to do so by a commission from his sovereign.

Such appears to have been Cranmer's final determination respecting ecclesiastical authority. His sentiments on the necessity of consecration, and on the gradations of rank in the Christian ministry, underwent a corresponding change. As to the former, he fully admitted it, by allowing Orders to be classed among the sacraments, in the *Necessary Doctrine* which followed, as well as in *The Institution* which preceded his Seventeen Answers of 1540. With regard to the latter, it must indeed be confessed, that these Formu-

an end, and applied to Edward VI. for its renewal. A fresh commission was accordingly granted for this purpose, in which the supremacy of the civil power is thus asserted. "Quandoquidem omnis juris dicendi "autoritas, atque etiam jurisdictio omnimoda, tam illa quæ Ecclesiastica dicitur quam Sæcularis, a regia potestate, velut a supremo capite, ac omnium magistratuum infra regnum nostrum fonte et scaturigine, primitus emanaverit," &c. Burnet, *Reformat.* vol. ii. App. b. i. N°. 2; Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 141. See also Letters ccxcv. ccxcix.

<sup>p</sup> The Catechism was published in 1548. The Commission exercising the Archiepiscopal office was dated 7 Feb. 1547.

laries do not clearly show the distinction between the bishop and the priest, and perhaps that they do not recognise it at all. But upon both points the opinions ultimately adopted by Cranmer are sufficiently manifest from the Preface to the Ordination Services, which if not written, as has been sometimes supposed, was certainly approved by him. It is there declared to be “evident unto all men diligently “reading holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from “the Apostles’ time there hath been these orders of ministers in Christ’s Church, bishops, priests, and deacons: “which offices were evermore had in such reverent estimation, that no man by his own private authority, might “presume to execute any of them, except he were first “called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities “as were requisite for the same; and also by public prayer, “with imposition of hands, were approved and admitted “thereunto<sup>9</sup>.”

The consultations of 1540, of which the Archbishop’s Answers just discussed form a part, were not brought to a satisfactory termination. It may be fairly concluded that no authorized Confession of Faith resulted from them: for Boner, in his Injunctions of 1542<sup>1</sup>, directed his clergy to procure and study *The Institution of a Christian Man*, as if it were still the only work invested with any degree of authority; and in the spring of 1543, the <sup>2</sup>Act *For the advancement of true religion and the abolishment of the contrary*, declared it to be expedient to “ordain and establish a certain form of pure and sincere teaching, agreeable to God’s word and the true doctrine of the catholic and apostolical Church.” It was in pursuance of this Act that the last Formulary of Henry VIII.’s reign was framed. It was entitled, *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for*

<sup>9</sup> See the remainder of this Preface in Appendix, No. xxxvi. 3.

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, *Reformat.* vol. i. App. b. iii. no. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Stat. 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

*any Christian Man*, and was intended to be a guide in the Necessary interpretation of the Scriptures to the clergy, and a sort of Doctrine substitute for them to the people ; their free circulation and Erudition, &c. 1563. being greatly restrained by the same law. It seems in the first instance to have been agreed on by several select committees of bishops<sup>1</sup>, and then to have been submitted to Convocation for its approval. This having been obtained, it was "set forth by the King's Majesty," "with the advice," as he stated in his prefatory letter, "of our clergy," and after "the lords both spiritual and temporal with the nether house of our Parliament had both seen and liked it very well."

The bishops named as having been employed in preparing it, are Cranmer, Gardyner, Hethe, Thirlby, Skyp, and Salcot. They did not profess to produce a new work, but merely to improve that which was already in use, *The Institution of a Christian Man*. This they altered considerably both in style and doctrine, abridging it in some parts, enlarging it in others, and adding much that was wholly new. The changes were on the whole in favour of the Old Learning. This was particularly the case with regard to the sacrament of the altar. Communion in one kind, which had not been noticed in *The Institution*, was now elaborately defended ; and the effect of the words of consecration was described in terms, not indeed amounting to the explicit assertion of transubstantiation contained in the Six Articles, but yet such as were likely to be understood in the Romish sense<sup>2</sup>. There were also some variations in the mode of expressing the second commandment, and some erasures in the exposition of it, tending to encourage the use, if not the worship of images<sup>3</sup>. But on several other points there was much real improvement, not only in the

<sup>1</sup> Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 868.

<sup>2</sup> See *Institution*, p. 100 ; *Necessary Doctrine*, p. 262 ; and the Six Articles, in a note above, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> See *Institution*, pp. 130. 134 ; *Nec. Doctr.* p. 299.



style, which was rendered more concise and perspicuous, but also in the matter. The practice of praying to saints was cleared of much superstition; penance was indeed allowed to remain on the list of sacraments, but more stress was laid on the inward sorrow of the heart, and less on the outward acts of confession and absolution; justification was treated more distinctly, as well as more copiously; and the difficult and controverted subjects of faith, freewill, and good works, were handled with great ability and success in three additional articles.

It has been asserted that the arrangement of this corrected Formulary was chiefly managed by Gardynery; and it has even found a place on some lists of his works<sup>z</sup>. But it is difficult to conceive that its luminous and precise language could have flowed from the same pen as the dark and confused sentences of Gardyners acknowledged tract, *The Explication*, &c; and perhaps there is more theological knowledge in it than could have been supplied by a prelate, who, great as were his talents, was in such matters not unjustly called by Cranmer an "ignorant lawyer." It is far more probable that large contributions to it were furnished by Hethe, Bishop of Rochester, a man undoubtedly of high attainments both as a scholar and divine. But the principal director seems to have been Cranmer himself<sup>a</sup>: he is named in the minutes of the proceedings in Convocation<sup>b</sup>, as a member of all the select committees appointed to examine

<sup>y</sup> *The Fathers of the English Church*, vol. iii. p. 75.

<sup>z</sup> Tanner, *Bibliotheca*, art. Gardiner. Chalmers, *Biogr. Dict.*

<sup>a</sup> He is said by Winchester to have added the three chapters on Free-will, Justification, and Good Works. *Winchester on the XVIIth Article*, p. 33. See also Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 77.

<sup>b</sup> Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 868. Three select committees are mentioned. Cranmer, Hethe, and Thirlby were on all these; Gardyners on two of them; Skyp and Salcot on one only. Respecting the Article on Freewill, it is merely said that the Archbishop delivered it to the Prolocutor of the Lower House to be read there, without any notice of the persons by whom it had been prepared.

its several divisions; and he is proved also to have been an efficient member, by the fact of his carrying some of the amendments which he had suggested three years before, even though they were opposed to those of Henry VIII<sup>c</sup>. His influence however was not paramount: Gardynere, it may be suspected, often thwarted, and sometimes, by the support of the King, defeated him<sup>d</sup>; and thus a Formulary was produced which was not altogether such as he could have desired.

And this must almost always be the case in deliberations of this nature. No single individual can expect to settle every point according to his own wishes. The same thing, as we know from his own words, had already happened to the Archbishop in the compilation of *The Institution*. He then acquiesced in what he confesses he “never well understood.” And he did so, because there was “no evil doctrine therein contained<sup>e</sup>.” And now also he was doubtless guided by the same motives. Though he assented to expositions, which if he had been acting alone, he would have expressed otherwise: he yet may be supposed, never to have surrendered what he held to be of vital importance, nor to have admitted what he considered a fundamental error. There is indeed every reason to believe, that upon the whole he thought the *Necessary Doctrine* a useful and seasonable publication. He gave it his support in Convocation; he took pains to uphold it in his diocese<sup>f</sup>; and in a draft of a letter prepared for the King in 1546, he made Henry refer to it as “his (the Archbishop’s) own books<sup>g</sup>.” Few men would give these public and decided marks of approbation to a work from which they in private dissented; and such refined dissimulation was wholly alien from the principles and practice of Cranmer. His principles, as he stated them in a letter to Queen Mary<sup>h</sup>, were “to show his sovereign

<sup>c</sup> See Vol. ii. p. 96. note.

<sup>e</sup> Vol. ii. p. 74.

<sup>g</sup> Vol. i. p. 322.

<sup>d</sup> See below, p. xlviii.

<sup>f</sup> Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 100.

<sup>h</sup> Vol. i. p. 363.

“ his mind in things appertaining to God ;” and if his representations failed, to submit patiently, “ thinking himself “ discharged.” For “ to private subjects,” as he wrote, “ it “ appertaineth not to reform things, but quietly to suffer “ that they cannot amend.” And his practice, as we learn from his conduct on the Act of the Six Articles, was in strict conformity to these principles. On that occasion he both “ uttered his mind” to the King, and spoke against the measure in Parliament. When it had passed, he, as in duty bound, obeyed the law as a subject, though he had opposed the bill as a legislator. But he did not, as in the case of the *Necessary Doctrine*, either exert himself to enforce it, or appeal to its authority : he on the contrary devised means almost immediately for preventing its rigorous execution<sup>i</sup>, and succeeded at no very distant period in procuring its partial repeal<sup>k</sup>.

The same influence which was employed against Cranmer in the compilation of the *Necessary Doctrine*, continued to impede his progress during the remainder of this reign. It did not however prevent him from carrying some measures of considerable importance. In 1544 the first step was taken towards the introduction of English into the public worship, by an order from Henry for the use of a Prayer of Procession or Litany, in “ our native tongue<sup>l</sup>,” differing but little from that which still forms a part of our service. Other prayers of the same description for festival days were also translated by Cranmer in pursuance of the King’s command<sup>m</sup>, but were probably never published. The principle however, that the people ought to follow the devotions of the priest, had been already admitted by the protec-

English  
Litany.  
1544.

<sup>i</sup> See Burnet, vol. i. p. 534 ; Collier, vol. ii. p. 201.

<sup>k</sup> It “ continued in his force,” as Cranmer himself informs us, (vol. ii. p. 212.) “ little above the space of one year :” but it was not wholly repealed till the first year of Edw. VI. Burnet, *Reformat.* vol. ii. p. 82.

<sup>l</sup> See Appendix, No. xxii. and Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 128.

<sup>m</sup> See Letter cclxiv.

tion given to the sale of Primers, in the Act<sup>n</sup> of 1543, *For the advancement of true religion*<sup>o</sup>; and it was still more fully established in 1545, by the appearance of one of these useful compendiums under the sanction of royal authority. For <sup>English Primer, 1545.</sup> Hen. VIII.'s Primer was much more than a collection of prayers for private use. Besides an English Litany, it contained also translations from the Matins, Vespers, and other parts of the Breviary; and thus supplied the means of joining in some portion at least of the public worship with the understanding as well as with the spirit. And this point of the congregation "knowing both what they pray and also with "what words," was much insisted on in the excellent preface<sup>p</sup> to it, which, though it runs in Henry's name, was probably prepared under the direction of Cranmer. The King there declares, that "the party that understandeth "not the pith and effectualness of the talk that he frankly "maketh with God, may be as an harp or pipe having a "sound, but not understanding the noise that itself hath "made;" and he proceeds to state, that he hath "given to "his subjects a determinate form of praying in their own "mother-tongue, to the intent that such as are ignorant of "any strange speech, may have what to pray in their own "acquainted and familiar language with fruit and understanding<sup>q</sup>."

But besides these improvements which were actually accomplished, others were designed. It was proposed, as we <sup>Farther Reformation designed by Henry VIII.</sup> learn from unquestionable authority<sup>r</sup>, to revise the service

<sup>n</sup> Stat. 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

<sup>o</sup> See also the King's patent to Grafton and Whitchurch for printing the Primer of Sarum Use both in Latin and English, in Ames, *Typogr. Antiq.* ed. Dibdin, vol. iii. p. 429.

<sup>p</sup> This Preface is quoted on the authority of Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 373. It does not occur in the reprint of the Primer, nor in any of the earlier copies which the editor has seen.

<sup>q</sup> See also *Necessary Doctrine*, p. 335.

<sup>r</sup> See Letters ccxvi. cclxvi.

books, to digest a new code of ecclesiastical law, and to abolish several superstitious customs which had hitherto kept their ground<sup>s</sup>. In all these plans Cranmer was doubtless a prime mover, and as they had been approved by the King, and were in a state of forwardness, there seemed to be a fair prospect of success. But they were frustrated for a time by the intrigues of Gardyner<sup>t</sup>. It was however only for a time; for the death of Henry VIII. and the accession of Edward VI. in January 1547, opened the way to their being resumed, and for the most part happily completed. And perhaps the issue might have been the same, if Henry's life had been prolonged. He is known to have been greatly displeased with Gardyner in 1546, and he about the same time declared in such strong terms his resolution to go forward in "the establishing of sincere religion," that "a man," as the Archbishop states, "would hardly have believed it<sup>u</sup>."

Extent of  
the Reform-  
ation un-  
der Hen.  
VIII.

But perhaps the progress which Henry had already made, is not always duly appreciated. It is not an uncommon notion, that his ideas of reformation were limited to the rejection of the papal supremacy for the sake of effecting his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and to the dissolution of the monasteries for the sake of enriching himself with their spoils. But writers who lived nearer his times, take a very different view of the matter. "What organ of "Christ's glory," asks Foxe<sup>x</sup>, "did more good in the

<sup>s</sup> The superstitions named, were the Vigil on All Hallows day, the covering of images in churches, the veiling of the cross, and the kneeling and creeping to it on Palm Sunday. Strype asserts that the King, though much attached to some of these, was brought off from them at length by the Archbishop's "seasonable inculcation." Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 136. See Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. pp. 847. 861. 863.

<sup>t</sup> Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 136.

<sup>u</sup> See Cranmer's remarkable conversation with his secretary Morice, in note (o) to Letter cclxvi; and the translator's Preface to the *Confutation of Unwritten Verities*, (Vol. iv. p. 164.)

<sup>x</sup> *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. p. 604. See also Letter cclxxi.

“ Church than he, . . . . in setting up the Bible in the church, in exploding the Pope with his vile pardons, in removing divers superstitious ceremonies, in bringing into order the inordinate orders of friars and sects, in putting chantry priests to their pensions, in permitting white meat in Lent, in destroying pilgrimage worship, in abrogating idle and superfluous holydays?” The good deeds here recounted are of very unequal merit, and some of them perhaps may excite a smile; but when combined, they must be allowed, both to have wrought a great change, and to have prepared the way for a still greater. For he not only shook off the yoke of Rome, but he broke the power of that “ papal militia,” as the religious orders have been called, which might otherwise have replaced it. While too he thus asserted the right of the National Church to reform itself, he laid down also the rule by which that reformation was to be conducted, namely, the written word of God. And he followed up this appeal to the Scriptures, “ as the only touchstone of true learning,” by encouraging their translation and general use. These surely were measures of sufficient importance to rescue him from the charge of effecting nothing. It may be admitted, that though he at one time favoured the circulation of the Bible, he at another restricted it\*, that he pressed his own interpreta-

\* “ We will, that such doctrine as we following the Scripture do profess, be rightly examined, discussed, and brought to the Scripture, as to the only touchstone of true learning. . . . . As there is no jot in Scripture but we will defend it, though it were with jeopardy of our life, and peril of this our realm: so is there nothing that doth oppress this doctrine or obscure it, but we will be at continual war therewith.” *Protestation against the Council of Vicenza*, in Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. p. 438.

† Notwithstanding these restrictions, many of the laity, as well as all the clergy, were still suffered both to study the Bible themselves and to explain it to others. And although no one was permitted to read or expound it publicly in the Church, without being duly empowered, it does not appear that the copies placed there for general perusal were removed. Upon the whole, though Hen. VIII. occa-

tions of it on his subjects to the violation of all liberty of conscience, that he retained doctrines and practices <sup>a</sup>, which could not stand the test that he had himself set up,—it may be admitted in short, that though he began, he did not perfect the Reformation: yet the value of his services may still be incalculable. For it was precisely one of those cases, where the beginning was at least half of the work; where it was not less laborious to clear the ground and lay a firm foundation, than to raise a goodly building thereon. It may indeed be doubted, whether the feeble efforts of a minor could ever have removed those formidable obstacles, which were not swept away without difficulty even by the mature and vigorous arm of Henry VIII.

1547. But however this may be, it will not be disputed, that his energy in freeing the kingdom from papal usurpation, materially lightened the task devolved on his successor. Yet Cranmer felt it to be still too heavy for the strength of a youthful sovereign. It is evident from the remarkable conversation already referred to, that he considered the exchange from the long established and absolute sway of Henry, to the new and unsettled authority of Edward, as a loss rather than a gain to the cause of reformation <sup>b</sup>. He may perhaps have been mistaken in this view: the flexibility of the son may in truth have been no less favourable

sionally wavered, for which some gross abuses may have given sufficient cause, Nic. Udal's statement is probably correct, that he was really anxious for "his people to be reduced to the sincerity of Christ's religion by knowing of God's word." See Strype, *Cranmer*, pp. 84, 85. 99; Stat. 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1; Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. pp. 811. 856, vol. iv. p. 1; Lewis, *Hist. of Translations, &c.*; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. p. 372; Preface to the *Necessary Doctrine*.

<sup>a</sup> It must not be forgotten, in estimating the progress which had been made, that the English Church under Hen. VIII, was more reformed in reality than in appearance; many doctrines and ceremonies being so interpreted and explained away, as to be given up in fact, though retained in name. See Preface to *Formularies of Faith*, Oxford, 1825.

<sup>b</sup> "It was better," said Cranmer to his secretary in 1547, "to at-

to the construction of a new system, than the obstinacy of the father to the demolition of the old one. But the inference is almost unavoidable, that the difficulties of his situation under Henry were less, and under Edward greater, than is usually supposed. And if we reflect on the youth of the King, on the struggles of ambitious nobles for power, and on the unremitting exertions of an able and active religious party to baffle him, it may well be imagined, that the position in which Cranmer stood was most embarrassing. To his wisdom and moderation under these critical circumstances, we are mainly indebted, as is well known, for our present Church establishment. In spite of all impediments, he succeeded in founding it on so firm a basis as to be proof against the persecutions of the following reign. He received, it is true, in this great undertaking, valuable assistance both from his own countrymen and from foreigners: but his was the presiding judgment which directed the whole; he was the master builder, to whom the symmetry and beauty of the structure are chiefly due. He may therefore to a certain extent be held responsible for whatever was done at this period for the reformation of the English Church. But of course it is not intended to enter into an examination of all the documents composed for this purpose under his superintendence. An inquiry so extensive would lead to little less than a complete ecclesiastical history of Edw. VI.'s reign. Such writings only will be noticed, as can be connected with his name by some positive evidence.

The first of this class which demands attention is his <sup>Speech at the Coronation of Edw. VI. 1547.</sup> <sup>c.</sup> Instead of the sermon usual on that occasion, the Archbishop is said to have delivered a short address to the young King, explaining concisely yet

“tempt such reformation in King Henry the Eighth his days than at this time, the King being in his infancy. For if the King’s father had set forth any thing for the reformation of abuses, who was he that durst gainsay it?” &c. Vol. i. p. 320.

<sup>c</sup> Vol. ii. p. 118.



clearly, the uses of the ceremony, and the duties incumbent on the sovereign; but at the same time declaring that though these might be neglected, neither he nor the Bishop of Rome had any commission to call him to account and to pronounce his deprivation. This Speech was first published in 1682, by Robert Ware, son of Sir James Ware, in the second part of *Foxes and Firebrands*, and has been copied from thence into the present Collection. With a view to authenticate it, inquiries have been made for the original manuscript, but unfortunately without success.

Homilies,  
1547.

The next production which comes under the above description is the first Book of Homilies. The whole of this work may undoubtedly be attributed to the counsels of Cranmer: but there are good grounds for believing, that he was himself the author of the three doctrinal discourses, on Salvation, Faith, and Works. These grounds being stated in a note to Vol. ii. p. 138, it may be sufficient to remark here, that some additional evidence in confirmation of the uniform tradition on the subject, is furnished by the Notes and Authorities on Justification<sup>d</sup>, now first printed from a manuscript at Lambeth. That these were collected by Cranmer may be inferred from their being in his handwriting, and that they were the materials from which the above-named Homilies, or at least that *Of Salvation*, was composed, will hardly be doubted by any one who will take the pains to compare them. The Notes consist of several brief propositions, each supported by numerous authorities from the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the Schoolmen. The propositions are exactly those which are most insisted on in the Homilies, and they are sometimes expressed nearly in the very same terms. Many also of the authorities appear in the finished work; but, as might be expected from its popular character, some that are cited at length in the manuscript, are there merely referred to, and others are omitted altogether.

Notes on  
Justifica-  
tion.

<sup>d</sup> Vol. ii. p. 121.

This plan of publishing practical discourses for the instruction of the people, had been already brought forward in the late reign. Gardyner, in one of his letters <sup>c</sup> to Protector Somerset against the new book, admits that “the Bishops in the Convocation holden A. D. 1542<sup>f</sup> agreed to “make certain Homilies for stay of such errors as were then “by ignorant preachers sparkled among the people;” and it appears from the minutes of that assembly, that some Homilies were actually composed by certain prelates, and presented to the House <sup>g</sup>. But they were probably superseded by the *Necessary Doctrine*; and thus the matter, as Gardyner says <sup>h</sup>, “took none effect then,” and for “five years “rested without any business, and the people well done “their duties, I trust to God in heaven, and I know well “to their Sovereign in earth <sup>i</sup>.” Notwithstanding this flattering account of the public morals, Cranmer thought them susceptible of still farther improvement, and revived the scheme of setting forth a book of Homilies. He may possibly in preparing it, have availed himself of those already written. If however this was the case, he also admitted additions, for he requested Gardyner to contribute to it. But here he met with a refusal. Nor was this all: that prelate also attacked the book with the utmost vehemence, and, as must be allowed, with great acuteness <sup>k</sup>. He

<sup>c</sup> Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. p. i. Several of Gardyner's letters, which were inserted in the first edition of Foxe, were omitted in the subsequent ones. They were however again printed, though not in their proper place, in the edition of 1641. See *Acts and Monuments*, 1641. vol. ii. p. 1.

<sup>f</sup> Gardyner perhaps gives the date according to the old style. If so, the vote for the composition of Homilies, and their presentation to the House, took place in the same Convocation: for they were presented on the 16th of Feb. 1543. Wilkins, *Concilia*.

<sup>g</sup> Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 863.

<sup>h</sup> Foxe, *ibid*.

<sup>i</sup> Letter from Gardyner to Cranmer in Strype, *Cranm.* App. No. 35.

<sup>k</sup> Gardyner's Letters in Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. p. 1; and Strype, *Cranm.* App. Nos. 35 and 36.

complained of its being at variance both with the *Paraphrase of Erasmus*, by which it was accompanied, and with the *Necessary Doctrine*, which had received the Archbishop's sanction in 1543. It is to be regretted that the answer to this attack has perished. As Strype observes<sup>1</sup>, "if the Archbishop's own arguments and replies to these barkings of Winchester could have been retrieved, they would have left to the world a full vindication of Cranmer and his doctrine." Some surmises however respecting them may be formed from the letters of Gardynere. From them it may be inferred, that Cranmer admitted on some points the contradiction between the *Necessary Doctrine* and the *Homilies*. He for instance could not but confess, that the hallowed bread, the palms, and the candles, which in the latter work are classed among papistical superstitions<sup>m</sup>, had, in the earlier Formulary, been declared to be "things good and laudable, and very expedient to excite and stir up men's devotion<sup>n</sup>." Nor does he seem to have rested his defence on a change of opinion in the interval. He appears rather to have reminded his adversary, that he had endeavoured in 1543 to procure the King's consent to a purer worship, but had been baffled by the intrigues of more influential advisers<sup>o</sup>.

But there were other parts of Gardynere's attack, which Cranmer may be presumed to have met in a different manner. When accused of teaching now, in contradiction to his

<sup>1</sup> Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 151.

<sup>m</sup> *Homily of Good Works*, (vol. ii. p. 176.) Strype, *Cranm.* App. p. 78.

<sup>n</sup> *Necessary Doctrine*. Exposition of the fourth commandment.

<sup>o</sup> "It grieveth me much to read written from your Grace in the beginning of your letters, how the King, our late sovereign, was seduced, and in that he knew by whom he was compassed in that I call the 'King's Majesty's Book.'" Gardynere to Cranmer, in Strype, *Cranmer*, App. p. 74. See also Gardynere to the Protector Somerset, in Foxe, *Acts, &c.* vol. ii. pp. 9. and 720.

former professions, that "faith excludeth charity from the  
 "office of justifying <sup>p</sup>," he does not seem to have admitted  
 the truth of the charge. For, as Gardynier himself relates,  
 he explained it to have been his intent "only to set out the  
 "freedom of God's mercy <sup>q</sup>," an explanation, apparently  
 designed both to disclaim the inference drawn from his  
 words, and to assert the agreement on this subject between  
 the *Necessary Doctrine* and the *Homilies*; since the former  
 work, no less explicitly than the latter, attributes our justifi-  
 cation to the "free mercy and grace of God <sup>r</sup>." It may  
 therefore be conjectured, that in his written vindication,  
 though he may not have denied even on this head some  
 minor differences, he yet maintained the general consistency  
 of the two treatises. And in essentials they may fairly be  
 said to agree. They both teach, that we are not "justified  
 "by our own acts, works, and deeds <sup>s</sup>," but by the merits  
 and precious bloodshedding of our Saviour Christ; that "by  
 "faith given us of God we embrace the promise of God's  
 "mercy and of the remission of our sins <sup>t</sup>;" and that this  
 justifying faith is not "alone in man without true repent-  
 "ance, hope, charity, dread, and the fear of God at any  
 "time or season <sup>u</sup>." And it was Cranmer's object to incul-  
 cate plainly and practically these fundamental truths, rather  
 than to enter upon what Burnet calls "the niceties which  
 "have since been so much inquired into about the instru-  
 "mentality of faith in justification <sup>x</sup>."

<sup>p</sup> Foxe, *Acts, &c.* vol. ii. p. 6. Strype, *Cranm.* App. p. 77.

<sup>q</sup> "My Lord of Canterbury told me his intent is only to set out the  
 "freedom of God's mercy." Gardynier to Protector Somerset, in Foxe,  
*Acts, &c.* vol. ii. p. 6.

<sup>r</sup> *Necessary Doctrine*, p. 368.

<sup>s</sup> *Homily of Salvation.* (Vol. ii. p. 139.) *Necessary Doctrine*, p. 368.

<sup>t</sup> *Homily of Salvation.* (Vol. ii. p. 147.) *Necessary Doctrine*, p. 365.

<sup>u</sup> *Homily of Salvation.* (Vol. ii. p. 143.) *Necessary Doctrine*, p. 368.

See also *Notes and Authorities on Justification*, (Vol. ii. p. 121, &c.)

<sup>x</sup> Burnet, *Reformat.* vol. i. p. 576.

The Book of Homilies was published in the summer of 1547. In the November of the same year full occupation was given to the Archbishop by the meeting both of the Parliament and the Convocation. His Speech <sup>y</sup> delivered in the latter assembly, respecting teaching religion to the people in the pure form in which it was established by Christ, and eradicating what still remained of popish corruption, is unfortunately lost. But neither here, nor in the House of Lords, were his exertions fruitless. In both places several important questions were agitated, "chiefly by his "motion and direction <sup>z</sup>." One of these was the celebration of the Mass. According to a design, which as Cranmer informed his secretary Morice <sup>a</sup>, had been entertained by the late King, it was now resolved to "change the Mass "into a Communion," that is, to substitute the general participation in the sacred elements by the people, for the solitary oblation of them by the priest. To give effect to this resolution, an Act of Parliament <sup>b</sup> was passed, providing punishment for contempt and reviling of the sacrament, and ordaining that it should in future be administered in both kinds, and to all who chose to receive it. It was also thought advisable for facilitating the execution of these enactments, that a New Order for the Lord's Supper should be framed; and a Commission was accordingly appointed for this purpose <sup>c</sup>.

Discussion  
on the  
Mass.

The opinions of the Commissioners appear to have been ascertained according to the method pursued in the late reign, by the circulation of Queries. The Answers to these by Boner and his adherents, provoked a fresh set of

<sup>y</sup> Archbishop Parker, *Antiq. Brit.* p. 507.

<sup>z</sup> Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 157.

<sup>a</sup> Foxe, *Acts, &c.* vol. ii. p. 586. See Vol. i. p. 321.

<sup>b</sup> Stat. 1. Edw. VI. cap. 1. Strype conjectures, that this Act was not only "procured," but "drawn up" by Cranmer. *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 61.

<sup>c</sup> Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 158.

Queries from Cranmer, and thus led to a curious though brief debate on paper between the opposing parties<sup>d</sup>. The chief points considered, were the benefit which the receiving of the sacrament by one man might confer on another; the nature of the sacrifice offered in the Mass; the propriety of its being celebrated by the priest alone; and the expediency of using in it "such speech as the people may understand." And the judgment of Cranmer was, that the act performed by one man was of no avail to any other; that there was no true sacrifice in the Mass, but only the "memory and representation" of a sacrifice; that private masses ought to be abolished; and that, except in "certain secret mysteries," whereof he doubted, "it was convenient to use the vulgar tongue." With regard to private Masses, Boner and his friends admitted them to be less desirable than general communion, and argued only, that in the absence of people to receive with the priest, they were "lawful and convenient." On the remaining points they differed from the Archbishop more widely. They were in particular very positive in maintaining, that "to have the whole Mass in English was neither expedient neither convenient<sup>e</sup>." Here, as has been seen, Cranmer also was not without his doubts, and was therefore perhaps not unwilling to concede so far to their objections, as to leave for the present the old Latin Office untouched, and to limit the change to the addition of an English Order for the Communion, according to which the priest, after receiving the sacrament himself, was to administer it to the people<sup>f</sup>. This Order, with a Royal Proclamation prefixed, Order for the Communion in English. 1548. was published on the 8th of March 1548, and was transmitted to the bishops on the 15th, together with a letter from the Council, attributed by Collier to the Archbishop<sup>g</sup>,

<sup>d</sup> Vol. ii. p. 178.<sup>e</sup> Vol. ii. p. 181.<sup>f</sup> Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 245. Sparrow, *Collection of Records*.<sup>g</sup> Collier, *ibid.* p. 246. See Appendix, N<sup>o</sup>. xxxii.

enjoining them to take measures to secure its general use at the ensuing Easter.

Edw. VI.'s  
First Ser-  
vice Book.

This partial improvement soon led to farther reformation. In the following September, "a number of the best learned men <sup>h</sup>" met at Windsor for the purpose of examining all the Offices of the Church. Such a measure was not altogether new. A review of the Service Books had been directed by Henry VIII <sup>i</sup>, and probably some progress had been made in the work: for in the first year of Edward, the Lower House of Convocation petitioned the Archbishop, that "the works of the bishops and others who had laboured in examining, reforming, and publishing the divine service, might be produced and laid before the House <sup>k</sup>." What was the extent of the alterations then projected, and whether or not it was contemplated to adopt the English language in the corrected ritual, does not appear. At present however, the divines who were assembled at Windsor, had no hesitation in determining that the worship of God should be conducted in the vernacular tongue <sup>l</sup>; and proceeding on this principle, they within a few months arranged that Form of Common Prayer which is usually known by the name of King Edw. VI.'s first Service Book <sup>m</sup>. It has always been believed, that the excellence of this compilation is in great

<sup>h</sup> See Letter ccxcix. p. 375.

<sup>i</sup> See above, p. xli, and Letters ccxvi. cclxvi.

<sup>k</sup> Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 155.

<sup>l</sup> "When I was in office, all that were esteemed learned in God's word agreed this to be a truth in God's word written, that the common prayer of the Church should be had in the common tongue. You know I have conferred with many, and I ensure you I never found man, so far as I do remember, neither old nor new, gospeller nor papist, of what judgment soever he was, in this thing to be of a contrary opinion." Ridley to West, in *Letters of the Martyrs*, fol. 42. See also Cranmer's Letter to Queen Mary. (Vol. i. p. 375.)

<sup>m</sup> It was printed by Edw. Whitchurch, in June 1549. The second Service Book appeared in 1552.

measure due to the piety and judgment of Cranmer. By his contemporary Bale indeed, it is placed, together with the Ordination Services published in the next year, upon the list of his works. But it could scarcely keep its position there, consisting, as it does, chiefly of translations from the older Liturgies, even if the Archbishop were known to have been the only individual employed on it. Still less can it do so, when we are aware that he was assisted by several Commissioners of acknowledged learning and talents. A somewhat less questionable claim may be advanced in favour of the Prefaces<sup>n</sup> to these two publications: since they may be supposed to be original compositions, and since the first words of them are actually quoted in Bale's catalogue. But these are merely quoted, according to Bale's usual practice, to identify the books mentioned: and they in fact no more prove Cranmer to have been the author of the Prefaces, than of the entire works in question. Although therefore they are sometimes classed among his writings, they have not been inserted in the present Collection.

It is not necessary here to enter into a detail of the objections made to Edw. VI.'s Liturgy, and of the revision which it received in consequence, previously to its republication in 1552<sup>o</sup>. But some notice is required of a story respecting it, current among the English exiles at Francfort in the reign of Mary. "Cranmer, Bishop of Canterbury," they were told, "had drawn up a Book of Prayer an hundred times more perfect; . . . yet the same could not take place, for that he was matched with such a wicked clergy and Convocation, with other enemies<sup>p</sup>." Strype does not seem to have had sufficient grounds for attributing this re-

<sup>n</sup> See Appendix, N<sup>o</sup>. xxxvi.

<sup>o</sup> Strype, *Cranmer*, pp. 266. 289.

<sup>p</sup> *A Discourse of the Troubles at Francfort*, in the *Phoenix*, vol. ii. p. 82.



port to Bullinger<sup>q</sup>, but he is fully justified in treating it as altogether unworthy of credit. The Archbishop's "authority," he says, "was now very great, so that there was undoubtedly great deference paid to it, as also to his wisdom and learning, by the rest of the divines appointed to that work: so that as nothing was by them inserted in the Liturgy, but by his good allowance and approbation, so neither would they reject or oppose what he thought fit should be put in or altered<sup>r</sup>." To this it may be added, that if Cranmer's project had been really laid aside to make way for one with which he was not thoroughly satisfied, he would scarcely have undertaken a short time afterwards to prove, "that not only the common prayers of the Church, the ministration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, but also all the doctrine and religion set forth by King Edward, was more pure and according to God's word than any other doctrine that hath been used in England these thousand years;" and again, "that the Order of the Church set out at this present by Act of Parliament is the same that was used in the Church fifteen hundred years passed<sup>s</sup>."

The reader perhaps will be disappointed at not finding in this Collection the treatise published in 1548, commonly called *Cranmer's Catechism*. It must be allowed to have a fair claim to this appellation, since it is represented in the title page to have been "set forth by the moost reverende father in God, Thomas, Archbyshop of Canterbury." Yet it certainly was not written by Cranmer, being taken for the most part from a Latin Catechism by Justus Jonas; and there are good grounds for believing that it was not even translated by him<sup>t</sup>. It cannot there-

<sup>q</sup> See Phœnix, vol. ii. p. 82.

<sup>r</sup> Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 266.

<sup>s</sup> *Declaration concerning the Mass*, (Vol. iv. p. 1.)

<sup>t</sup> See Preface to the Oxford edition, 1829, by Dr. Burton, (p. vi—viii.)

fore as a whole be considered entitled to a place among his works<sup>u</sup>. But there is more difficulty respecting some particular portions of it; for it is not in all points a mere version. Besides other variations, it contains a discourse of some length against the worshipping of images, and a short but eloquent exhortation to prayer; of neither of which is there the slightest vestige in the original. And of these, it may perhaps be thought, Cranmer was the author. Henry Wharton indeed, and Mr. Todd<sup>x</sup>, attribute them to the Archbishop without hesitation, and Dr. Burton, in his Preface to the Oxford reprint of the two Catechisms, leans to their opinion. Yet it seems fair to presume, that the additions were from the same hand as the translation, and this, as has been said, was probably not executed by the Archbishop. At all events they cannot be traced to him with any certainty, and therefore the only extract from *Cranmer's Catechism* inserted in the present Collection, is the prefatory Epistle addressed to Edward VI. This is undoubtedly genuine, and has accordingly received a place in the first volume, among the Letters<sup>y</sup>.

Here also may be noticed another publication of the same date, which has been too hastily attributed to Cranmer. This is a short tract on Unwritten Verities, printed anonymously in 1548, but supposed by Strype<sup>z</sup> to have been written by the Archbishop, and to have been published by him in Latin in the preceding year. Both these suppositions however are wholly unsupported by evidence: and

Confutation of Unwritten Verities.

to whose full account of the two Catechisms the reader is referred for farther information.

<sup>u</sup> There has been the less inducement to admit it, as it has been lately reprinted, together with the Latin original, at the Oxford University Press, in a uniform type with the present publication.

<sup>x</sup> *Life of Cranmer*, vol. ii. p. 532.

<sup>y</sup> Letter CCLXXI.

<sup>z</sup> Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 136.

the probability is, that Strype confounded this short tract with a larger book bearing a similar title, which was put forth in 1557 by an exile, designating himself by the initials E. P., and which professed to be a translation from the Latin of the Archbishop. But neither is this larger book free from all suspicion. Notwithstanding the statement in its title page, Bishop Tanner<sup>a</sup> has remarked, that though written, it seems never to have been printed in Latin: and it is indeed not unlikely, that it was compiled by E. P. out of some manuscript notes by the Archbishop, still preserved in the British Museum. It is at least certain, that the Preface and the Conclusion, together with some parts of the body of the work, must be ascribed entirely to the translator. However, as it contains much matter which was put together by Cranmer, though probably without any design of publication, it has been reprinted in Vol. iv<sup>b</sup>; where also will be found some further details respecting it. The other tract, being thought to be altogether spurious, has been placed in the Appendix<sup>c</sup>.

Marquis of  
Northamp-  
ton's Di-  
vorce.

About this same time, as if the last reign had not produced sufficient business of this nature, Cranmer was engaged in examining a new and important case of divorce<sup>d</sup>. It was indeed more truly a case of divorce than any that had been yet before him, being the first which turned upon the possibility of dissolving the nuptial tie: for in the three matrimonial causes of Henry VIII. it was held, that the nuptial tie had been never fastened, and that the marriages consequently were null and void *ab initio*. The plaintiff on the present occasion, was William Par, Marquis of

<sup>a</sup> The following is his remark: "*Confutations of Unwritten Verities, written against Rich. Smith's book, De veritatibus non scriptis; qui liber Latine scriptus, nunquam ut mihi quidem videtur, in ea lingua impressus fuit.*" Tanner, *Bibliotheca*.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. iv. p. 143.

<sup>c</sup> Appendix, N<sup>o</sup>. xxxv.

<sup>d</sup> Burnet, *Reformat.* vol. ii. p. 115.

Northampton, brother to the late King's widow. He had prosecuted a suit against his wife in the Ecclesiastical Courts for adultery, and had obtained a sentence in his favour: but it was disputed, whether this sentence amounted only to a simple separation *a mensa et toro*, or whether it implied also an absolute release *a vinculo matrimonii*, so as to enable him to contract a second marriage. The matter was referred to a board of delegates, consisting of Cranmer and nine others. The Archbishop, according to his usual practice, seems to have laboured to collect the best authorities on the subject. A considerable number of these are still preserved in the Lambeth Library<sup>c</sup>, partly in his own handwriting, partly in that of a secretary, together with a summary of the chief arguments<sup>f</sup> by which the two opinions might be respectively supported. The authorities were probably collected by himself. The arguments were perhaps supplied either by the advocates, or by some of the delegates who took opposite views of the question: for they were manifestly composed by two distinct and contending parties. The manuscript is closed by eight Queries on the subject, accompanied by Answers<sup>g</sup>. The means here afforded

<sup>c</sup> Lambeth Library, 1108.

<sup>f</sup> An abstract of these may be seen in Burnet, *Reformat.* vol. ii. p. 117. But the reader must be warned against an impression which may probably be left by Burnet's statement, that Cranmer was from the first in favour of the dissolubility of the marriage bond. The final decision indeed, was on this side, but his scattered notes and underlinings prove that he originally leant to the other.

<sup>g</sup> These Questions and Answers, which have been already printed by Burnet, are subjoined. The four first Queries are in the handwriting of Cranmer.

- " 1. Quid dirimit matrimonii vinculum?
- " 2. Quas ob causas dirimi poterit?
- " 3. An dirimi poterit conjugium a thoro, non a vinculo?
- " 4. Quibus casibus possit sic dirimi?
- " 5. An exceptio illa (*excepta fornicationis causa*) etiam in Lucæ,
- " Marci et Pauli locis, qui de his rebus tractant, est subaudienda?

of ascertaining Cranmer's sentiments, are not very abundant. From some short remarks however, which he has inserted in various parts of it, and from the passages underlined, to all appearance by his pen, it seems to have been his first impression to adhere to the opinion expressed by him some years before to Osiander<sup>h</sup>, that the marriage bond was indissoluble. But he must either have seen reason to change this impression, or the matter must have been determined by the majority of votes: for the delegates decided, that the conjugal knot was so completely rent asunder

" 6. An etiam uxor, repudiata propter adulterium, alii possit nubere ?

" 7. An redire ad priorem maritum repudiatæ adulteræ licent ?

" 8. An maritus, propter adulterium, ab uxore casta possit repudiari ?

" Ad primam respondemus ; Ipso adulterii facto matrimonii vinculum dirimi. Nam alioquin, ob solum adulterium non liceret viro uxorem repudiare : voluntas viri sollicitat iudices, iudices palam faciunt ecclesiæ, virum licite talem repudiare uxorem.

" Ad secundam resp. Quod ob solam causam stupri dirimitur matrimonii vinculum : cujus ipso quidem facto, conjugii dissolvitur nodus, et loquimur de his, qui sacrosancti matrimonii jus agnoscunt.

" Ad tertiam resp. Quod non ; quia *Mulier quamdiu vixerit, alligata est viro*, Rom. vii ; item, *Ne fraudetis vos invicem*, 1 Cor. vii ; item in eodem loco, *Uxori vir debitam benevolentiam reddat similiter, et uxor viro* ; item, *Vir non habet potestatem sui corporis, sed uxor : similiter nec uxor habet potestatem sui corporis, sed vir*.

" Ad quartam patet in responsione ad tertiam.

" Ad quintam respondemus ; Quod exceptio ista, viz. *nisi causa stupri*, est subaudienda in Luca, Marco et Paulo : alioquin in manifesta esset pugnantia inter Matthæum et eos.

" Ad sextam respond. Quod repudiata propter adulterium, quia uxor repudiantis desiit esse, ob idque libera est, sicut aliæ omnes post obitum virorum, potest alii nubere, æquo jure juxta illud Pauli, *Si non continent, contrahant matrimonium*, 1 Cor. vii.

" Ad septimam respond. Quod non licet repudiatæ adulteræ redire ad repudiantem, tanquam alligatæ ei jugi vinculo matrimonii.

" Ultima questio ad nos nihil." MSS. Lamb. Libr. 1108. fol. 180. 169.

<sup>h</sup> Letter cclx. p. 304.

by adultery, as to establish the lawfulness of another marriage. And the Marquis of Northampton was in consequence authorized to cohabit with a second wife, whom he had thought fit to marry pending the deliberations<sup>1</sup>.

No other production by Cranmer, dated in the year 1548, <sup>Articles of Visitation.</sup> now remains to be noticed, besides the Articles of Inquiry issued at his Visitation. These are the earliest *Articles of Inquiry* by him that have been discovered, though probably he had circulated many on former similar occasions. With regard to *Injunctions*, to which such *Articles* were usually preparatory, we are rather more fortunate. Besides those of Crumwell in 1536 and 1538, and of King Edward in 1547, (all of which are supposed, with reason, to have had the benefit of his assistance,) we possess others sent in his own name to the diocese of Hereford, during the vacancy of the see in 1538<sup>k</sup>. These however are very short, being apparently a mere supplement to the Injunctions already published under Royal authority, which they order to be observed with "all diligence and faithful obedience." The points chiefly insisted on in them, are the study of the Bible both by clergy and laity; the distinction between works commanded by God, and those which are done "of men's own will and devotion;" the restraint on the preaching of friars and other members of religious orders; the preparation for receiving the sacrament; and the importance of the bond of matrimony. The proceedings on his Visitation in 1548 have met with a different fate. Here the *Injunctions*<sup>1</sup> are lost, but the *Articles of Inquiry* are preserved.

<sup>1</sup> This second marriage was farther confirmed four years afterwards by an Act of Parliament, but was annulled in the reign of Mary. The bond of matrimony however, according to the decision of these delegates, was still held to be dissoluble by the Ecclesiastical Courts till 1602, when a contrary judgment was given by Bancroft in the case of Poljambe. 3 Salk. 138.

<sup>k</sup> Vol. ii. p. 19.

<sup>1</sup> *Injunctions* were certainly given by the Archbishop either at this

These are eighty-six in number, and enter with great minuteness into the conduct both of the clergy and the laity. A considerable proportion of them seem to have been framed for the purpose of ascertaining how far the King's Injunctions of the preceding year had been observed, and may be considered to point out those parts of them which were obeyed with the greatest reluctance. The new subjects of examination now introduced, have a different, though not less important use. They serve to mark the progress of reformation, both by reference to recent improvements, and by their notice of such abuses as in the former Visitation it had been thought fit to overlook. Questions, for instance, were asked respecting the performance of divine service at convenient hours, and the use of the new Communion Book : and various superstitious practices, untouched by the previous Injunctions, were inquired into with a view to their suppression.

Visitation  
of the  
Chapter of  
Canter-  
bury.

Another Visitation by Archbishop Cranmer, of which some memorials are extant, was held two years later, in September 1550. He then however visited, not his diocese, but the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury ; a body with which he had already been much connected, having taken an active part in remodelling it in 1540<sup>l</sup>, and having also interpreted a doubtful statute in 1546<sup>m</sup>. The Inquiries<sup>n</sup> of a collegiate were of course more limited in their character than those of a diocesan Visitation ; but they will be found to display the same anxiety to extirpate superstitious practices, to repress strife, idleness, and immorality, and to promote "true religion and useful learning." It may be

or some other diocesan Visitation shortly afterwards, as they are referred to in those which he delivered to the Chapter of Canterbury two years later. See Vol. ii. p. 200.

<sup>l</sup> See Letter ccliv.

<sup>m</sup> Letter cclxvii ; Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 88.

<sup>n</sup> Vol. ii. p. 196.

presumed, from the brevity of the Injunctions<sup>o</sup> which followed them, that the Chapter was on the whole in a satisfactory state of discipline. These relate chiefly to the observance of the Injunctions already devised either by the King or himself, to the regulations for preaching and for the administration of the communion, to the management of the grammar school, and to the restriction of the intercourse between the precinct of the Church and the city P.

The year 1549 called for the exertions of Cranmer on a <sup>Insurrec-</sup>very different field from that on which he had been hitherto <sup>tions. 1549.</sup> employed. Instead of maturing schemes of reformation, he was now obliged to write against rebellion; alarming insurrections having broken out in most parts of England. These seem to have originated partly in political and partly in religious feelings<sup>q</sup>. The gentry, particularly those who had shared in the spoils of the dissolved monasteries, were exceedingly unpopular. Their mode of managing their newly acquired property was contrasted, much to their disadvantage, with that of the ecclesiastics whom they had succeeded. They were accused of being more rigorous in the exaction of rents, and less liberal in the distribution of alms. And their general conduct, but especially their eagerness for the enclosure of commons, was said to betray a total disregard for the welfare of the poor, and a care for nothing but their own immediate profit and pleasure. The discontent arising from these causes was still farther aggravated by the recent innovations in religion. The ancient system, addressing itself to the senses, rather than to the understanding or the heart, and insisting more upon outward observances than inward holiness, was well calculated

<sup>o</sup> Vol. ii. p. 200.

<sup>P</sup> Both the Articles and the Injunctions of this Visitation are now first printed from manuscripts at the British Museum and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

<sup>q</sup> Holinshed, vol. iii. p. 1002. 1028; Foze, *Acts*, &c. vol. ii. p. 665; Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 185; *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 166.



to captivate a rude and ignorant people ; and without doubt possessed a strong hold on their affections. Hence there were large numbers of the lower orders, who were filled with horror and indignation, on finding the ceremonies to which they trusted for salvation, condemned by the government as idle and superstitious. It was not difficult for the ejected monks to kindle such angry feelings into open rebellion : and accordingly the peasantry rose in almost all directions for the redress, as they alleged, of their wrongs.

Insurrec-  
tion in De-  
vonshire.

Some of these risings were quickly put down : but others, that broke out in Devonshire and Norfolk, being more widely extended and better organized than the rest, assumed a very formidable character. These were distinguished from each other by the different nature of the alleged grievances. The rebels in the West clamoured chiefly for the restoration of the old religion : those of Norfolk for the amendment of the commonwealth<sup>r</sup>. The complaints of the former are preserved in two instruments successively presented to the King ; the first consisting of Eight<sup>s</sup> Articles,

<sup>r</sup> Though these were the general characteristics of the two insurrections, there were of course political malcontents in the Western camp, and religious ones in that of Norfolk. Foxe gives the following account of the divisions among the Devonshire rebels : “ At length, laying their “ traitorous heads together, they consulted upon certain articles to be “ sent up. But herein such diversity of heads and wits was amongst “ them, that for every kind of brain there was one manner of article ; “ so that there neither appeared any consent in their diversity, nor yet “ any constancy in their agreement. Some seemed more tolerable. “ Other altogether unreasonable. Some would have no justice. Some “ would have no state of gentlemen. The priests ever harped upon one “ string, to ring in the Bishop of Rome into England again, and to “ halloo home Cardinal Poole, their countryman. After much ado, and “ little to the purpose, at last a few sorry articles were agreed upon.” *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. p. 666. The preponderating influence of the priests is sufficiently manifest from the character of these Articles, which demand almost exclusively the redress of *religious* grievances.

<sup>s</sup> Holinshed calls them nine, Burnet eight, Strype seven ; but the Articles are in each case the same, being only differently arranged.

the second<sup>†</sup> of Fifteen. These documents, besides their importance in other respects, are valuable as an unquestionable authority for ascertaining, both what was most regretted in the abrogated Romish ritual, and what was most offensive in the system established in its stead. The points on which a return to the ancient practice was most earnestly pressed<sup>‡</sup>, were the private Latin mass; the worshipping of the host; the distribution of the sacrament at Easter alone to the laity, and then but in one kind; the administration of baptism on the week days, as well as on the holydays; the use of holy bread and holy water, of palms, ashes, images, and all other ancient ceremonies; and the praying for souls in purgatory. The innovations which occasioned the most bitter complaints, were the introduction of the new English Service, “because “it was but like a Christmas game;” and the circulation of the English Bible, because it would disable the clergy from “confounding the heretics.” Besides the redress of these evils, the rebels demanded also, that all the holy decrees of General Councils and of their forefathers should be observed; that Henry VIII.’s Act of the Six Articles should be again enforced; that half of the lands of the dissolved abbeys should be surrendered for the purpose of founding new establishments; that gentlemen should be limited in the number of their servants; that Cardinal Pole should be pardoned and admitted to the Privy Council; and that their local grievances should be arranged to the satisfaction of their representatives, Humphry Arundel, and Bray, the Mayor of Bodmin.

Such was the substance of the two addresses from Devon-

<sup>†</sup> Strype speaks of a *third* supplication sent to the King, to which an answer was made by the King’s learned counsel. But neither the supplication nor the answer appears to be extant; and perhaps the passage in Foxe, (vol. ii. p. 669.) from which Strype derived his information, may relate to the Fifteen Articles and Cranmer’s Reply.

<sup>‡</sup> Vol. ii. p. 202, &c.

Answer to  
the Devon-  
shire rebels.

shire. The first, of Eight Articles, was answered by a long message from Edward VI; in which, though he “descended “from his high majesty, and was content to send them instruction like a father, when of justice he might have sent “them destructions like a King;” he yet threatened, that if they did not “repent themselves, and take his mercy “without delay, he would forthwith extend his princely “power, and execute his sharp sword against them<sup>x</sup>.” It was however no easy matter to carry this threat into execution: for at the date of this message the rebels were in such force before Exeter, that it was very doubtful whether Lord Russel, who had been sent against them, would be able to save the city. The Fifteen Articles which formed their second remonstrance, received a full reply from Cranmer<sup>y</sup>. At the time when he wrote it, the aspect of affairs had undergone a great change. The insurgents had been partially, if not totally defeated, and the two leaders, whom they had nominated to negotiate for them, were prisoners, and in danger of their lives<sup>z</sup>. And it seems to have been his object to recall the dispersed fugitives to obedience, by convincing them that their complaints were frivolous, and by thus shaking their confidence in the popish priests by whom they had been misled. At all events his Answer was admirably suited for such a purpose. He exposed in it the ignorance and folly of their Articles with a force of reasoning and plainness of speech, which could scarcely fail to make them ashamed both of themselves and their advisers. He proved to them, that what they venerated as ancient ceremonies,

<sup>x</sup> Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. p. 666.

<sup>y</sup> Vol. ii. p. 202.

<sup>z</sup> This is clear from Cranmer's reply to their last Article. (Vol. ii. p. 244.) Yet Burnet (and he has been followed in his error by other writers) places the Fifteen Articles earlier in the rebellion than the Eight, and supposes that Cranmer's Answer induced the insurgents to moderate their demands. *Reformat.* vol. ii. p. 241.

had been invented in comparatively modern times ; and that what they condemned as modern innovation, was nothing more than a return to the primitive practice. And in some cases he pointed out, that the demands put into their mouths by their counsellors, had not even been so contrived as to be consistent with each other. It is difficult perhaps to conceive a more triumphant refutation. And this refutation, it will be recollected, comprised some of the leading characteristics of the old religion. No direct attack indeed was made on the peculiar doctrines of Rome, though some of their main defences were incidentally assailed with vigour. But the blow fell heavily on numerous practical observances, which had hitherto constituted great part of the devotion both of priests and people, and which were generally considered by them as absolutely necessary for obtaining the favour of God. That they were really viewed in this light, may fairly be inferred from their being brought forward so conspicuously to justify rebellion. Without doubt the rites and customs claimed by the Devonshire papists at the risk of their lives, were believed to be of essential service to their souls : and in describing the forms of worship which they desired to revive, they were giving an accurate representation of what religion had formerly been in this country, and what in their judgments it still ought to be. The picture they have drawn may not perhaps include every part of the subject, but, as far as it goes, it can scarcely fail of being a just resemblance. It may be said indeed, that being designed by an unskilful hand, it does not present a pleasing likeness. But the likeness, if not pleasing, may be faithful ; and, though the work of a coarse pencil, may be a more exact delineation of the prominent features, than would have been executed by a dexterous and experienced artist. At any rate, the portrait was sketched by a friend ; by one who could have no desire to expose deformities : and if therefore this has happened, it was be-

cause, with many of his contemporaries, he mistook them for beauties.

Insurrec-  
tion in  
Norfolk.

The Norfolk insurrection, though it broke out about the same time, differed much in character, as has been already stated, from that in Devonshire. In this instance the rebels were silent on religious, but loud on political grievances. Such matters, it might be supposed, fell less within the department of the Archbishop: yet he was called on for his assistance, being nominated, as Burnet relates<sup>a</sup>, to preach at Court on a fast-day appointed on account of the disturb-

Sermon on  
Rebellion.  
1549.

ances. The Sermon, said by the same author to have been then delivered, is still preserved, and has been now first printed<sup>b</sup> from a manuscript at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The mode in which it seems to have been composed, is sufficiently singular. The Archbishop took it in great measure from a Latin sermon by Peter Martyr, and this again appears to have been constructed on some rough notes by the Archbishop<sup>c</sup>. It is interesting, both because no other discourse preached by Cranmer is extant, and because it contains some curious particulars respecting the origin and progress of the prevailing discontent. In treating this subject, he mixed up some severe reproofs of the higher orders with his condemnation of the seditious populace. He argued on the one hand, with much force, against the sin of rebellion in general, and against "the sturdy beggars and ruffians" who were the prime movers in the present insurrection: he proved incontrovertibly, that to place power in the hands of the low and ignorant men who were clamouring for it, was a most mistaken method of effecting a reform. But on the other hand he did not deny, that some reform was necessary, that some bounds were re-

<sup>a</sup> *Hist. of Reformat.* vol. ii. p. 244.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. ii. p. 248.

<sup>c</sup> For some further details respecting this Sermon, see Vol. ii. p. 248, note.

quired to the grasping rapacity of the gentry, who “through  
 “covetousness of joining land to land and enclosures to en-  
 “losures, had wronged and oppressed a great multitude  
 “of the King’s faithful subjects.” There seems, from such  
 expressions as these, to have been much truth in the popular  
 cry, that the landowners who had enriched themselves with  
 ecclesiastical spoils, instead of pursuing a more liberal sys-  
 tem of management than their predecessors, were chiefly  
 intent upon extracting from their new possessions the largest  
 possible revenue.

The date at which we are now arrived, brings us to the consideration of Cranmer’s writings on the Eucharist; for in 1550 he published his *Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ*. The questions discussed in this work, have of late years been often treated as purely speculative, and therefore as deserving of little attention. But even if such a view of them be now correct, (which may well be doubted,) it certainly was not so at the period of the Reformation. The corrupt doctrines of the Church of Rome on the Eucharist were then by no means confined to mere theory. No single error perhaps gave rise to a greater number of superstitious practices<sup>d</sup>, or was more efficacious in upholding the domineering influence of the clergy, than that of transubstantiation. It led by easy steps to the belief, that the priest could make a Redeemer, could offer this Redeemer as a propitiatory sacrifice, and could distribute the benefits of this sacrifice to whomsoever he would, whether living or dead<sup>e</sup>. Such inferences, it is clear,

Contro-  
 versy on  
 the Eucha-  
 rist.

<sup>d</sup> See Vol. ii. p. 442.

<sup>e</sup> The following is the language of Bradford on this point: “It mak-  
 “eth the priest that sayeth mass, God’s fellow, and better than Christ,  
 “for the offerer is always better or equivalent to the thing offered. If  
 “therefore the priest take upon him there to offer up Christ, as they  
 “boldly affirm they do, then must he needs be better or equal with

were far from being wholly theoretical. For no honours could be too great for an order of men possessing such extraordinary powers, no price could be too high for securing their intercession. Hence was this tenet, notwithstanding its manifold difficulties, most obstinately defended by the Church of Rome: and hence too did Cranmer earnestly ask, in the Preface to his *Defence*, "what it availed to take away beads, pardons, pilgrimages, and such other like popery, so long as two chief roots remained unpulled up." These roots he explained to be, "the popish doctrines of transubstantiation . . . and of the sacrifice and oblation of Christ made by the priest for the salvation of the quick and the dead: which roots, if they be suffered to grow in the Lord's vineyard, they will overspread all the ground again with the old errors and superstitions <sup>f</sup>."

Reformers  
divided on  
this subject.

But it was not only from its bearings on the great controversy with the papists, that so much importance was attached to the question of the Eucharist. It also derived additional interest from the dissensions which it had unhappily caused among the Reformers themselves. They all indeed agreed in rejecting the Romish tenet of transubstantiation, with the various practical abuses that followed in its train: but Æcolampadius, Zuingle, and the Swiss divines

"Christ. Oh that they would show but one jot of the Scripture of God calling them to this dignity, or of their authority to offer up Christ for the quick and dead, and to apply the benefit and virtue of his death and passion to whom they will. Surely if this were true, as it is most false and blasphemous, prate they at their pleasure to the contrary, then it made no matter at all, whether Christ were our friend or no, if so be the mass-priest were our friend; for he can apply us Christ's merits by his mass, if he will, and when he will, and therefore we need little to care for Christ's friendship. They can make Him, when they will and where they will." *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 347. See also *Defence*, &c. (Vol. ii. pp. 287. 312. 336. 451, &c. 460, &c.)

<sup>f</sup> Vol. ii. p. 289.

rejected also the Corporal Presence of Christ in the consecrated elements; while Luther and his followers persisted in maintaining it. This dispute commenced on the continent in 1524, and was carried on there with much warmth: but it does not seem to have attracted much attention in England before 1533. It is known indeed that the English Reformers at an early date were divided on the subject; and in a country deeply impregnated with the doctrines of Wiclif, the views of Zuingle may be supposed to have found many partisans: but it is probable that they were extremely cautious in their language, contenting themselves with preaching, according to Tyndale's advice to Frith<sup>h</sup>, Caution of the English Sacramentaries.

<sup>h</sup> The deniers of the Corporal Presence were subdivided into those who held a Spiritual Presence with a participation in the benefits of Christ's death by the faithful receiver, and those who, asserting the Eucharist to be a bare commemorative rite, admitted no sort of Presence whatever. It is a question to which of these parties Zuingle belonged. Mosheim and his English translator rank him with the latter; (*Eccles. Hist. Cent. xvi. sect. i. §. 21. sect. iii. part ii. §. 10.*) Hospinian and Fueslin with the former. Hospinian appeals to the testimony of Peter Martyr. After an account of the success with which that reformer confuted the Romish and Lutheran tenets on this subject, he thus analyses the continuation of his argument: "Duabus his opinionibus prorsus confutatis, accedit ad tertiam, cujus auctores et patroni statuunt, symbola cum rebus per solam ac nudam significationem sic conjungi, ut præter signa inania nihil in Eucharistia reliquum faciant. Quam opinionem complures nostra ætate viri docti confunderent quidem, sed tamen impudenter Zuinglio tribuunt. Nam, ut in hac tractatione scribit Martyr, libri Zuinglii ab ipso editi, testes sunt locupletissimi, eum signa ponere in Eucharistiæ sacramento minime vacua, minimeque inania." Hospinian, *Hist. Sacr.* vol. ii. p. 210. (1602.) See also Peter Martyr, *Tractat. de Eucharist.* pp. 654. 659. (1562.) The following is the statement of Fueslin: "Ut nihil dissimulem, fuerunt Tiguri quidam eruditi, qui panem et vinum in S. Cæna commemorativa tantum signa mortis Christi esse contenderent. Zuingle contra, ne se a contraria sentientibus totum abalienaret, ad Spiritualem aliquam et Sacramentalem, ut vocavit, præsentiam corporis Christi, animæque manducationem in fide cogitationem transtulit." *Pref. Epist. Reformat. Helvet.* p. xv. Tiguri, 1742.

<sup>h</sup> "Of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, meddle as



“the right use” of the sacrament, and leaving the Presence as “an indifferent thing, till the matter might be reasoned in peace at leisure of both parties.” And they could pursue this line of conduct without any dereliction of principle, if like the above-named martyrs, they did not consider the case to involve any “necessary article of faith.”

Their persecution.

But the silence which they may themselves have wished to preserve, was not permitted by their Romish persecutors. The denial of the Corporal Presence was a heresy, at once so definite and so unpopular, that the adversaries of the New Learning left no means untried for its detection. It was in vain that the Sacramentaries<sup>k</sup>, as they were called, avoided all public discussion of the subject: evidence against them was sought for in private papers, intended only for the use of friends, and obtained by treachery. And although they had previously been unwilling to disclose their opinions, they did not, when they were thus discovered, shrink from avowing them. Such at least was the

“little as you can, that there appear no division among us. Barnes will be hot against you. . . . George Joy would have put forth a treatise on that matter, but I have stopped him as yet. . . . My mind is, that nothing be put forth till we hear how you have sped. I would have the right use preached, and the Presence to be an indifferent thing, till the matter might be reasoned in peace at leisure of both parties.” Tyndale to Frith, in Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. p. 369.

<sup>1</sup> The following is Frith's declaration: “I think many men wonder how I can die in this article, seeing that it is no necessary article of our faith; for I grant that neither part is an article necessary to be believed under pain of damnation. . . .

“The cause of my death is this; because I cannot in conscience abjure and swear, that our prelates' opinion of the Sacrament . . . is an undoubted article of the faith necessary to be believed under pain of damnation.” *Articles wherefore John Frith died*. Frith's Works, ed. Russell, vol. iii. p. 454.

<sup>k</sup> This name seems to have been applied to all who denied the Corporal Presence, whatever was the doctrine which they substituted for it.

conduct of one of their leaders, John Frith. He had been John Frith. "loth to take the matter in hand," and at last had only consented "to touch this terrible tragedy" at the "instant intercession of a Christian brother." But when his treatise was perfidiously communicated to the Lord Chancellor, Sir T. More, he firmly refused to retract a syllable, though, as he but too truly foresaw, "besides his painful imprisonment, "it purchased him most cruel death<sup>1</sup>."

The proceedings against this young but learned divine, His examination before Cranmer. afford the earliest information extant respecting the sentiments of Cranmer on the Eucharist. Though he was neither originally imprisoned, nor finally sentenced by the Archbishop, he underwent a long examination before him and other Commissioners at Croydon. He is related by Foxe to have shown himself on that occasion "passing ready "and ripe in answering all objections," and in particular to have appealed with great success to the authority of Augustine and other ancient Fathers. And the Archbishop is said by the same writer to have observed to Hethe, at the close of the examination, "This man hath wonderfully travailed in this matter, and yet in mine opinion he taketh "the doctors amiss<sup>m</sup>." But in the account of his appearance given by Cranmer himself<sup>n</sup>, he is not noticed in such favourable terms. He is there styled "one Fryth," and his opinion is described as being "so notably erroneous, that "they could not dispatch him, but were fain to leave him "to the determination of his Ordinary, the Bishop of London." His said opinion is then stated to have been "of such "nature that he thought it not necessary to be believed as "an article of our faith, that there is the very corporal "presence of Christ within the Host and sacrament of the

<sup>1</sup> See Frith's Preface to his *Answer to More's Letter*. Frith's Works, ed. Russell, vol. iii. p. 77.

<sup>m</sup> Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. iii. p. 991.

<sup>n</sup> Letter to Archdeacon Hawkyns, (vol. i. p. 32.)

“Altar, and holdeth on this point most after the opinion of “*Œcolampadius*.” It appears however from the same passage, that the Archbishop was sufficiently interested about him to “send for him three or four times to persuade him “to leave that his imagination; but for all that they could “do therein, he would not apply to any counsel.” The lamentable issue of his constancy was, that being delivered over by Stokesley to the secular magistrate as an obstinate heretic, he suffered in Smithfield on the 4th of July, 1533.

His death.

His death seems to have added fuel to the flames both of controversy and of persecution. His friends now laid aside the reserve which they had hitherto maintained, and followed up with spirit his dispute with Sir T. More. And on the other side exertions were not spared to suppress the circulation of his heretical tenets by the strong arm of power. The favour shown by Henry VIII. to some of the new opinions was in no degree extended to the denial of the Corporal Presence. The Sacramentaries were classed with the Anabaptists, and treated with the same severity. The Archbishop was often compelled by his station to be a party to these proceedings°, and must therefore have been present at many of the theological discussions which were oc-

° It may be abundantly proved that Cranmer, though not sufficiently in advance of his times to give up the principle of persecution, was yet continually exerting himself to mitigate its rigour. He usually endeavoured to reason the prisoners into a recantation of their obnoxious tenets, or at least into such an explanation of them as might screen them from punishment; and it is said, that sometimes, in despair of saving their lives by other means, he secretly furthered their escape. See Vol. i. p. 251; and Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. iii. p. 989, &c. vol. ii. p. 558. We need not be surprised that he was driven to such expedients, since James V, King of Scotland, about this time, was unable to save one near relation from death, and another from exile, when charged with heresy, and could only avert the danger from his aunt by persuading her to recant. See Vol. i. p. 166; and Foxe, *Acts*, &c. vol. ii. p. 238.

casioned by them. In one instance, that of Lambert, he <sup>Lambert.</sup> was commanded to bear a part in a public disputation in Westminster Hall, where Henry presided in person. Little information however can be collected from thence respecting his opinions: for he did not enter into the general question, contenting himself with an attempt to establish the possibility of Christ's body being in many places at once. In this attempt he succeeded so ill, and became so much "entangled," that Gardyner thought fit to interrupt the order of debate, and take the argument on himself <sup>P.</sup> A similar embarrassment occurred to him at another examination in 1541. One Barber, Master of Arts of the Univer- <sup>Barber.</sup> sity of Oxford, "was so stout," as Foxe relates, "in the cause of the sacrament, and so learnedly defended himself therein, that . . . neither Cranmer himself, nor all they that were with him, could well answer to his allegations out of Augustine: wherein he was so prompt and ripe of himself, that the Archbishop, with the residue of his company, were brought in great admiration of him <sup>q.</sup>"

A question which was thus continually giving rise to charges of heresy, and which was agitated between Lutheran and Sacramentary with as much heat as between Romanist and Reformer, would have forced itself on the attention of an Archbishop less inquisitive and less industrious than Cranmer. It may therefore be imagined to have been most carefully studied, by one who was so anxious to discover the truth, and so indefatigable in searching for it. And some remains of the investigation which we may conceive him to have pursued about this period, still exist in his manuscript Collections in the British Museum. In these Collections, consisting of a vast number of quotations

*Cranmer's  
Collection  
of Authori-  
ties on the  
Eucharist.*

<sup>P</sup> Cranmer's part in this disputation will be found, Vol. iv. p. 95. A full account of the whole may be seen in Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. p. 426, &c. It took place in 1538.

<sup>q</sup> Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. p. 537.

Hisopin-  
ions re-  
specting the  
Eucharist.

on various theological subjects, the Extracts on the Eucharist occupy a very considerable space. They are taken not only from the works of the Fathers and other ancient authors, but also from the recent controversial writings of the Lutherans and Zuinglians: and it may be inferred from some short marginal notes, and from the passages underlined, that when<sup>q</sup> he extracted them, he was a believer in the Corporal Presence at least, if not in Transubstantiation. It is precisely such a body of authorities, as he may be fancied to have just completed, when he declared to Vadianus, that he had seen nearly every thing which had been published either by Zuingle or Œcolampadius, and that notwithstanding, he still held the ancient and catholic faith respecting the true presence of Christ's body in the sacrament<sup>r</sup>.

Probably at  
one time  
Lutheran.

It is perhaps the most obvious inference both from his Collection of Authorities and his Letter to Vadianus, that Cranmer, at this time, held the received doctrine of Transubstantiation in its full extent: and this point must be admitted to be clearly established, if he really uttered the words ascribed to him at his Examination before Brokes in 1555. But, as is shown elsewhere<sup>s</sup>, the report of that Examination is of very doubtful credit; and there are strong reasons for believing, that for some portion at least of Henry VIII.'s reign his tenets on the Eucharist were Lutheran. It is difficult to explain on any other supposition<sup>t</sup> the expressions of a Letter to Crumwell, dated the 15th of August 1538, little more than a month after Lambert's death. In this Letter, after stating that Adam Damply, who was charged with being a Sacramentary, declared in his defence,

<sup>q</sup> One of the citations is from a work published by Sir John Cheke in 1543; but most of them were probably collected at an earlier date.

<sup>r</sup> Letter clxxxvii.

<sup>s</sup> See *Examination before Brokes*, Vol. iv. p. 87. note (h) p. 88. note (i) p. 98. p. 99. note (a).

<sup>t</sup> See a notice of Mr. Todd's explanation, Vol. i. p. 257.

that he had ever confessed the very body and blood of Christ to be present in the Sacrament of the Altar, and had only "confuted the opinion of the transubstantiation," Cranmer adds the remark, "and therein I think he taught but the truth." This surely is the language of one who, though still a believer in the Corporal Presence, had given up the monstrous doctrine of Transubstantiation. And that he did not attain the truth at once, but by successive steps, he himself declared in his *Answer to Smythe's Preface*. "I confess of myself," he there says, "that not long before I wrote the said Catechism, I was in that error of the Real Presence, as I was many years past in divers other errors, as of 'Transubstantiation, of the sacrifice propitiatory of the priests in the Mass', &c. . . . But after it had pleased God to show unto me by his holy word a more perfect knowledge of his Son Jesus Christ, from time to time as I grew in knowledge of him, by little and little I put away my former ignorance. And as God of his mercy gave me light, so through his grace I opened mine eyes to receive it, and did not wilfully repugn unto God and remain in darkness." It may be observed also, that in the negotiations carried on with the Lutherans under his direction in 1535<sup>u</sup> and 1538, there appears to have been little difficulty in coming to an agreement on this head. And it is a remarkable fact, that the several Formularies of Faith to which he was a party under Henry VIII, while they maintain most unequivocally the Corporal Presence, yet all fall short of any explicit assertion of Transubstantiation. Even the *Necessary Doctrine*, which is justly considered to be the most favourable to the Church of Rome, though it teaches that the bread and wine "do not remain in their own substance, but by virtue of Christ's word in

<sup>v</sup> Vol. iii. p. 13.

<sup>u</sup> See above, p. xxi; and Seckendorf, *Comment. de Lutheran.* lib. iii.

§. xxxix. Add.

“ the consecration, be changed and turned to the very substance of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ <sup>x</sup> ;” yet does not go the full length of pronouncing, that “ after the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance but the substance of Christ.” And yet these are the terms, by which it has been thought necessary to guard the Romish tenet from misinterpretation, and in which it had been expressed four years before in the noted Act of the Six Articles<sup>y</sup>. Their omission therefore in the present instance could not have been caused by a want of due attention to precision of language: it must rather be attributed to the opposition of Cranmer, and this opposition may be presumed to have arisen from his having embraced the Lutheran view of the question, and from his being consequently anxious for the article to be so drawn up as not to contradict it.

Cranmer's  
surrender  
of the  
Lutheran  
tenets.

Upon the whole then, notwithstanding the objections of some well informed modern writers<sup>z</sup>, we may perhaps safely adhere to the conclusion of our older historians<sup>a</sup>, that Cranmer's first change on the Eucharist was from the tenets of Rome to those of Luther. The next point to be ascertained, is his final transition to the doctrines of the Church of England. This was effected chiefly by Ridley: who having been convinced by reading the treatise of Bertram, that there was no such uninterrupted tradition on this head as had been pretended, communicated his convictions to Cranmer. “ He did confer with me,” the Archbishop is reported to have said, “ and by sundry persuasions and authorities of doctors drew me quite from my opinion<sup>b</sup>.” The precise date of this conversion is stated in the Preface

<sup>x</sup> *Formularies of Faith*, p. 263. Oxford, 1825.

<sup>y</sup> See above, p. xxv; and Vol. ii. p. 308.

<sup>z</sup> Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biogr.* vol. iii. p. 550; Todd, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 265.

<sup>a</sup> Foxe, Burnet, Strype.

<sup>b</sup> *Examination before Brokes*, Vol. iv. p. 97.

to the Embden edition of the *Defence* <sup>c</sup>, to have been 1546, the last year of Henry VIII.'s reign. But perhaps this was the time, when Ridley began to "confer" with him, and not that at which he brought his conferences to a successful termination. For the Archbishop was slow and cautious in adopting new opinions: and with such a habit of mind in general, it was particularly improbable, that he would relinquish views embraced deliberately and after much study, without entering afresh with scrupulous care into the whole question. And perhaps it may be said that some traces of this fresh examination still exist. Besides the Collection of citations already mentioned, as preserved in the British Museum, another is extant at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, which may be supposed to have been compiled about this time <sup>d</sup>. Like the former, it contains several short notes <sup>e</sup>, but these instead of being, as before,

<sup>c</sup> The author of this Preface, who is supposed to have been Sir John Cheke, wrote thus: "Ne quis autem putet hunc sanctum Dei martyrem ad asserendam hanc de cœna Dominica explicationem . . . . . vel temere vel factiose descendisse, neutiquam id te latere velim, pie lector, hunc virum post multam Scripturarum pervestigationem, ex unius beati martyris Ridley Episcopi London. institutione, sero tandem (nimirum anno 46.) in eam quam hic tuetur sententiam adductum esse. Non mirum igitur cuiquam videri debet, si vir ille post multam cum doctissimis quibusque viris habitam concertationem, post diligentem Scripturarum omnium collationem, et veterum scriptorum excussam sententiam, hunc libellum primo conscriptum evulgavit, deinde et in carcere recognovit, et sanguinis etiam profusione ad postremum confirmare voluit." Preface to *Defence*, &c. Embden, 1557.

<sup>d</sup> "There is a thin note-book," says Strype, "of this Archbishop's, with this title, wrote by his own hand, *De re Sacramentaria*; which I verily believe are his meditations and conclusions, when he set himself accurately to examine the sacramental controversy, and fell off from the opinion of the carnal presence." Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 262.

<sup>e</sup> Some of these Notes with a farther account of the Collection, will be found, Vol. ii. p. 291. It is right to add that the quotations contained in it are not in Cranmer's handwriting. His pen can be traced only in the heads under which they are arranged, and in some short



favourable to the Corporal Presence, are decidedly adverse to it. It is indeed just such a manuscript, as might have served the double purpose of enabling him to verify the statements of Ridley, and of supplying him a few years later with materials for the composition of his *Defence*. His own expressions<sup>f</sup> relative to the date of the change are not decisive; but perhaps they agree best with the supposition, that after being shaken by Ridley, he took some time

remarks. But Strype apparently entertained no doubt of their being the fruits of the Archbishop's own industry; and nothing indeed can be more probable, than that he noted the authorities himself, though he employed a secretary to copy them.

The description given by Peter Martyr of a digest seen by him, in which Cranmer had arranged the authorities on the question under various heads, will apply to either of the abovenamed Collections. The description is contained in Martyr's Epistle dedicatory to Cranmer, prefixed to his *Tractatio de Eucharistia* in 1549, and is as follows. "Controversiæ hujus tantam perniciem habere Tuam Celsitudinem certo scio, quantam in ullo alio difficile quis reperiatur. Nullus profecto est ex patribus, quem non diligentissime observaris. Neque veterum aut recentiorum libri ulli extant, in quibus ego hisce oculis non viderim tua ipsius manu adnotatum, quicquid ad universam hanc disputationem pertinet. Concilia, Pontificum decreta quæ huc spectant, ipse tanto labore, quoad hanc tractationem, in præcipua capita digessisti, ut hæc nisi testis oculatus deprehendissem, nunquam aliis narrantibus facile fuisset crediturus. Neque hujus generis operam, studium, laboremque solum in hoc Eucharistico negotio impendisti, verum idem quoque abs te factum observavi, quoad omnia fere alia dogmata, quæ nostra hac ætate maxime sunt in controversia. Quam obrem non opus fuit ut meum hunc libellum eo consilio tibi exhiberem, ut ex eo aliquid novi cognosceres (cum ego potius majorem doctrinæ partem ex tuis laboribus hauserim) sed tantum ob id ad Tuam Celsitudinem hoc meum scriptum destinavi, quo tua censura (cum jure et merito sis Primas totius Angliæ) de illo statueres, notaresque in eo quicquid a recto et orthodoxo sensu visum fuerit dissentire." Peter Martyr, *Tract. de Eucharist.* Epist. Nuncupat. See also Vol. iii. p. 13. and Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 257.

<sup>f</sup> "Not long before I wrote the said Catechism," he says, "I was in that error of the Real Presence." See above, p. lxxv. "The said Catechism" was published in 1548. See Preface to the Oxford reprint 1829.

for a reconsideration of the matter, before he finally abandoned his old belief.

If however the revolution in Cranmer's sentiments was not only commenced, but completed in 1546, a considerable interval elapsed, before it became generally known. At the beginning of Edw. VI.'s reign, the prevailing impression seems to have been, that he was a Lutheran in his tenets on the Eucharist: and this impression was undoubtedly strengthened by his publishing in 1548 a translation of Justus Jonas's Catechism. The Latin original was confessedly the work of a Lutheran: the circulation therefore of an English version for popular instruction under the Archbishop's sanction, was naturally considered by the Sacramentaries to be a decided declaration against them. Cranmer indeed disclaimed this inference, maintaining that the language of the Catechism was to be understood spiritually: and it is remarkable that many of the strong expressions of the original were studiously softened in the translation<sup>h</sup>, for the sake, as it appears, of admitting such a sense. He might perhaps, like Bucer, have entertained the vain hope of so stating the doctrine as to satisfy both parties. Yet, notwithstanding these alterations, so much countenance was still given to the Corporal Presence, that the offence taken by those who altogether denied it, cannot be esteemed unreasonable. Shortly afterwards however his opinions seem to have transpired, in consequence perhaps of the explanations which the objections to his Catechism drew from him. A Swiss Reformer, resident at Oxford, informed Bullinger in November 1548, that Cranmer had been brought to sounder views of the Lord's Supper by John a Lasco<sup>i</sup>; and in March 1549, he announced, that

<sup>g</sup> See *Defence*, (Vol. ii. p. 440.) and *Answers* to Smythe and Gardyuer, (Vol. iii. pp. 13. 297. 344.)

<sup>h</sup> See Vol. iv. p. 95. note (r).

<sup>i</sup> John a Lasco in a letter to Albert Hardenberg in 1546, expressed

Cranmer followed the sentiments of Peter Martyr on this sacrament<sup>k</sup>. A few months later it might be supposed that every remaining doubt was dispelled by the appearance of Peter Martyr's *Disputation* and *Treatise* on the Eucharist. For they both flatly deny the Corporal Presence; and as one was published at the request of Cranmer<sup>l</sup>, and the other was introduced by a long dedication to

himself thus on the Eucharist. "Ego tanti non facio dissidium hoc de elementis Sacramentorum, posteaquam de mysteriis convenit, ut propter elementa scindi velim societatem et charitatem Christianam; Mysterium porro omnium summum in cœna esse puto, communionem corporis et sanguinis Christi; In hoc vero nullum usque dissidium video. Omnes enim ingenue fatemur, nos in cœna, vero Christi corpori et sanguini, vere etiam communicare, quicumque verbo illius credimus. Quod jam attinet, quo modo id fiat, anxie et curiose disquirere, atque hoc nomine turbas in Ecclesia non necessarias excitare, quam aliqui satis affligi et perturbari ab hostibus nostris videmus? Excitent eas qui volent, me illarum socium non habebunt." Letters of John a Lasco in Gerdes, *Scriv. Antiq.* tom. ii. p. 629. This passage, both in doctrine and in moderation, is such as Cranmer himself might have written.

<sup>k</sup> These particulars are taken from a manuscript catalogue of the letters preserved at Zurich relating to the English Reformation, which has been lately compiled by Mr. Salomon Hess, and which is now in the possession of the Delegates of the University Press at Oxford. The following are extracts from it.

"1548. Burcherus Bullingero, 29 Oct. Catechism. jussu Cranmeri in Anglicum versus, Lutheranzæ opinioni de Cœna favens, multas dat turbas."

"Jo. ab Ulmis ad Bullingerum, 27 Nov. Cranmerus a Jo. a Lasco ad sanio rem de Cœna sentent: est adductus."

"1549. Jo. ab Ulmis Bullingero, 2. Mart. Cranmerus in Cœna Martiris sententiam sequitur."

"1550. Hoperus Bullingero, 29 Jun. Cantuariensis multum Lutheranismi remisit."

John ab Ulmis, it may be observed, is a competent witness respecting the time when the change in Cranmer's opinions became known, though he was mistaken with regard to the person by whom it was effected.

<sup>l</sup> See the Preface to the *Disputation*; and Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. pp. 205. 208.

him, it was obvious to conclude, that he did not disapprove of their contents. Yet Hoper, so late as June 1550, thought it a piece of information worth communicating to his friends in Swisserland, that Cranmer had given up much of his Lutheranism.

At the time when this news was forwarded, the Arch-bishop had not only "given up much of his Lutheranism," Publication of the Defence, &c. but in all probability had already written his total renunciation of it. For it was in this very year that he printed his *Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ*. There could now be no longer any dispute respecting his real sentiments; the exposition of them contained in this work being very clear and explicit. His chief object indeed, as he declared in his Preface<sup>m</sup>, was "to pluck up the weeds," Plan of the Work. that had been sown in the Lord's vineyard by the papists, but he failed not at the same time to point out the characteristics of the genuine plants which they had overgrown. And there was a large class of persons, for whom such information was most needful; who from disgust at the superstitious corruptions of the Eucharist, had passed into the opposite extreme of utterly "despising it as a thing of small "or of none effect." He therefore, at the very commencement, endeavoured to set forth "plainly and sincerely," Statement of the true doctrine. what in his judgment was the true nature and use of the Lord's Supper; "to the intent that it might hereafter neither of "the one party be contemned or lightly esteemed, nor of "the other party be abused to any other purpose than "Christ himself did first ordain and appoint the same<sup>n</sup>." For a foundation he rested on the sure word of God. He began with reciting the several passages of Scripture which relate to this sacrament; and then proceeded, first to state briefly what must of necessity be deduced from these texts

<sup>m</sup> Vol. ii. p. 289.

<sup>n</sup> Vol. ii. p. 292.

concerning its meaning and institution, and secondly, “some-  
 “ what more at large to declare the same, according to the  
 “ mind as well of holy Scripture as of old ancient authors.”  
 The propositions which he deduced of necessity from Holy  
 Writ, were on the one hand, “ that the cup is a communion  
 “ of Christ’s blood that was shed for us, and the bread is a  
 “ communion of his flesh that was crucified for us : so that  
 “ although in the truth of his human nature Christ be in  
 “ heaven and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father ;  
 “ yet whosoever eateth of that bread in the Supper of the  
 “ Lord, according to Christ’s institution and ordinance, is  
 “ assured of Christ’s own promise and testament, that he is  
 “ a member of his body, and receiveth the benefits of his  
 “ passion which he suffered for us on the cross<sup>o</sup>.” and on  
 the other, “ that although none eateth the body of Christ  
 “ and drinketh his blood, but they have eternal life, yet  
 “ both the good and the bad do eat and drink the bread  
 “ and wine, which be the sacraments of the same : but be-  
 “ side the sacraments, the good eateth everlasting life, the  
 “ evil everlasting death P.”

After thus laying down “ the sum of all that Scripture  
 “ speaketh” on the subject, he, for the more perfect ex-  
 planation of it, described the fallen condition of man, and  
 the means employed for his restoration. He enlarged on  
 the spiritual generation and the spiritual nourishment of  
 the soul by our Saviour Christ ; and on the institution of  
 the two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord’s Supper, for  
 the purpose of enabling us “ the more clearly to see, un-  
 “ derstand, and believe these things<sup>q</sup>.” “ For this cause,”  
 he wrote, “ Christ ordained baptism in water, that as  
 “ surely as we see, feel, and touch water with our bodies,  
 “ and be washed with water, so assuredly ought we to be-  
 “ lieve, when we be baptized, that Christ is verily present

<sup>o</sup> Vol. ii. p. 295.

<sup>p</sup> Vol. ii. p. 296.

<sup>q</sup> Vol. ii. p. 302.

“with us, and that by Him we be newly born again spiritually, and washed from our sins.” And in like manner He “ordained the sacrament of his body and blood in bread and wine, . . . to the intent that as surely as we see the bread and wine with our eyes, smell them with our noses, touch them with our hands, and taste them with our mouths; so assuredly ought we to believe that Christ is our spiritual life and sustenance of our souls, like as the said bread and wine is the food and sustenance of our bodies.” There is little either in these extracts or in Cranmer’s other expressions respecting our feeding upon Christ, which could be understood carnally<sup>r</sup>: yet he did not conclude without a special admonition, “that this spiritual meat of Christ’s body and blood is not received in the mouth and digested in the stomach, as corporal meats and drinks commonly be, but it is received with a pure heart and a sincere faith<sup>t</sup>.”

Having thus completed such an exposition of the Eucharist, as might “suffice for all that were humble and godly, and sought nothing that is superfluous<sup>u</sup>,” he in the next place enumerated the principal errors of the papists: These he stated to be four: Transubstantiation, the Corporal

Refutation  
of Romish  
errors.

<sup>r</sup> Vol. ii. p. 303.

<sup>s</sup> He seems nevertheless to have been misunderstood; for he thought fit to give the following additional explanation of such language in the Preface of his *Answer to Gardyner*. “When I say and repeat many times in my book, that the body of Christ is present in them that worthily receive the sacrament, lest any man should mistake my words, and think that I mean, that although Christ be not corporally in the outward visible signs, yet he is corporally in the persons that duly receive them, this is to advertise the reader, that I mean no such thing; but my meaning is, that the force, the grace, the virtue, and benefit of Christ’s body that was crucified for us, and of his blood that was shed for us, be really and effectually present with all them that duly receive the sacraments. But all this I understand of his spiritual presence,” &c. Vol. iii. p. 29.

<sup>t</sup> Vol. ii. p. 306.

<sup>u</sup> Vol. ii. p. 308.

Presence, the Eating and Drinking of Christ by the Wicked, and the Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Mass; and he devoted the remainder of his treatise to the separate examination and refutation of each. Thus the work naturally divided itself into five books; one, in which he unfolded the true doctrine, and four, in which he exposed the Romish corruptions of it.

The method pursued in the latter branch of his undertaking, was first to state the grounds of his own decision, and then to answer the arguments and authorities commonly adduced on the other side. It might have been expected, that this plan would lead to frequent mention of the disputants who had preceded him in the controversy. Yet he but seldom refers directly to individuals, contenting himself for the most part with giving an abstract of the reasonings which seemed to be in the greatest repute. Having however, as has been already related, studied with great care not only the ancient authors, but also the best modern publications on the question, he doubtless on the one hand pointed his attack against some particular works of the papists, and on the other derived valuable assistance from the labours of the Sacramentaries. Among the former, it may be presumed, he was especially desirous of confuting the learned Latin Answer of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, to Œcolampadius, and the more recent English treatises of Gardyners and Smythe\*. And among the latter, he is said to have been deeply indebted to the writings of one whom he had formerly treated as a misguided heretic, the martyr Frith. According indeed to Burnet †, he himself “ac-

Fisher.

Gardyners.  
Smythe.

Frith.

\* See Vol. ii. pp. 339. 376. 440.

† *Hist. of Reformat.* vol. i. p. 339. The following is Foxe's statement. “I think it not much necessary to repeat all his [i. e. Frith's] reasons and arguments, or the testimonies which he had gathered out of the doctors: specially forasmuch as the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer, in his Apology against the Bishop of Winchester, seemed to have collected them abundantly, gathering the principal and chiefest

“ knowledgeable, when he wrote his apology against Gardiner, “ that he had received great light from Frith’s book, and “ drew most of his arguments out of it :” and it is intimated by the same historian, that the “ book” from which he thus borrowed, was then unpublished. But this is certainly a mistake, for it had already passed through four editions <sup>2</sup>; and probably most persons who will be at the pains of examining it, will think that Cranmer’s obligations to it have been much exaggerated. If indeed any individuals are to be named, to whose authority the Archbishop may be supposed to have paid particular deference, none can prefer stronger claims to that honour than Ridley and Peter Mar-<sup>Ridley.</sup> tyr. By the former, his mind was first awakened to the<sup>Peter Mar-</sup> truth <sup>tyr.</sup> <sup>2</sup>: and with the latter he held such frequent con-

“ helps from thence that he leaned unto against the other : and I doubt “ much whether the Archbishop ever gave any more credit unto any “ author of that doctrine, than unto this aforesaid Frith.” *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. p. 306.

<sup>2</sup> Frith’s *Answer to the Letter of M. More*, which is the book in question, was first printed in 1533, again in 1546, and twice, being “ newly “ revised and corrected,” in 1548. It will be found in the Collection of Frith’s works published in 1573, or in the recent edition of them by Mr. Russell. See Tanner, *Bibliotheca*, art. Frith; Ames, *Typogr. Antiq.* art. 2124; Lowndes, *Bibliographer’s Manual*, p. 751.

<sup>3</sup> The following dialogue shows that the work was suspected by some to be altogether Ridley’s. The suspicion doubtless originated in a slanderous report extensively circulated, that Cranmer was a man of no learning.

“ *Secr. Bourne.* ‘ How can ye make but a figure or a sign of the sacrament, as that book which is set forth in my lord of Canterbury’s “ name. I wisse ye can tell who made it; did not ye make it?’ And “ here was much murmuring of the rest, as though they would have “ given me the glory of the writing of the book, which yet was said of “ some there to contain most heinous heresy that ever was. ‘ Master “ ‘ Secretary,’ quoth I, ‘ that book was made of a great learned man, “ ‘ and him which is able to do the like again. As for me, I ensure “ ‘ you, (be not deceived in me,) I was never able to do or write any “ ‘ such thing like: he passeth me no less, than the learned master his “ ‘ young scholar.’” Ridley’s *Narrative of his communication with Secr.*



ferences on the subject, that a doubt has arisen, whether Cranmer was enlightened by Martyr, or Martyr by Cranmer<sup>b</sup>. Both suppositions perhaps are equally erroneous, but they are evidence, nevertheless, of the unreserved intercourse between these two reformers. And, beyond all question, the Archbishop not only attached great weight to Peter Martyr's judgment, but made use of his compositions with extraordinary freedom; for passages may be pointed out in his friend's publications of the preceding year, which he did not scruple to translate almost literally, and adopt as his own<sup>c</sup>.

The plan indeed of his work led him almost necessarily to levy extensive contributions on the writings of others; for it made no pretensions to originality. It was his professed object to bring together, within a moderate compass, a plain exposition "of the true doctrine and use of the "Lord's Supper," and a clear and popular "confutation "of sundry errors concerning the same." With these views, he would have sacrificed the public good to personal vanity, if he had trusted wholly to his own resources. Copious therefore as were the materials prepared by himself, he failed not to strengthen his case by adding whatever had been advanced by others, either of argument or authority. And the result is most satisfactory: for, after all that has since been written, it is not easy to point out any tract of the same length against the Romish errors, more distinguished for closeness of reasoning, clearness of arrangement, and a searching investigation of the subject.

*Bourne and others*, in *Foxe, Acts and Monuments*, (ed. 1563,) p. 930. This passage, as has been remarked by Mr. Todd, evidently relates to Cranmer's work on the sacrament, though in some later editions of Foxe, and by Strype, it is referred to his Catechism. See Todd, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. ii. p. 47; Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 32.

<sup>b</sup> See above, p. lxxx; Vol. iii. p. 13; and Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 258.

<sup>c</sup> See Vol. ii. pp. 305. 308, &c. 353; and Peter Martyr, *Tract. de Eucharist.* pp. 616. 620. 640. (ed. 1562.)

The impression made by it, was proportioned to its merit. For it produced a considerable defection from the ranks of his opponents, and caused also great alarm among those who still held their ground<sup>d</sup>. They felt, it is said, that their cause was lost, unless so vigorous an assault could be speedily repelled. Accordingly two champions stood forward for this purpose; one perhaps the most learned, and the other the most able, of whom their party in England could at that time boast. These were Richard Smythe, late Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and the celebrated Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.

Smythe had already shown his zeal in defence of the Mass. He had published two treatises<sup>e</sup> on it in 1546; and though in the following year he had been compelled to retract<sup>f</sup> some expressions derogatory from the sacrifice of Christ on the cross, he yet avowed his general opinions to be unchanged, and in 1549 challenged Peter Martyr to discuss the question in a public disputation at Oxford. He then however broke his engagement, and left the argument to be supported by others. But he seems now to have gladly seized the opportunity of indulging in an attack on the Archbishop, and of reasserting at the same time his own doctrines. For he printed at Louvain, what he entitled a

Cranmer  
answered  
by Smythe.

<sup>d</sup> “ Quo libro ita multi sunt ad sanam de ea re opinionem adducti, ut veritatis vim quanta esset, sentirem. . . . Hoc ita ægre Stephanus Gardinerns, Wintoniensis tum Episcopus, tulerat, ut nihil sibi prius faciendum putarit, quam ut librum tam utilem et plausibilem confutaret; ratus, nisi opera sua aliqua impedimenta objicerentur, nullos deploratæ jam et derelictæ pene sententiæ adjutores fore.” Cranmer’s Epistle to Edward VI. (Vol. ii. p. 283.) See also Hospinian, *Hist. Sacrament.* vol. ii. p. 216; Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. (268.)

<sup>e</sup> These were entitled, *Assertion and Defence of the Sacrament of the Altar*, London, 1546, oct.; and *Defence of the Sacrifice of the Mass*, London, 1546, oct. He had also published, in 1547, a *Brief Treatise on traditions*. See his character in Ant. Wood, *Athenæ Oxon.* p. 143.

<sup>f</sup> Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 39, &c; and Cranmer’s *Answer to Smythe’s Preface*. (Vol. iii. p. 14.)

*Confutation of Cranmer's Defence.* This tract, if the account of his antagonist may be trusted, was not worthy of his high reputation. It was "so full," said the Archbishop, "of bragging, boasting, slandering, misreporting, wrangling, wrestling, false construing, and lying, that, those taken out of the book, there was nothing worthy in the whole book to be answered &." And accordingly he did not bestow on it a formal reply. He noticed what was most material in the body of the work, "as occasion served," in his *Answer to Gardyner*; but he did not think it necessary to examine separately any part of it, excepting the "false calumniation" contained in the Preface. These he exposed in a few pages with great spirit and point<sup>h</sup>, not only administering a severe chastisement to his adversary for his theological misrepresentations, but also most triumphantly vindicating Peter Martyr and himself from the aspersions cast upon their personal honour. And he was thus led into a narrative of facts<sup>i</sup>, to which we are indebted for some authentic information respecting the views of his Italian friend, and for a very candid and interesting description of his own gradual reception of the truth.

And by  
Gardyner.

His more formidable opponent, Gardyner, had also already tried his strength in the controversy, having in 1546 advocated the received doctrine of the Mass, in his *Detection of the Devil's Sophistry*<sup>k</sup>. As this tract was referred to more than once, and as he was himself "touched by name" in Cranmer's *Defence*<sup>l</sup>, he seems to have felt himself peculiarly called on to attempt its refutation. But this was an undertaking, to which, single-handed, he was not

<sup>g</sup> *Answer to Smythe's Preface.* (Vol. iii. p. 23.) And again in the *Answer to Gardyner*: "The one sheweth nothing else, but what railing without reason or learning, the other, what frowardness armed with wit and eloquence, be able to do against the truth." Vol. iii. p. 34.

<sup>h</sup> Vol. iii. p. 1.

<sup>i</sup> Vol. iii. p. 12.

<sup>k</sup> See Ames, *Typogr. Antiq.* art. 1712.

<sup>l</sup> See Vol. ii. pp. 339. 376.

equal. Though possessed of a most powerful intellect, and deeply versed in the ways of the world, he was far from being a learned divine. He was master indeed of the Canon Law ; but he was probably not well read even in the Schoolmen, the chief source of the theology of his times ; still less can it be supposed that he had studied to any considerable extent the writings of the Fathers. On a question therefore where much importance was attached to authority, he stood in need of more copious resources than his own <sup>m</sup>. The opportunities of obtaining these may appear to have been narrowed by his being a prisoner for non-compliance with the late religious changes. But this difficulty was rather apparent than real ; for his confinement was not rigorous. He had free access to books and to his friends : the supporters of the cause would naturally be eager to contribute their aid to so eminent a leader : and materials being thus provided by others, he was himself abundantly endowed with talent for employing them to the greatest advantage.

When, by some such process as this, his book had been concocted, Gardyner adopted a most singular mode of publication. Being at that time under trial before Cranmer and other Commissioners at Lambeth, he presented it to the Court at one of his examinations as a documentary evidence in his favour, and demanded that it should be regularly entered as such in the record of the proceedings <sup>n</sup>. He thus pursued the strange, and what in many cases would have been

Gardyner's  
Answer  
presented  
in Court.

<sup>m</sup> Smythe, though then at Louvain, furnished all the authorities, according at least to his own account to Cranmer. "Marry, it might be that you had from Smythe a false copy written, who informed me, that you had of him all the authorities that be in your book. And having all the authorities that he had with great travail gathered, by and by you made your book, and stole from him all his thank and glory ; like unto Æsop's chough, which plumed himself with other birds' feathers." Cranmer's *Answer to Gardyner*. (Vol. iii. p. 253.)

<sup>n</sup> See Vol. iii. p. 33. note.

the dangerous course, of tendering in his defence a controversial work (and that of no very respectful character) against one of his judges. The hazard indeed of such a step he well knew, from his experience of Cranmer's forgiving disposition, to be merely imaginary; but he must have known equally well, that a long treatise on a point of doctrine could not clear him from the charge of nonconformity. It must therefore have been presented, not for the sake of influencing the Court, but in the hope of producing an effect on the public; and here again, not for the honest purpose of establishing his innocence, but, as Cranmer states<sup>o</sup>, with the crafty design of leaving two erroneous impressions: the one, that he "was called into judgment before the King's Majesty's Commissioners at Lambeth for his catholic faith in the sacrament; the other, that he made his book for his defence therein." But he was "called to justice," as we learn from the same authority, "for his manifest contempt and continual disobedience from time to time, or rather rebellion against the King's Majesty." And his book was wholly independent of his trial: for it was finished before "ever he was called before the said Commissioners," and was afterwards only slightly altered at the beginning to make it serve his purpose.

Printed in  
France.

After this presentation in open Court, in January 1551, it was printed in France<sup>p</sup>, with the following title: *An Explication and Assertion of the True Catholic Faith touching the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar, with the Confutation of a Book written against the same; made by Steven Bishop of Winchester, and exhibited by his own hand, for his defence, to the King's Majesty's Commissioners at Lambeth.* Though published abroad, it was no doubt extensively circulated in England; so that the Archbishop "held

<sup>o</sup> Vol. iii. p. 35.

<sup>p</sup> *Answer to Gardyner.* (Vol. iii. p. 38.); *Strype, Memorials*, vol. ii. p. (268.), *Cranmer*, p. 255.

“ himself bound, for the vindication of the Evangelical truth, “ as well as of his own writing, and for the satisfaction of “ the people, not to suffer it to lie untaken notice of.” He believed indeed, that those who would “ diligently read “ over his book once again, would find the same not so “ slenderly made, but that he had foreseen all that could “ be said to the contrary, and had fully answered it before- “ hand.” But he could not expect such diligence from the generality of readers, and he was anxious to take every possible precaution against the seductions of the “ wit and elo- “ quence,” which, as he admitted, his adversary had displayed. He therefore hastened to prepare a reply; an undertaking of no great difficulty to one so thoroughly versed in the question. The authorities indeed alleged against him, were chiefly the same which are to be found in his own Note-books preserved in the British Museum and at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and which consequently, if the date of those books has been determined rightly, he had long before fully weighed. He was thus relieved from any laborious search for fresh evidence, being only required to strip off the sophistry with which that already brought forward had been disguised. And this, if the load of public business constantly pressing on him is considered, he was not slow in accomplishing. For in the following September he wrote to the Secretary of State<sup>s</sup>, announcing that the printing of his Answer was finished, and requesting that the King’s license for its sale might be granted with all convenient speed, because he thought “ it “ very necessary to be set forth for the contentation of many “ which have had long expectation of the same.”

Cranmer's  
Reply.

This Answer was drawn up in a method that marked most strongly Cranmer’s confidence in his cause. He neither endeavoured to suppress his adversary’s work, as was too much

<sup>s</sup> Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 255.

<sup>r</sup> Vol. iii. p. 34.

<sup>s</sup> Letter cclxxxii.

the practice at that period, nor did he open the way to its refutation by giving his own statement of its contents, a custom which leads almost unavoidably to complaints of misrepresentation; but he reprinted, without curtailment, both Gardyner's book and his own, adding such further explanations as he thought requisite to meet the objections of his opponent. He thus laid the whole case, as it was argued on both sides, fairly before the reader, in the perfect conviction, that the more thoroughly it was examined, the more decisive would be the judgment in his favour. And few impartial persons will accuse him of presumption for such anticipations. For although Gardyner's *Explication* displayed, as might be expected from the character of its author, much ingenuity, acuteness, and dexterity, yet in solid reasoning, in sound learning, and in pure and forcible language, it will not bear a comparison with the Archbishop's *Defence* and *Answer*<sup>t</sup>.

This inferiority may be attributed, partly to Gardyner's deficiency in knowledge, and partly to the innumerable difficulties with which the cause he had undertaken to advocate was encumbered. His keen understanding indeed seems to have been greatly embarrassed by some of the dogmas he was called on to defend. It was this embarrassment doubtless which drove him into explanations, not only inconsistent with the tenets of papists in general, but even

<sup>t</sup> "Foxe, when employed on the translation of this controversy into Latin, complained of the style of both disputants. The Archbishop he accuses of prolixity, a fault more justly chargeable on the *Answer*, (with which Foxe was then occupied,) than on the *Defence*. Of Gardyner's style he wrote thus: "Oratione Wintoniensis nihil vidi insuavius, confragosius, aut magis spinosum, in qua nonnunquam sic vorticosus est, ut Sibylla potius aliqua quam interprete indigeat: immo nescio an ulla Sibylla sit tam ænigmatistes, aut Delius tantus vates, qui sensum ubique expiscari possit. In tertio libro unus est aut alter locus, ubi aquam ex pumice citius quam sententiæ lucem invenias. In periodis plerumque tam profusus vel infinitus magis est, ut bis sui oblitus videatur, quam sui reperiat finem." Foxe to Peter Martyr, in *Strype, Life of Grindal*, p. 15.

with other parts of his own writings<sup>u</sup>. It may have been from the same feeling also that he resorted to the expedient of evading in some measure the force of Cranmer's arguments by altering their arrangement. Though he professed to follow him step by step, he yet chose to postpone his reply to the second book, on Transubstantiation, till he had first examined the third and fourth, on the Corporal Presence, and on the Eating and Drinking of Christ by the Wicked. The intent of this transposition, as the Archbishop remarked<sup>x</sup>, was "easy to perceive." For he "saw the matter " of Transubstantiation so flat and plain against him, that " it was hard for him to devise an answer in that matter " that should have any appearance of truth, but all the " world would evidently see him clearly overthrown at the " first onset. Wherefore he thought, that although the " matter of the Real Presence hath no truth in it at all, " yet, forasmuch as it seemed to him to have some more " appearance of truth than the matter of Transubstantia- " tion hath, he thought best to begin with that first."

But Cranmer, though he thus pointed out the "marvellous " sleight and subtlety" of his antagonist, did not refuse to engage him on his own terms. Conscious of superior strength, he was ready to pursue him wherever he led the way, even though the track were different from that which he had himself marked out, and which, as he still maintained, "the nature of the things required." He therefore in his *Answer* adopted Gardyner's order, allowing the discussions on the Corporal Presence, and on the Eating and Drinking of Christ by the wicked, to precede that on Transubstantiation. And thus the reader, instead of finding the

<sup>u</sup> These variations were so considerable, that Cranmer thought it worth while to extract them. They were appended, with some other brief notes, to the edition of the *Answer to Gardyner* published in 1580. See Vol. iii. pp. 27. 555.

<sup>x</sup> Vol. iii. p. 91.



second book in its proper place, must seek for it after the fourth.

Gardyners  
Answer to  
the Reply.

But Gardyners, though defeated, was not inclined to retire from the contest. He employed the leisure afforded by his continued imprisonment in making a vigorous attempt to recover the lost ground. He however no longer carried on the controversy in his own name or in English. Preferring the use of a learned language and of a fictitious name, he wrote his new attack in Latin, and published it as the work of Marcus Antonius Constantius, a divine of Louvain. But the disguise appears to have been generally seen through, and in the reign of Queen Mary it was altogether laid aside, a second edition having been then printed, in which it was openly ascribed to "Stephen, Bishop of Winchester, Chancellor of England." Although however he thus took the responsibility upon himself, he was even less entitled than in the former case, to be considered the sole author. "Even when a prisoner," says Peter Martyr, "he was so abundantly furnished with workmen and amanuenses, that as they of old to the building of the tabernacle, so here to the preparing of this book, a kind of papistical tabernacle, all sorts contributed something. For his book was Pandora's box, to which all the lesser gods brought their presents. For every man, were his learning less or more, that had any arguments for the

It was published at Paris in 1552. The Preface to the reprint in 1554 assigns the following reason for concealing the name of the author in the first edition. "Quod libro antehac confectum nomen aut ipse addi[dit], aut a typographis ascribi est passus, in eo ejus prudentia singularis et pietas laudari potest. Nam quod Annibali in Asia regi Antiocho bene consulenti accidit, ut ejus non tam consilium quam auctor displiceret, id pro temporum iniquitate sibi inter suos vir prudens suspicabatur, ut propter suorum temporum calamitatem, et quorundam præjudicatam de se opinionem, multi librum aut nunquam in manus acciperent, aut acceptum mox rejicerent." *Confutatio Cavillat. Typographus Lectori*, p. 2.

“popish doctrine, brought them all to him, (many whereof were windy and trivial,) and he out of the heap made his collections as he thought good <sup>z</sup>.”

This second Confutation was not, like the former, pointed at any particular treatise. It purported to be directed ge-

<sup>z</sup> Strype's paraphrase has been adopted here. The original passage in Peter Martyr's Preface to his *Defence against Gardiner* stands thus:

“Taceo enim non ita me instructum fuisse ab opibus, ut tot operas et amanuenses alere poterim, quibus Gardinerus, etiam cum in carcere esset, ita abundavit, ut quemadmodum olim ad exædificandum Tabernaculum, ita hic ad ornandum istum librum, ceu Tabernaculum quoddam papistarum, omnes quicunque tum essent in illorum castris, etiam rustici et tumultuarii milites, videantur aliquid contulisse. Est enim hæc, ne nescias Lector, Pandoræ pyxis, in quam omnes etiam Minorum gentium Dii sua munuscula congesserunt. Nam ut olim, quemadmodum est in fabulis, Ulyssi navigaturo Æolus ventos omnes in utrem contrusos in manum dedit, ut ille cum solvisset in altum, eis pro suo arbitrio uteretur: ita isti Gardinero, cum nescio quid contra nos moliretur, omnia sua argumenta, satis ea quidem ventosa et levia tradiderunt, ut ille ex acervo deligeret quicquid vellet, et sibi alieno vento vela faceret.” *Defensio ad Gardinerum*, Præf. p. 1. (1562.)

In another part of the same Preface, Peter Martyr, adopting a metaphor introduced by Gardiner from the kitchen, wrote as follows:

“Quamvis unus esset Archimageirus, tamen tot erant operæ, tot manus, tot lixæ, tot calones, tantum fumi, tantum fuliginis, tantum confusionis in culina, ut nihil potuerit recte atque ordine administrari.” Præf. p. 4. And he repeated the assertion in the body of his work: “Certe si ex tuis libris mendacia, sophisticen, et vulpinam astutiam auferas, cætera omnia sunt aliena. . . . Scitur, et plusquam credas, exploratum est, te alienis videre oculis, et alienis manibus permulta scribere, quæ prius alieno edas nomine, non quod ab aliis conscripta esse velis confiteri, sed quod illi captandæ gloriolæ quam misere deperis, tempus videris non fuisse idoneum. Quo postea commutato, nomen tuum alienis laboribus ascribis: teque pavonis plumis, inso-lentissimus graculus, impudentissime jactas.” Pet. Martyr, *Defensio ad Gurd. de Eucharistia*, p. 77. (ed. 1562.)

Strype adds that “Watson and Smith were the chief assistants.” His authority probably was the Preface to the Embden edition of Cranmer's *Defence*, where mention is made of the passages, “quæ sub per-sonati Marci cujusdam Antonii nomine, Stephanus ille Gardinerus, Sycophanta impudentissimus, (auxilio cujusdam Watsoni et Smithii Sophistarum,) scripto convellere frustra tentavit.”

nerally against all the “impious Capernaites<sup>a</sup>,” who impugned the received doctrines on the Eucharist. But Cranmer and Peter Martyr were in reality the chief objects of attack<sup>b</sup>. And of this they had no reason to complain; but they were justly indignant at the unfairness of their antagonist. The arguments of the Archbishop were not merely designated as “heretical cavillations,” (which was no more than might have been expected,) but they were presented in so mutilated and disjointed a form, that their author declared he could not recognise them as his own<sup>c</sup>. And these erroneous statements were the more likely to be extensively mischievous, because foreigners, from their ignorance of English, had not the means of detecting their falsehood, by reference to the books from which they professed to be derived. Cranmer therefore took immediate measures for arresting the evil. For the purpose of putting the learned on the continent in possession of his real opinions, he published, in 1553, a Latin version of his *Defence*<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> It was entitled, *Confutatio Cavillationum quibus Sacrosanctum Eucharistiæ Sacramentum ab impiis Capharnaitis impeti solet*. “Capernaites” was a term of reproach applied both by Papists to Sacramentaries, and by Sacramentaries to Papists: to the Sacramentaries, because they thought the doctrine of the Eucharist a “hard saying,” and could not bear it: to the Papists, because they understood the words of Christ in a carnal, instead of a spiritual sense. See St. John, chap. vi.

<sup>b</sup> The Confutation is divided into four parts. In the first, which is by far the largest, the author answers 255 Objections collected from the writings of the Sacramentaries; in the second he attacks some rules laid down by Peter Martyr for the true interpretation of the Fathers; in the third and fourth he confutes the solutions by which the Sectaries endeavoured to evade the arguments and authorities of the Catholics. Strype gives a short abstract of it in his *Memorials of Cranmer*, p. 259: but he erroneously attributes Peter Martyr’s rules to the Archbishop. See Peter Martyr, *Tractatio de Eucharistia*, and *Defensio ad Gardinerum*, p. ii.

<sup>c</sup> See his Letter to Edw. VI, prefixed to the translation of his *Defence*, 1553. (Vol. ii. p. 284.)

<sup>d</sup> There do not appear to be any sufficient grounds for supposing that there were two distinct versions of the *Defence*, one by Sir John

This was to be followed by a translation<sup>e</sup> into the same language of his *Answer to Gardyner*, and by a new work, in which he intended to expose that prelate's recent misrepresentations. Cranmer's preparations for a Second Reply.

But the untimely death of Edward VI. interfered with the execution of these designs. They were not however entirely relinquished. Though involved in the troubles of the new reign, the Archbishop continued his labours, both in the revision of his former writings, and in the composition of his projected Reply. The last-mentioned undertaking occupied much of his attention, and was in a very forward state at the time of his death. Following, as it seems, Gardyner's fourfold division<sup>f</sup>, he had completed three parts of the work, and expressed much anxiety to live long enough to finish the remainder. But neither was this permitted, nor has any fragment of what was already written been preserved. "Two parts," says Foxe<sup>g</sup>, "perished in Oxford, the other yet remaineth in my hands, ready to be seen and set forth, as the Lord shall see good." But "even this," adds Strype<sup>h</sup>, "which was

Cheke, the other by John Yong, Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. It is indeed exceedingly improbable that the latter ever engaged in such an undertaking, since under Edward VI, as well as under Mary, he was a stiff maintainer of the Romish tenets on the Eucharist. See Strype, *Cranmer*, pp. 255. 260. 269.

<sup>e</sup> This design was taken up after Cranmer's death by some of the English exiles on the continent, and was so far carried into execution, that the translation was completed, partly by Sir John Cheke, partly by Foxe, and sent to the press at Basle. But it was never published, probably from an unwillingness to revive the controversy. An imperfect copy of the manuscript came into the hands of Strype, being written, as he says, by Foxe himself, "in very cleanly elegant Latin." This is now in the British Museum, Harl. MSS. 418. See Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 262, *Aylmer*, ch. 1, and particularly *Grindal*, p. 13, &c.

<sup>f</sup> See above, p. xcvi. note (b).

<sup>g</sup> *Acts and Monuments*, vol. iii. p. 647.

<sup>h</sup> Strype, *Cranmer*, pp. 259. 370.

“once in Foxe’s custody, is gone with his fellows, for aught that I can find among his papers<sup>1</sup>.”

His Revisions have been more fortunate. Those of the *Defence* fell into the hands of some English exiles, and were inserted in a new edition of the Latin translation of that treatise published at Embden in 1557. Those of the *Answer to Gardyners* came also into the possession of friends, and were incorporated into the reprint which appeared in 1580, under the direction, as it has been conjectured, of Bishop Parkhurst. In neither case however are the alterations considerable. In the first, the improvements consist either of more perfect transcripts of his old quotations, or of new authorities in confirmation of them. In the second,

<sup>1</sup> Though Cranmer was prevented by death from continuing the controversy, Gardyners Confutation was not left without an answer. The task was undertaken, and most successfully accomplished, by Peter Martyr. During the Archbishop’s lifetime, this able divine had abstained from the contest, and he has himself given the reason: “Cum doctissimus juxta ac sanctissimus vir D. Thomas Cranmerus, Archiepiscopus nuper Cantuariensis, eam in se provinciam suscepisset, quem scirem isto papistarum Achille in omni genere literarum longe esse superiorem, quod ego non adulationis causa dico, (quis enim aduletur homini mortuo?) sed quod sciam ex multis et variis disputationibus quas habuit aliquando cum Vintoniensi, et cum victoria et summa cum laude discessisse, non putavi esse pudoris mei, ut illi tam sanctum tamque pium institutum præriperem. At ille, cum in carcere arcissima custodia observaretur, ubi vix charta ad scribendum, nedum librorum copia suppeteret, et postremo cum durissima morte, quam in veræ fidei confessione constanter tulit, sublatus esset, opus quod jam habebat præ manibus, coactus est relinquere inchoatum.” *Def. ad Gard.* Præf. p. 1. Under these circumstances Peter Martyr came forward with zeal to the support of his deceased patron. He entered upon a detailed examination of Gardyners book, and exposed his several arguments in order, with a copiousness and power, worthy of his extensive reading and scrutinizing judgment. To his work therefore, the reader who is not satisfied with Cranmer’s own vindication of himself, is referred. It was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth in a Letter dated 1 March 1559, and is entitled *Defensio ad Gardinerum de Eucharistia*. It forms, with his *Tractatio* and his *Disputatio de Eucharistia*, a folio volume of moderate size, printed at Zurich 1562.

the additions most worthy of notice, are some notes in the margin, giving the substance of the text, and the collection, already alluded to<sup>k</sup>, of Gardyner's most glaring inconsistencies and absurdities<sup>l</sup>.

Such (with the exception of the Disputations at Oxford, which will be noticed hereafter) is the sum of Cranmer's labours in this important controversy. His learning and ability in the conduct of it, have been fully acknowledged both by friends and foes. The high opinion entertained by the former, of his publications on the question, may be learnt from the subjoined testimonies<sup>m</sup> to their value by

Review of  
the dispute.

<sup>k</sup> See above, p. xciii. note (u).

<sup>l</sup> The additions thus made both to the *Defence* and the *Answer*, have all been inserted in the present reprint.

<sup>m</sup> LATYMER. "I have long sought for the truth in this matter of the sacrament, and have not been of this mind past seven years: and my lord of Canterbury's book hath especially confirmed my judgment herein. If I could remember all therein contained, I would not fear to answer any man in this matter." Latymer's Disputation at Oxford, in Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. iii. p. 82.

JOHN KNOX. "God put wisdom in the tongues of his ministers and messengers to utter that vain vanity [transubstantiation], and especially gave such strength to the pen of that reverend father in God, Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, to cut the knots of Devilish Sophistry, linked and knit by the Devil's Gardiner and his blind buzzards to hold the verity of God under bondage; that rather, I think, they shall condemn his works, (which notwithstanding shall continue and remain to their confusion,) than enterprise to answer the same." Knox's *Admonition*, in Strype, *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 230.

PREFACE to Embden edition of the *Defence*, attributed to Sir John Cheke. "Cœnæ Dominicæ controversiam ea hic dexteritate tractat, ut plerosque omnes, qui in hoc scripti genere ingenii sui nervos extendunt, multis emunctæ naribus a tergo reliquisse videatur."

JOHN FOXE. "In quo libro [viz. Cranmeri *Ad Gardinerum Responsione*] videbit spero propediem tota Germania quicquid de causa Eucharistica vel dici vel objici a quoquam poterit." Foxe to Oporinus, in Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 359.

MATT. PARKER. "Cranmerus domi otium omne suum sacris literis impertivit; scripsitque contra pontificiorum sententiam, illam crasam atque carnalem in sanctæ Cœnæ sacramento Christi præsentiam affirmantium, tanta doctrina et argumentorum copia refertum librum;

several of the most eminent men of that day. And the sentiments of the latter respecting them were sufficiently manifested, by the pains with which the leaders of the party combined to produce an answer; by the weight attached to them in the proceedings against their author and his coadjutors under Queen Mary<sup>n</sup>; and by the petition presented in that reign by the lower House of Convocation for placing them in "the forefront" of the heretical books proposed "to be destroyed and burnt throughout the "realm o." They seem indeed to have attracted admiration on the one side, and hostility on the other, beyond any other treatise of that date. The English Reformers appealed to them with confidence, as to a standard work containing not only a clear statement and ample defence of their own doctrines, but also a complete refutation of the corrupt tenets of their adversaries. And for the same reasons were these writings assailed with the utmost vehemence by the papists; it being perceived, that if their credit were shaken, the blow would affect the whole administration of the Lord's Supper, as it had been lately arranged in England. Their relative position has now of course been altered. Instead of standing alone, as a solitary bulwark of the truth, they are in some measure super-

"ut ea controversia a nemine unquam contra pontificios accuratius tractata esse videatur." *Antiq. Brit. Eccles.* p. 508.

For the judgments of Ridley and Peter Martyr respecting it, see above, pp. lxxxv. xcvi. notes (a) (i).

<sup>n</sup> See Vol. iv. pp. 47. 62. 96. 102. 132. 140.

o "Among these books," says Strype, "they set Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury, his book, made against the Sacrament of the Altar, in the forefront; and then next, the *Schismatical Book*, as they called it, viz. the Communion Book. To which they subjoined the Book of Ordering Ecclesiastical Ministers, and all suspect translations of the Old and New Testament; and all other books of that nature. So that, if Cranmer's book was burnt, it was burnt with very good company, the Holy Bible and the Communion Book." Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 348.

seded by the more extensive lines of defence constructed by the skill of later divines. In this point of view their importance is diminished; they can no longer be referred to, as comprising the substance of all that has been written on the question P. But the same lapse of time, which has deprived them of one kind of value, has imparted to them another. If they have ceased to supply the best arguments for debate, they yet afford most useful materials for history; for they are a record of the aspect then borne by the Eucharistic controversy. As this aspect has varied greatly at different periods, *any* contemporaneous evidence of what it was at that eventful æra is entitled to attention, and testimony given by so eminent a person as the English Primate, is of the highest moment. The office and character of the witness recommend it to *all*, but it has *peculiar* claims on the members of that Church which looks up to him as the chief director of her reformation. It not only enables them to see more clearly, with what wisdom he steered his course between conflicting opinions, but it furnishes them also with much information respecting his general views, and thus promotes a more perfect understanding of the present Liturgy and Articles which were compiled in great measure under his presiding care.

These considerations seem of late years to have had some weight, and have perhaps occasioned the appearance of two recent reprints of the *Defence* <sup>q</sup>. Still however there

<sup>P</sup> See the testimonies, particularly that of Foxe, p. xcix, note (m).

<sup>q</sup> One of these appeared in 1809, in the third volume of *The Fathers of the English Church*; the other in 1825, with an Historical and Critical Introduction by Mr. Todd. *The Fathers of the English Church* contain also the *Answer to Smythe's Preface*. Besides these reprints of entire treatises on this controversy, some Extracts from the *Defence* have been lately published by the Religious Tract Society. These consist of the greater part of the first book, of some small portions of the third and fourth, and of the whole of the fifth. They are much too imperfect to convey a full and fair view of Cranmer's tenets, especially



has been no republication of the *Answer to Gardyner*<sup>r</sup>. Nor is it difficult to account for the preference shown to the former work. The *Defence* is a short treatise, in which all subordinate discussions are avoided, and the leading points of the question are handled with much learning and masterly precision, yet in a plain and popular style. Whereas in the *Answer*, the various minute ramifications of the subject are pursued, and sometimes even these are lost sight of in the eagerness of personal altercation. It is therefore little likely to suit the taste of the general reader, anxious probably to catch the most striking features of the dispute at the least possible expense of labour. But for these very reasons it is perhaps the more serviceable as an historical document. Truth, it is said, often comes out in the heat of debate, and the maxim may be justly applied to the present case. For the reproaches exchanged between the two disputants, throw much light not only on the exact state of the Eucharistic controversy, but also on several other occurrences of those times. And this light does not lose in brilliancy, though it may sometimes be tinged with a peculiar colour, by the absence of those restraints which are imposed on modern controversialists by the laws of courtesy. No scruples of delicacy seem then to have interfered either with the utterance of the heaviest accusations, or with the expression of them in the strongest language. And to whatever other objections this excessive freedom of speech may

as they do not include a remarkable passage in the first book, illustrative of his opinions on baptism. The passage alluded to, is in the second volume of the present edition, p. 302—304, beginning at “Although our carnal generation,” and ending with “spiritual strength and perfection.”

<sup>r</sup> The only portions of this work reprinted since 1580, are a few Extracts which have been admitted into *The Fathers of the English Church*. These relate chiefly to the nature and efficacy of the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

be open, it will scarcely be charged with tending to suppress the truth. Nor must it be forgotten, that the mere contemplation of the struggle is not without its attractions. Interest is excited by contests of most kinds, and is usually heightened in proportion to the importance of the quarrel, and to the renown of the contending parties. A more than ordinary curiosity therefore must be felt, when the dispute is upon the doctrine of the Eucharist, and when such men as Cranmer and Gardyner appear as champions. In a conflict between leaders so distinguished, even the indifferent spectator will find a pleasure in comparing the weight and keenness of their weapons, and the strength and skill with which they are wielded. But the protestant, conscious of having a stake in the combat, will watch its progress with deep anxiety, and will witness with delight its triumphant termination. He will gratefully acknowledge his debt to the vigorous defender of his cause, being assured that the armour of proof which foiled so wily an antagonist, will ever be found impenetrable by the darts of the enemy.

No other treatise, exclusively written by Cranmer, appeared during this reign : but some notice may be expected of two important works in which he had a large share, namely, *The XLII Articles of Religion*, and the *Reformatio Legum*. It is remarkable, that though much promptitude was shown under Henry VIII. in drawing up Formularies of Faith, five years were allowed by his successor to elapse without any publication of this nature. Burnet\*, among other reasons for this delay, suggests the necessity of paying the first attention to the corruptions in the public worship, and the expediency of subjecting points of doctrine to the fullest discussion, before they were determined. These considerations without doubt made a

\* *Hist. of Reformat.* vol. ii. p. 342.

Plan for  
compiling  
a General  
Confession  
of Faith for  
all the Re-  
formed  
Churches.

due impression on the mind of Cranmer. But another cause, of still greater efficacy, may perhaps be found, in the hope which he long cherished of arranging by common consent a General Confession of Faith for all the scattered Protestant Churches <sup>t</sup>. This plan originated with Melancthon, who had many years before expressed a wish for the compilation of such a document <sup>v</sup>. Cranmer, it seems, was pleased with the proposal, and, when the accession of Edward VI. appeared to facilitate its execution, hastened to invite the most eminent reformers on the continent to hold a meeting in England for the purpose <sup>u</sup>. And at

<sup>t</sup> In addition to the accounts of this design, given by Strype and others, some farther information is furnished by the Letters from Cranmer to Melancthon, Hardenberg, Bullinger, and Calvin, which are now first printed from manuscripts at Zurich. See Letters cclxxxiii. cclxxxvi. cclxxxiii, cclxxxiv, cclxxxv.

<sup>v</sup> See Letter cclxxxvi. note (r).

<sup>u</sup> There does not appear to be any evidence that Calvin was invited to this conference; the correspondence which Strype assigns to this year, being certainly of later date. See Vol. i. pp. 345, 346; Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 407. The following extract from a Letter by John a Lasco to Hardenberg, implies that there was some hesitation on the point. "Contentio Sacramentaria cœpit illic [i. e. in Anglia] exagitari per quosdam, estque instituta ea de re publica disputatio, ad quam magnis multorum precibus vocor. Bucerus expectatur. Franciscus noster Dryander jam adest. Et de Calvino mussatur, nisi quod Galus est." Gerdes, *Scrin. Antiq.* tom. ii. p. 644. Heylyn asserts positively, "that upon the very first reports of a reformation here intended, Calvin had offered his assistance to Archbishop Cranmer, as 'himself confesseth. But the Archbishop knew the man, and refused 'his offer.'" Heylyn, *Eccles. Restaur.* p. 65. But he gives no authority for the latter part of his statement, and it can hardly be reconciled with Cranmer's Letter to Calvin of March 20th, 1552.

Besides this brief remark by Heylyn, there are two other accounts of Calvin's correspondence with the English Reformers in the reign of Edw. VI, which deserve notice: one in *Foxes and Firebrands*, (part ii. p. 10.) from a memorandum by Sir Henry Sidney; the other in Strype's *Life of Parker*, taken from a manuscript by Archbishop Abbot, professing to give the substance of some papers which belonged to Arch-

first he was apparently well satisfied with the progress of the undertaking. He informed John a Lasco in July 1548<sup>\*</sup>, that several learned men had already arrived; so many indeed, that scarcely any more were required: and he therefore entreated him both to come himself, and also, if possible, to bring Melancthon, to whom, he stated, he was then sending a third invitation. A few weeks afterwards he addressed Albert Hardenberg, the Superintendent of the Reformed Church at Bremen, in nearly similar terms<sup>†</sup>. His sanguine expectations however were disappointed. John a Lasco indeed came to England in the autumn; but Melancthon, though ready to communicate his advice by letter, persisted in declining to attend in person. Yet the applications to him were still continued. In Feb. 1549 an asylum was offered him from the troubles occasioned in Germany by the publication of the Interim: he received another invitation, as is learnt from his own correspondence, in May 1550; and another, in common with Bullinger and Calvin, in March 1552<sup>‡</sup>. But all were in vain: Melancthon was still immoveable; so that Cranmer seems at length to have discovered the impracticability of the project<sup>§</sup>, and to have

bishop Parker. These agree in stating, that overtures were made by Calvin and others to Edward VI. on the subject of episcopacy; that they failed in attaining their object; and that the failure "caused much animosity among reformers:" but the former version of the story assumes that they were received, and attributes their rejection to the intrigues of the papists: the latter relates that they were never received at all, but were intercepted by Gardynere and Boner, and a forged answer returned in the name of the English protestants, "wherein they checked Calvin, and slighted his proposals." If the first of these narratives is correct, it is strange that no allusion to the overtures occurs in any of Cranmer's Letters. The second will account indeed for this silence: but we shall still look in vain for that "animosity" which is said to have been kindled between Calvin and the English Church.

<sup>\*</sup> Letter cclxxii.

<sup>†</sup> Letter cclxxiii.

<sup>‡</sup> See Letters cclxxii. cclxxvi. cclxxv.

<sup>§</sup> 1550 and 1551 have each been named as the date when these

proceeded without farther delay, to complete a separate Formulary for the Church of England.

It may perhaps be matter of surprise, that he did not make this discovery earlier: it may even be maintained, that the scheme was in its own nature chimerical, and that the attempt to carry it into execution was more creditable to his zeal than his judgment. But it is somewhat presumptuous, even when instructed by the event, to ridicule a design, approved by two such men as Cranmer and Melancthon. It is possible indeed, that they calculated too much on finding in others the same moderation, candour, and spirit of conciliation which distinguished themselves. But they were, neither of them, of an ardent temperament, nor apt to engage rashly in wild and visionary enterprises. And circumstances occurred, both on the continent and in England, sufficiently untoward to frustrate an undertaking in itself perfectly feasible. And this seems to have been Calvin's view of the case. He evidently despaired of success; he spoke of the agreement of the reformers on a standard Form of Doctrine, as an object of desire, rather than of hope: but his forebodings, it is manifest, were not so much grounded on the Utopian character of the project, as on the overpowering difficulties of the times<sup>b</sup>. For on the design itself he bestowed the highest praise, and revived it himself some years afterwards on the accession of Queen Elizabeth<sup>c</sup>.

Forty-Two  
Articles of  
Religion,  
1552.

But whatever may have been Cranmer's anxiety to obtain a *General* Confession of Faith, he did not in the mean while neglect to take measures for preparing a *particular* one. Having received an order, probably at his own re-

efforts to form a protestant union ceased: but the three Letters cclxxxiii, cclxxxiv, cclxxxv, sufficiently prove that they were continued till 1552. See Vol. i. p. 345. note (m).

<sup>b</sup> See Vol. i. p. 347; Calvini *Epistolæ*, pp. 134, 135. Genev. 1617.

<sup>c</sup> Strype, *Life of Parker*, vol. i. p. 69.

quest, in the year 1551, "to frame a book of Articles of Religion<sup>d</sup>," he "in obedience hereunto," says Strype, "drew up a set, which were delivered to certain other bishops to be inspected and subscribed, I suppose, by them." In May 1552, after the failure of the invitations to foreign reformers, the Privy Council sent for these Articles, inquiring at the same time whether they were "set forth by any public authority." In September<sup>e</sup>, the Archbishop forwarded them, after they had undergone a revision, to Sir John Cheke; on the twenty-third of November he again received them from the Council, to whom he returned them on the following day, beseeching the Lords<sup>f</sup> "to be means unto the King's Majesty, that all the bishops may have authority from him to cause all their preachers, archdeacons, deans, prebendaries, parsons, vicars, curates, with all their clergy, to subscribe to the said Articles." This authority, though long delayed, was at last granted in the following June; when letters from the King were issued to the several prelates, informing them, that "certain Articles were sent, gathered with great study, and by counsel and good advice of the greatest learned part of the bishops of this realm, and sundry others of the clergy;" and exhorting them both to subscribe them themselves, and also to cause them to be subscribed by "all other which do or hereafter shall preach or read within their dioceses<sup>g</sup>." It is no part of the present design to enter into the controversy which has arisen respecting the agreement of the Convocation to these Articles; but we are concerned to ascertain, how far they may be ascribed to the Archbishop. And if we add to the short statement just given, his own declaration before Brokes at Oxford<sup>h</sup>, little doubt will be entertained of his being the

<sup>d</sup> Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 272. <sup>e</sup> See Letter ccxc. <sup>f</sup> See Letter ccxcii.

<sup>g</sup> See Appendix, No. XLIII.

<sup>h</sup> The following is an extract from the English account in Foxe :

person, mainly responsible for their contents. It is of course not meant to intimate that they are an original work. They are generally admitted to be a compilation; and the Confession of Augsburg is usually mentioned as their chief source. There is reason however to believe, as has been shown above<sup>k</sup>, that they were taken more immediately from a set of Articles agreed on by the English and German divines at a conference held in London in 1538. But they do not follow servilely either of these Formularies; they are at once more comprehensive and more brief, containing judgments on a greater variety of questions, but entering less into the grounds on which these judgments rest.

Reformatio  
Legum.

The second important work, now completed by the assistance of Cranmer, was the revision of the Ecclesiastical Laws. This revision had been first projected as early as 1532. In the submission then made to the King by the clergy, they declared, that whereas divers canons were "thought to be not

"As for the Catechism, the Book of Articles, with the other Book against Winchester, he granted the same to be his doings." In the official Latin report, Cranmer's answer is expressed thus: "*Quoad Catechismum et articulos in eodem fatetur se adhibuisse ejus consilium circa editionem ejusdem.*" See Vol. iv. pp. 102. 106. The Catechism here mentioned was set forth by Royal authority at the same time with the Articles, "for the instruction of young scholars in the fear of God." (See Appendix, N<sup>o</sup>. XLIII. 1.) Though approved by Cranmer, it was not composed by him. Ridley was charged with being its author, but denied it. It has also been attributed to Nowell, but the most prevailing opinion seems to be, that it was written by Ponet, Bishop of Winchester. (See Vol. iv. p. 65. note (u).) It superseded the Catechism translated under the Archbishop's direction in 1548, which was probably considered objectionable, as giving too much countenance to the Lutheran view of the Eucharist. Both these Catechisms must be distinguished from the very short one for children, forming part of the Office for Confirmation in Edward VI.'s first Service Book, and now, with the addition of some questions and answers on the Sacraments, known by the name of the Church Catechism.

<sup>k</sup> Pages xxiii, xxiv.

“only much prejudicial to his prerogative royal, but also  
 “overmuch onerous to his Highness’s subjects,” they were  
 content to commit the judgment respecting them to thirty-  
 two persons, “sixteen of the upper and nether house of the  
 “temporalty, and other sixteen of the clergy; all to be  
 “chosen and appointed by his most noble Grace<sup>l</sup>.” In  
 conformity with this concession, an Act of Parliament<sup>m</sup> was  
 passed in March 1534, empowering his Majesty to nomi-  
 nate Commissioners, and enacting that the Canons approved  
 by these Commissioners, if fortified by the royal assent  
 under the Great Seal, should be kept and observed within  
 the realm. This Act was renewed in 1536<sup>n</sup>, and again in  
 1544<sup>o</sup>. In the latter case it was so far carried into execu-  
 tion, that Commissioners were appointed, a body of Ecclesi-  
 astical Law digested, and a Letter of ratification prepared for  
 the King’s signature<sup>p</sup>. But this signature was never affixed;  
 and the powers granted to the Crown having been limited  
 to the lifetime of Henry VIII, a fresh Act was passed with  
 the same object in 1549<sup>q</sup>. Commissioners are said<sup>r</sup> to have  
 been named shortly afterwards in pursuance of its provi-  
 sions; but if this was the fact, they seem to have made  
 little progress in the business, for a new Commission was  
 issued in Oct. 1551, to eight bishops, eight divines, eight  
 civilians, and eight common lawyers<sup>s</sup>; of whom eight<sup>t</sup> were

<sup>l</sup> Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 754.      <sup>m</sup> Stat. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19.

<sup>n</sup> Stat. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 15.      <sup>o</sup> Stat. 35 Hen. VIII. c. 16.

<sup>p</sup> Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 133. and App. N<sup>o</sup>. 34; Burnet, *Reformat.*  
 vol. iii. p. 308.

<sup>q</sup> Stat. 3 and 4 Edward VI. c. 11.

<sup>r</sup> Strype, *Life of Cheke*, chap. iii. §. 2.

<sup>s</sup> Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 270.

<sup>t</sup> “Octo potissimum selecta fuerunt capita, quibus prima operis  
 “præformatio, quasque materiæ præparatio committebatur. . . . .  
 “Summæ negotii præfuit Tho. Cranmerus, Archiepis. Cant. Orationis  
 “lumen et splendorem addidit Gualterus Haddonus, vir disertus, et in  
 “hac ipsa juris facultate non imperitus. Quin nec satis scio, an Joan.



selected to "gather and put in order" the materials. "But the matter," says Strype, "was in effect wholly entrusted by the King to the Archbishop, who associated to himself in the active part of this work, Taylor, Martyr, and Haddon." And this account is confirmed by the numerous corrections in the handwriting of Cranmer and Peter Martyr, which may still be seen in a manuscript copy of the projected code preserved in the British Museum<sup>u</sup>. Thus the Archbishop's share in its composition seems to have been much more than that of mere general superintendence. If he did not actually assist in drawing it up, as is most

"Checi viri singularis eidem negotio adjutrix adfuerit manus." Foxe, Preface to *Reformatio Legum*. But neither Haddon nor Cheke was one of the select eight. These were in the first instance, Cranmer, Ridley, Richard Cox, Peter Martyr, Rowland Taylor, Bartholomew Traheron, John Lucas, John Gosnold: but in November, Thomas Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, William May, and Richard Goodrich, were substituted for Ridley, Traheron, and Gosnold. See Letter of Edward VI. prefixed to *Reformatio Legum*; and Strype, (*Memorials*, vol. ii. pp. 303. 479. 487.) whose statement has been preferred to the accounts of Burnet, *Reformat.* vol. ii. p. 404. and vol. iii. p. 398, which are not easily reconciled with each other.

<sup>u</sup> Harl. MSS. 426. This document is also of use in elucidating the clause respecting the punishment of heretics. In the printed editions the passage stands thus: "Consumptis omnibus aliis remediis, ad extremum ad civiles magistratus ablegetur puniendus:" whence it has been inferred that the obstinate heretic was to be punished with death. But in the Harleian MS. the following limitation is added: "vel ut in perpetuum pellatur exilium, vel ad æternas carceris deprimatur tenebras, vel alioqui pro magistratus prudenti consideratione plec-tendus, ut maxime illius conversioni expedire videbitur." As the code was never published by authority, it is not known with certainty, whether or not this limitation was finally approved by the Commissioners. But it proves, on any supposition, the sort of punishment which they contemplated, and that death was not, as has been imagined, the necessary consequence of being delivered into the hands of the civil magistrate. See Lingard, *Hist. of England*, vol. vii. p. 128. 8vo; Hallam, *Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 138, 8vo; Todd, (*Life of Cranmer*, vol. ii. p. 333.) who considers the addition to be in the handwriting of Peter Martyr; but this may be doubted.

probable, his interference must be supposed to have at least extended to the exclusion of any thing which he thought objectionable. It may therefore be safely referred to as an authentic record of his opinions. But it was never invested with any legal authority; for it was not finished soon enough to become law under Edward VI, it was of course laid aside in the next reign, and some subsequent attempts to revive it have failed \*.

The death of Edward VI. produced a total change in the situation of Cranmer. The new Sovereign, instead of valuing him as a wise and temperate reformer, looked on him only as the author of her mother's degradation, as a conspirator against her own right to the crown, and as the indefatigable propagator of heresy and schism. For all this, however, he must have been prepared; but he could not have anticipated the injurious imputations which were cast on the steadiness of his religious principles. It was slanderously reported of him, that he had restored the Mass at Canterbury, and had also offered to celebrate it himself before the Queen. This atrocious calumny provoked him to draw up a warm and indignant contradiction of it, in which he not only exposed the utter falsehood of the story, but undertook to prove, with the assistance of Peter Martyr and a few others, that the form of worship and doctrine established in England in the preceding reign, "was more pure, and more according to God's word, than any that had been used in England these thousand years y." This declaration having become public through

Declaration  
concerning the  
Mass. 1553.

\* See Strype, *Parker*, p. 323; Todd, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. ii. pp. 327. 349. It was first printed in 1571, by John Daye, with a Preface by Foxe. Another edition appeared in 1640. Abstracts of its contents may be seen in Burnet, *Reformat.* vol. ii. p. 405; Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 326; and particularly in Mr Todd's *Life of Cranmer*, vol. ii. p. 329.

y Vol. iv. p. 1. There is so much more vehemence in this paper, than in Cranmer's usual style, that it has been conjectured to be the pro-

the zeal of a friend, the Archbishop was summoned before the Privy Council, and appears to have been expected to apologize for its circulation. But the only expression of sorrow which could be extracted from him was, that it had passed from his hands prematurely, since he "had intended otherwise to have made it in a more "large and ample manner, and minded to have set it "on Paul's Church door, and on the doors of all the "churches in London, with his own seal joined thereto<sup>2</sup>."

Upon this bold avowal, he was removed from Lambeth, and sent a prisoner to the Tower, "as well for the treason<sup>3</sup> committed by him against the Queen's Majesty, as

Imprisonment in the Tower.

duction of Peter Martyr. (Carwithen, *Hist. of the Church of England*.) But Peter Martyr was at this time in Oxford, where he was confined to his house for six weeks in a kind of honourable imprisonment. His arrival in London is thus described by his companion Julius Terentianus. "Venit Londinum D. Petrus. Cantuariensem antiquum et sanctissimum hospitem adit. Quis queat dicere, quam gratus fuerit? "Adeo illius adventum exoptaverat, ut sæpius id a Consiliariis content<sup>4</sup> derit, et omnia bona sua vadari voluerit, si dubitarent de fuga D. "Petri. Cum venit ad illum D. Petrus, narrat ei Cantuariensis, quomodo affigi curaverit schedas per totum Londinum, quibus offert se "velle probare doctrinam, quæ fuit recepta sub Edvardo Sexto, sanam "esse, Scripturis consentaneam, eandem cum primitiva Ecclesia, et "auctoritate Patrum veterum comprobata, si Petrum Martyrem collegam admittere velint, et unum atque alterum. Laudat factum D. "Petrus, immo ni foret factum, ait se voluisse hoc illi suadere. . . . . "Confirmarunt autem adeo illæ schedæ Cantuariensis animos piorum, "ut jam non dubitarent pro veritate mori; et adversarios adeo exacerbarunt, ut e vestigio novum crimen prodicionis in Cantuariensem "intenderint, atque ad judicium citarint, quo tum Septembris non "memini, die Jovis sat scio, contigit." *Epist. Reformat. Helvet.* Fueslin. LXXVI. §. 9. It will be observed that Terentianus differs from the ordinary accounts in stating, that the placarding of the *Declaration against the Mass* throughout London was not only designed, but actually executed by the Archbishop. See Vol. iv. p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. iii. p. 648.

<sup>3</sup> His treason consisted in signing, with other privy counsellors, King Edward VI.'s will for settling the crown on the Lady Jane Grey. See his own account of the affair in Letter ccxcv.

“ for the aggravating of the same his offence, by spreading about seditious bills, moving tumults to the disquietness of the present state<sup>b</sup>.” His firmness on this occasion, though it brought suffering on himself, is related to have done good service in reviving the courage of the reformers<sup>c</sup>. Nor was his own constancy shaken by the increased severity with which he was treated. Although he sued for pardon for his political delinquency, he expressed no regret for his innovations in the Church. He acknowledged indeed, as he had done under the preceding reigns, that it rested not with him but with his Sovereign “ to see the reformation of things that be amiss;” and he professed his determination “ never to be an author of sedition, to move subjects from the obedience of their heads and rulers, which is an offence most detestable:” but he betrayed no disposition to shrink from the defence of the great changes he had introduced. Confident that they were necessary in themselves, and that they had been sanctioned by lawful authority, he solicited permission to write to the Queen on the subject. He felt it to be his duty, “ knowing what he did, and considering the place which in times past he had occupied,” “ to show her Majesty his mind in things appertaining to God.” Having once done this, he said he should “ think himself discharged<sup>d</sup>.”

Henceforward Cranmer's Remains consist chiefly of his Disputations and Examinations, with the various papers arising out of them. The most prominent of these are his Dis-

<sup>b</sup> Minutes of the Privy Council, in the *Archæologia*, vol. xviii. p. 175.

<sup>c</sup> See above, note (y).

<sup>d</sup> Vol. i. p. 363. It does not appear that the leave applied for was ever granted, (See Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 321.); but a Letter addressed to the Queen about two years later, may be supposed to contain some at least of the sentiments which he now wished to express. See Letter ccxcix.

Disputa-  
tions at  
Oxford,  
April 1554-

putations at Oxford in April 1554, in which he contended, as Respondent, with Chedsey and others<sup>e</sup>, and as Opponent, with Harpsfield<sup>f</sup>; his Examination before Brokes, Bishop of Gloucester, in Sept. 1555<sup>g</sup>; his Appeal at his degradation on the 14th of Feb. 1556<sup>h</sup>; and lastly, his Prayer, Exhortation and Profession of Faith, at St. Mary's Church on the day of his martyrdom<sup>i</sup>. The Disputations at Oxford in April 1554, were held under a commission from Boner, as President of the Convocation, by which Weston, the Prolocutor of the Lower House, with several other of its members, a select number of divines from Cambridge, and a similar body of representatives from Oxford, were empowered to issue their summons to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latymer, and to propose to them certain articles for public disputation. The articles proposed were three in number, all asserting the Romish doctrines on the Eucharist. The proceedings which followed are detailed at length in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, and the part borne in them by the Archbishop, has been reprinted from that work, with a few additions from other authorities<sup>k</sup>. Foxe's report was collected with great diligence, and is probably as accurate as the confused nature of the discussion, and the unfairness of those who presided at it, allowed<sup>l</sup>. But of course it must not be referred to as a satisfactory

<sup>e</sup> Vol. iv. p. 8.

<sup>f</sup> Vol. iv. p. 67.

<sup>g</sup> Vol. iv. p. 79.

<sup>h</sup> Vol. iv. p. 118.

<sup>i</sup> Vol. iv. p. 130.

<sup>k</sup> Vol. iv. p. 4. A doubt may perhaps be raised respecting the propriety of inserting in the present publication the copious extracts from Foxe, which describe these closing scenes of Cranmer's life. Yet a Collection of his Remains would be very incomplete, without some report of what fell from him on those trying occasions. If some report is necessary, none is so full as that of Foxe: and this, if adopted, can scarcely be detached altogether from his narrative. It is hoped, therefore, that the reader will pardon the reprinting of much matter, which is the work of Foxe rather than of Cranmer.

<sup>l</sup> See Vol. iv. pp. 4, 7. notes (a) and (d).

record of Cranmer's reasonings on the question. For that purpose, the written controversy with Gardyner, where he could neither be interrupted nor misrepresented, must be consulted. It is however a very interesting memorial both of the manners of the day, and of the learning and ability displayed by the Archbishop on an occasion for which his talents seemed to be little adapted. Being characterised by solidity rather than quickness of thought, he was better fitted for shining in counsel than in debate. Even his friends therefore may have looked forward to the event with some anxiety; and his enemies probably, giving credit to the slander that he was not only slow but ignorant, indulged in anticipations of an easy victory. But here they were disappointed. Though his replies did not equal in readiness and point those of his fellow-prisoner Ridley, he yet maintained his ground with a vigour and spirit for which his antagonists were not prepared, and which disproved most completely the notions in circulation<sup>m</sup>, respecting the shallowness of his attainments and the narrow range of his understanding.

But it was not a case in which an able defence was of any avail. As he persisted, together with Ridley and Latymer, in denying the three Articles, they were all declared guilty of heresy. It was soon however discovered that this sentence was invalid. The nation had not yet been reconciled to the Pope: and the Convocation consequently being itself out of the pale of the Church, could not presume to sit in judgment on others. This obstacle was removed towards the end of 1554, when absolution was formally pronounced by Cardinal Pole<sup>n</sup>. Yet the commission for a new trial of

<sup>m</sup> "Where some have reported him to be utterly unlearned, and not able to answer a Latin text of a doctor, he hath showed himself learned both in Latin and Greek: for truly he had a better Latin tongue than divers that did oppose him." Letter of an Oxford Scholar, in Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, p. 933. (ed. 1563.)

<sup>n</sup> It was pronounced in Parliament on the 30th of November, and

Examina-  
tion before  
Brokes,  
Sept. 1555.

Cranmer was not issued till Sept. 1555. It proceeded, not as before, from the President of the Convocation, but from the Pope: and it was directed to the Cardinal de Puteo, who nominated for his Subdelegate, James Brokes, Bishop of Gloucester. This prelate accordingly, as the papal representative, held a Court in St. Mary's Church at Oxford, at which Martyn and Story, doctors of civil law, appeared as the Queen's proctors, and laid their charges against the Archbishop. The interrogatories put to him on this occasion led him to speak on some of the most important occurrences of his life, and in particular to enter at considerable length into the grounds, on which he had formerly assisted in throwing off the authority of the Pope, and now refused his consent to its reestablishment<sup>o</sup>. The Examination consequently throws much light not only on his own personal conduct, but also on the general question of the separation of the Church of England from that of Rome. It is therefore to be regretted, that there is some difficulty in obtaining an accurate account of it. Three<sup>p</sup> reports have been preserved; but it unfortunately happens, that the most copious of them may also be suspected of being the least faithful<sup>q</sup>. Under these circumstances, it has been thought best to reprint them all, that the reader may want none of the materials extant for ascertaining the truth.

The examination before Bishop Brokes prepared the way

in Convocation on the 6th of December, 1554. Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 345.

<sup>o</sup> Fearful that his statements would not be faithfully transmitted to the Queen, he comprised their substance in a long Letter addressed to her after this examination. This Letter, which may thus be considered to be a corrected copy of his Speech, is in fact a short treatise on the papal supremacy. See Letter ccxcix.

<sup>p</sup> Two are preserved by Foxe; the third is the official report from Brokes to his principal the Cardinal de Puteo, which was first published by Mr. Todd in the Oxford reprint of Strype's *Cranmer*, 1812.

<sup>q</sup> See notes on the *Examination before Brokes*, Vol. iv. pp. 79. 87, 88. 99.

for the Pope's final sentence. This instrument, which may be seen at length in Foxe<sup>r</sup>, after recounting Cranmer's contumacy<sup>s</sup> and heresy, proceeded to pronounce his excommunication and deprivation, and to direct him to be delivered over to the secular power. In obedience to this mandate he was degraded on the 14th of Feb. 1556, by Boner and Thirlby, having previously, according to the example of Luther, tendered an Appeal, written with much care and under legal advice, in which he complained of unrighteous judgment, and demanded to be tried by the next General Council<sup>t</sup>. Immediately after this Appeal, or per-Appeal. haps simultaneously with it, begins the story of his Recantations<sup>u</sup>. These, even if they were better authenticated than they have yet been, could scarcely claim a place in the present publication. Still less can they do so, when surrounded, as they are, with doubt and difficulty. But the same objection does not apply to the Prayer, Exhortation, and Profession of Faith publicly recited by him at St. Mary's just before his death. It has indeed been asserted<sup>x</sup>, that the two former of these, as well as some of his recantations, were prepared for him by another. But it is difficult to believe, that their simple and touching pathos could have proceeded from an exulting enemy: it surely must have flowed from the genuine sorrow of a wounded and contrite spirit. The whole therefore of what he uttered on this occasion, has been ad-

Degradation, Feb. 1556.

Prayer, &c. at St. Mary's.

<sup>r</sup> *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1490. (ed. 1563.) It was dated the 14th of December 1555.

<sup>s</sup> The contumacy consisted in his not escaping from his prison at Oxford, to appear according to the citation at Rome.

<sup>t</sup> Vol. iv. p. 121.

<sup>u</sup> The fourth of the recantations (which is the first that bears any date) purports to have been written on the 16th of February, only two days after his Appeal. The sixth is dated on the 18th of March, three days before his death. A very careful examination of this perplexing question will be found in Mr. Soames's *Hist. of the Reformation*.

<sup>x</sup> See Vol. iv. p. 137.



mitted without hesitation into this Collection of his Remains.

The following are the chief repositories of manuscripts, from which materials for the present publication have been procured: the British Museum<sup>y</sup>, the Archbishop of Canterbury's Library at Lambeth<sup>z</sup>, the State Paper Office<sup>a</sup>, the Chapter House at Westminster<sup>b</sup>, the Public Li-

<sup>y</sup> In the British Museum, besides several originals, there is a volume (Harl. MSS. 6148.) containing many copies of Letters written between April 1533 and the beginning of 1535. Mr. Ellis calls it "the Archbishop's rough copy book," (*Orig. Letters*, first series, cxiv.) and says that "the transcripts are entirely in Cranmer's hand." (*Archæologia*, vol. xviii. p. 77.) The handwriting, however, is certainly not Cranmer's, but that of the secretary usually employed by him to write his letters. It may be conjectured therefore to be a book, in which this secretary, probably Ralph Morice, entered his master's correspondence. And such seems to have been the opinion of Strype, who saw the volume, and copied sixty-eight of the letters, but not early enough to insert them in any of his works. His copies are now in the Lansdown Collection, (N<sup>o</sup>. 1045,) and are the authority from which several were printed in the Christian Remembrancer for November 1820. The book itself passed through the hands of Henry Ferrers, Ri. St. George, and Sir Henry St. George, Garter King at Arms, and abounds with pedigrees and other such matter; the heralds, it seems, having used it as waste paper, and written their memoranda without scruple on the parts of the leaves which happened to be unoccupied.

<sup>z</sup> The Lambeth Library, besides some papers already printed, has furnished the *Notes and Authorities on Justification*.

<sup>a</sup> The Letters from the State Paper Office have, with one or two exceptions, been lately printed in the *State Papers*, vol. i. London, 1831: but the Thirteen Articles of Faith mentioned above, p. xxii, with a few other documents preserved in this repository, have hitherto remained in manuscript.

<sup>b</sup> The Chapter House contains above a hundred original Letters to Crumwell, extending from Cranmer's elevation to the see of Canterbury in Feb. 1533, to within a few months of Crumwell's execution in July 1540. Several of these have been recently published in Mr. Todd's *Life of Cranmer*, and in the *State Papers*: the remainder, together with a curious correspondence between the Archbishop and a Kentish Justice, have hitherto, it is believed, been unnoticed.

brary<sup>c</sup>, with the Libraries of Corpus Christi<sup>d</sup> and Emmanuel<sup>e</sup> Colleges, Cambridge, the Bodleian Library<sup>f</sup> with that of Balliol College<sup>g</sup>, Oxford, and the Several Collections of MSS. at Zurich<sup>h</sup>. And the best thanks of the editor are due both to those who preside over these establishments, and to the officers entrusted with their management, for the readiness which has been uniformly shown to assist his researches.

The authorities for each document are noted in the margin; that which has been followed in printing, being placed first. It will be seen that this in general is the original manuscript, if still extant. The Letters however, taken from *The State Papers*, London, 1831, are exceptions, the extreme care with which that most valuable publication has been conducted, rendering the labour of collation wholly unnecessary.

<sup>c</sup> Some manuscript notes of the Disputation at Oxford in April 1554, preserved in this Library, have been of service in confirming and illustrating the account of Foxe.

<sup>d</sup> Much from this valuable Library was printed by Strype. It has now afforded the means of correcting his copies, and has also supplied in addition a Sermon on Rebellion, with Letters cclxx. cclxxv. cclxxvii.

<sup>e</sup> The authority of a manuscript in this Library has been followed in printing *The Declaration against the Mass*, and Letters ccxcvi, ccxcvii.

<sup>f</sup> The Bodleian Library has furnished Letter cclxxxvi, and Henry VIII's Corrections of *The Institution of a Christian Man*.

<sup>g</sup> This Library possesses a copy of Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, with MS. notes by the author, containing a transcript of Letter cclxxxi, the original of which, it is feared, is now lost.

<sup>h</sup> These Collections have supplied several unpublished Letters relating to Cranmer's plan for assembling a congress of Reformers to frame a joint Confession of Faith. The Library at Geneva, it was supposed, contained some more, but it appears on inquiry that nothing exists there which was not already in print. Some references in Seckendorf, (*Comment. de Lutheran.* lib. iii. §. lxvi. Add. 1. and §. lxxviii. 20.) afforded good grounds for hoping, that farther additions to the Archbishop's correspondence might be obtained from the Saxon Archives at Weimar. But here also the search that has been made, has proved fruitless.

Some papers attributed to Cranmer on insufficient grounds, several of his official instruments, and a selection from the public documents in the preparation of which he is supposed to have had a share, have been placed in the Appendix, together with some other articles, enumerated in the Table of Contents.

The orthography has been modernised throughout. Besides such general reasons as have induced the editors of most of our standard works to adopt this practice, there are some others peculiar to the present Collection, arising out of the variety of sources from which its contents are drawn. Some articles are taken from manuscripts by Cranmer himself; many more from papers in the handwriting of a secretary; some again are from books printed during the author's lifetime; others from publications that did not appear till more than a century after his death. It is obvious, that exact copies of these different authorities, though they might impart an antiquated aspect to the page, would convey any thing but a fair representation of the orthography, (if such a term <sup>i</sup> can be used with propriety,) either of Cranmer or of his times. They would form a motley mixture, made up from the different fancies of Cranmer himself, of his numerous secretaries, of his still more numerous printers, and of the several biographers and historians to whom we are indebted for the preservation of many of his writings <sup>k</sup>. The reasons therefore for introducing the modern mode of spelling are more than usually strong. But it is in the spelling only that change has been made. Old words, old forms of words, and old constructions have been carefully

<sup>i</sup> This may well be doubted, for when the word "property," for instance, is spelt in ten different ways within a few pages, it must surely be a question, whether any way can be pronounced to be the *right* one.

<sup>k</sup> Foxe seems to have spelt according to his taste. Burnet and Strype, particularly the former, even when they appear to retain the orthography of the original manuscript, sometimes deviate from it almost as widely as from that of their own day.

retained<sup>1</sup>. So that in every other point, excepting orthography, the grammatical antiquary, it is hoped, will find the present Collection not less useful in illustrating the progress of the English language, than the original manuscripts and the earlier impressions.

HENRY JENKYNs.

*Oriel College, 1st of March, 1833.*

<sup>1</sup> Proper names also, since their orthography is not always decidedly fixed, have been allowed to stand without alteration in the text. In the notes and preface they have been spelt in what seems to have been the most frequent method ; and on this point the judgment of the editor of the *State Papers*, wherever it has been given, has been implicitly followed.



*List of Cranmer's Writings from Bale, "Scripto-  
rum Illustrium majoris Britanniae Catalogus,  
" Basil, 1559."*

INTER occupationes varias in Anglico sermone composuit  
Cranmerus :

*Catechismum Doctrinæ Christianæ.* <sup>a</sup> Lib. I. "Excel-  
lentissimo principi Edwardo." <sup>b</sup>

*Ordinationes Ecclesiæ Reformatæ.* Lib. I. "Nusquam  
excogitatum aliquid erat." <sup>c</sup>

*De Ministris Ordinandis.* Lib. I. "Clarum est omnibus  
hominibus." <sup>d</sup>

*De Eucharistia cum Luthero.* Lib. I.

Defensionem Catholicæ Doctrinæ. Lib. V. "Pro cura  
Dominici gregis mihi." <sup>e</sup>

Ad Veritatis Professores. Lib. I. "Dominus et Servator  
noster." <sup>f</sup>

*Jura Ecclesiastica tempore Edwardi.* <sup>g</sup> Lib. I. "Quoniam  
regni potestas et legum."

*Contra Gardineri Concionem.* Lib. I.

Doctrinam Cænæ Dominicæ. Lib. I. "Servator Noster  
Christus Jesus." <sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup> [The Italics distinguish the works which are not contained in the  
present Collection.]

<sup>b</sup> [See Preface, p. liv ; and Vol. i. Letter cclxxi.]

<sup>c</sup> [See Preface, p. liii ; and Appendix, N<sup>o</sup>. xxxvi.]

<sup>d</sup> [Ibid.]

<sup>e</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 283.]

<sup>f</sup> [These are the first words of Cranmer's Answer to the three Arti-  
cles on the Lord's Supper proposed to him at Oxford in 1554. See  
Vol. iv. p. 14.]

<sup>g</sup> [See Preface, p. cviii.]

<sup>h</sup> [The same work with the *Defensio Catholicæ Doctrinæ* mentioned

Contra Transubstantiationis Errorem. Lib. I. "Quatuor  
" audivistis declaratas." <sup>i</sup>

Quomodo Christus adsit in Cœna. Lib. I. "Resoluta  
" jam, ut spero, transub." <sup>k</sup>

De Esu Cœnæ Dominicæ. Lib. I. "Crassus Papistarum  
" error de." <sup>l</sup>

De Christi Oblatione. Lib. I. "Maxima blasphemia et  
" injur." <sup>m</sup>

Homelias Christianas. Lib. I. <sup>n</sup>

Ad Ricardi Smithi Calumnias. Lib. I. "Jam nunc ob-  
" tinui, candide lec." <sup>o</sup>

Confutationes Veritatum non scriptarum. Lib. I. "Nihil  
" addetis ad verbum quod." <sup>p</sup>

*Locos Communes ex Doctoribus.* Lib. XII. "Sacra Scrip-  
" turæ intellectus et." <sup>q</sup>

*De non ducenda Fratria.* <sup>r</sup> Lib. II.

*Contra Primatum Papæ.* Lib. II.

*Adversus Papæ Purgatorium.* Lib. II.

*De Justificatione.* Lib. II.

*Pias Precationes.* Lib. I.

Epistolas ad viros eruditos. Lib. I. <sup>s</sup>

above; "Servator noster Jesus Christus" being the first words of the preface, and "Pro cura Dominici gregis" the first words of a letter of dedication to Edward VI, prefixed to the Latin translation in 1553. See Vol. ii. pp. 283. 287.]

<sup>i</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 313.]

<sup>k</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 355.]

<sup>l</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 425.]

<sup>m</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 447.]

<sup>n</sup> [See Preface, p. xlvii.; and Vol. ii. p. 138.]

<sup>o</sup> [Vol. iii. p. 1.]

<sup>p</sup> [Vol. iv. p. 145.]

<sup>q</sup> [These are the first words of the Table of Contents prefixed to Cranmer's Common Place Book, preserved in the British Museum, Royal MSS. 7 B. xi. xii. See Preface, pp. ii. lxxiii.; and Vol. iv. p. 147.]

<sup>r</sup> [See Preface, p. vi.]

<sup>s</sup> ["The Archbishop's Letters to learned men were never either by himself or others collected into one or more books, especially at that time. But it was Bale's foolish way to account to every great man

Scriptis ex carcere :

*Contra Sacrificium Missæ.* Lib. I.

*Contra Adorationem Panis.* Lib. I.

*Ad Reginam Mariam.* Lib. I. <sup>t</sup>

et alia quædam.

Bibliorum translationes Anglicas pluribus in locis emendavit, præfationesque addidit <sup>u</sup>.

“ whom he had placed in his rhapsody of writers, *one book of Epistles.*”

H. Wharton, *Corrections of Strype*, p. 263.]

<sup>t</sup> [Vol. i. Letter ccxcix.]

<sup>u</sup> [See Preface, p. cxvii.]



*List of Cranmer's Writings from Tanner, "Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica."*

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SCRIPTSIT :

A Preface to the English Translation of the Bible <sup>x</sup>.

*A Catechism of Christian Doctrine*, 1548, by Gualter Lynn.

*Instruction into the Christian Religion*. Pr. epist. "It is not unknown unto the hole." Idem hic liber cum Catechismo, quia sæpe mentionem facit verborum, "Good children."

*The Ordinances or Appointments of the Reformed Church*. Hic liber fuit *The Book of Common Prayer*, cum præfat. "There was never any thing."

*A Book of Ordaining Ministers*. Idem cum *The Form of Ordination*, &c. 1550.

*A Book concerning the Eucharist with Luther*.

*Ecclesiastical Laws in the Time of King Edward*. Hic liber est *Reformatio Legum*, &c. a 32 delegatis composita, inter quos Cranmerus erat primarius.

A Defence of the Catholic Doctrine. Lib. V. Pr. pr. "Our Saviour Christ Jesus according to the will." Lond. 1550. 4to; Embdæ, 1557. 8vo; Latine per Joh. Chekum, cui Archiepiscopus Latinam præfationem addidit ded. Regi Edw. VI. "Pro cura Dominici gregis," Lond. 1553 <sup>y</sup>.

The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Lib. I. Against the Error of Transubstantiation. Lib. I. How Christ is present in the Lord's Supper. Lib. I. Concerning eating the Lord's Supper. Lib. I. Concerning the Offering up of Christ. Lib. I. Hæc sunt argumenta quinque librorum Defensionis Catholicæ Doctrinæ, &c. <sup>z</sup>

<sup>x</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 104.]

<sup>y</sup> [Ibid. p. 283.]

<sup>z</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 291.]

**Responsionem ad Sophisticam Gardineri Cavillationem contra Veram Doctrinam de Corpore et Sanguine Christi in Eucharistia.** Lib. V. Anglice. Pr. "I think it good, gentle reader," Lond. 1551, 4to. [fol. ?] 1580. fol. Et Latine per Joh. Fox, MS. penes Jo. Strype. Cui libro replicabat Steph. Gardiner sub nomine M. Ant. Constantii, cui etiam libro Cranmer respondere voluit, nisi mors prævenisset. Tres tamen libros responsorios contexuit, quorum duo priores Oxoniæ perierunt <sup>a</sup>.

**A Book of Christian Homilies.** Est sc. prima pars Homiliarum libri tempore Edw. VI. edit. <sup>b</sup>

**A Book in Answer to the Calumnies of Richard Smith.** Pr. "I have now obtained." Lond. 1551. 4to. [fol. ?] 1580. fol. <sup>c</sup>

**Confutations of Unwritten Verities ; written against Rich. Smith's book De Veritatibus non scriptis ; qui liber Latine scriptus, sed nunquam, ut mihi quidem videtur, in ea lingua impressus fuit.** Pr. translationis, "You shal put nothyng to the word." Anglice per E. P. cum præfatione doctissima, Lond. 1582, 4to. <sup>d</sup>

*Twelve Books of Common Places*, taken out of the doctors<sup>e</sup>.

**Concerning the Unlawfulness of marrying the Brother's Wife.** Lib. II. Hic liber primus esse videtur, quem jussu Regis Henrici VIII. conscripsit. In MS. Cotton. Vespasian, B. 5. sunt articuli xii. ex quibus demonstratur divortium inter Hen. VIII. et Reginam Catharinam necessarie esse faciendum. Pr. "Affinitas <sup>f</sup>."

**Against the Pope's Supremacy.** Lib. II. Hæc forte fuit declaratio episcoporum 1536, contra suprematum Papæ et contra Poli *Ecclesiasticam Unionem* <sup>g</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> [See Preface, p. xcvi; and Vol. iii. p. 25.]

<sup>b</sup> [See Preface, p. xlvi; and Vol. ii. p. 138.]

<sup>c</sup> [See Preface, p. lxxxviii; and Vol. iii. p. 1.]

<sup>d</sup> [Vol. iv. p. 145.]

<sup>e</sup> [See above, p. cxxiv. note (q).]

<sup>f</sup> [See Preface, p. viii.]

<sup>g</sup> [See Strype, *Cranmer*, pp. 44, 52; Lord Herbert, *Life of Hen. VIII.* p. 418; Foxe, *Acts, &c.* vol. ii. p. 346.]

*Against the Pope's Purgatory.* Lib. II.

*Concerning Justification.* Lib. II. Hi duo ultimi libri videntur esse tractatus hujus argumenti ad finem libri, *The Institution of a Christian Man.*

*Pious Prayers.* Lib. I. Forte orarium, sive libellus precatationum, a Rege et clero editus, 1545<sup>h</sup>.

*Against the Sacrifice of Mass; and against the Adoration of the Bread.* Lib. I. Scriptus hic liber in carcere, et videtur esse pars prima *Responsi ad Gardinerum*, sub nomine Constantii<sup>i</sup>.

Twelve questions about alms, fasting, the mass, &c. by Archbishop Cranmer, MS. C.C.C.C. Misc. B. p. 231<sup>k</sup>.

His Declaration concerning the slanderous Reports of his setting up Mass again. Ibid. p. 321; et Strype, in *Vita Cranmer.* p. 305. Pr. "As the Devil<sup>l</sup>."

Disputationes Oxoniæ, April 16, 1554. Fox, p. 1430. seqq.<sup>m</sup>

Submissiones et Recantationes ejus vi. cum Oratione ad Populum ante Mortem. Vis. et exam. per Edm. Episc. London. Extant Angl. et Latine, London, 1556. 4<sup>to</sup>.<sup>n</sup>

Protestationem contra Jurisdictionem Episcopi Romani. Extat in *Concil. M. Brit. et Hib.* vol. iii. p. 757<sup>o</sup>.

Mandatum de Festo S. Marci Evangelistæ celebrando. Ibid. p. 826<sup>p</sup>.

Aliud, De non celebrandis Festis Diebus in Concil. Provinc. abrogatis. Ibid. p. 827<sup>q</sup>.

Literam commissionalem Rich. Episcopo Dovor. Ibid. p. 828<sup>r</sup>. Et Strype in *Vita Cranmer.* App. p. 41.

Injunctions given to the Diocese of Hereford. Ibid. p. 843<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>h</sup> [See Todd, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. ii. p. 523.]

<sup>i</sup> [See Preface, p. xcvi.]

<sup>k</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 178.]

<sup>l</sup> [Vol. iv. p. 1.]

<sup>m</sup> [Vol. iv. p. 4.]

<sup>n</sup> [Appendix, N<sup>o</sup>. xlii.]

<sup>o</sup> [Appendix, N<sup>o</sup>. i.]

<sup>p</sup> [Appendix, N<sup>o</sup>. ix.]

<sup>q</sup> [Appendix, N<sup>o</sup>. x.]

<sup>r</sup> [Appendix, N<sup>o</sup>. xi.]

<sup>s</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 19.]

Mandatum de Nominibus Beneficiatorum et Beneficiorum. Ibid. p. 857<sup>t</sup>.

Statutum de Numero Procuratorum curiæ Cant. confirmatum a T. C. Ibid. p. 858<sup>u</sup>.

Constitutionem de moderato Apparatu Escarum. Ibid. p. 862<sup>x</sup>.

Mandatum pro Orationibus pro Cessatione Pluviæ. Ibid. p. 868<sup>y</sup>.

Epistolas varias. 1. M. Bucero post mortem Fagii, MS. C.C.C.C. Misc. ii. p. 27. Epistolæ duæ ad M. Parkerum. Ibid. Misc. i. 391. quarum una extat Strype, in *Vita Parker*. p. 28. Epistola Lat. Jo. Vadiano, 1537. super Controversia de Cæna Domini orta. Strype, in *Vita Cranmer*. App. N<sup>o</sup>. xxv. Epistolæ VI. extant ad finem *Responsionis ad Gardinerum*, Lond. 1580. fol. Epistolæ duæ ad Regnam, et altera ad Doct. Martin et Story, ex carcere Oxon. Pr. primæ. "It may please your Majesty," 1556. 8<sup>o</sup>. Epistola ad Edwardum Principem. Fox, 1395. Epistola ad Concilium sacrum, e carcere Oxon. Fox, 1464. Epistolæ XVII. Anglicæ et III. Latinæ, extant apud Strype, in *Vita Cranmer*. in Append. et in libro ipso VI. ejus Epistolæ z.

Protestationem contra Juramentum Papæ præstitum. Strype, in *Vita Cranm*. Append. N<sup>o</sup>. v.<sup>a</sup>

Three Discourses of Faith, Justification, and Forgiveness of Injuries, occasioned upon his Review of the King's Book, entitled, The Erudition of a Christian Man. Strype, *Cranm*. App. N<sup>o</sup>. xxvi.<sup>b</sup>

Other Discourses: De Consolatione Christianorum contra Metum Mortis; item, Exhortation to take Adversity and Sickness patiently. Ibid. N<sup>o</sup>. xxxii.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>t</sup> [Appendix, N<sup>o</sup>. xvi.]

<sup>x</sup> [Appendix, N<sup>o</sup>. xviii.]

<sup>z</sup> [See Contents of Vol. i.]

<sup>b</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 66.]

VOL. I.

<sup>u</sup> [Appendix, N<sup>o</sup>. xix.]

<sup>y</sup> [Appendix, N<sup>o</sup>. xxi.]

<sup>a</sup> [See above, p. cxxviii. (o).]

<sup>c</sup> [Appendix, N<sup>o</sup>. xx.]

k

Answers to the XV Articles of the Rebels, Devon. 1549.  
Ibid. No. XL.<sup>d</sup>

Notes for an Homily against the Rebellion. Ibid. No. XLI.<sup>e</sup>

Speech at the Coronation of King Edward. Strype, in  
*Vita Cranmer*. p. 144.<sup>f</sup>

Articles in the Visitation of the Diocese of Canterbury,  
2 Edw. VI. Pr. "First, whether parsons, vicars, &c." Ex-  
tant in *Collect. Canon*. Sparrow g.

<sup>d</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 202.]

<sup>e</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 245.]

<sup>f</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 118.]

<sup>g</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 185.]

*List of Cranmer's Writings, from Mr. Todd's Life  
of Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 519.*

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A LONG Speech in the House of Lords in 1534, discussing the propriety of a General Council, and denouncing the Authority of the Pontiff<sup>a</sup>.

A Speech in Convocation in 1536, defending the Opinion of Alexander Ales concerning the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper<sup>b</sup>.

Answers to Questions concerning Confirmation, 1537<sup>c</sup>.

Considerations submitted to King Henry in order to a further Reformation, 1537<sup>d</sup>.

Injunctions given at his Visitation of the See of Hereford, 1538<sup>e</sup>.

Preface to the Translation of the Bible, in 1539, first printed in 1540<sup>f</sup>.

Articles intended to be the Doctrine of the Church of England, 1540<sup>g</sup>.

Answers to Seventeen Questions concerning the Sacraments, previously to the publication of the Necessary Doctrine, in 1543<sup>h</sup>.

Three brief Discourses on his Review of the Necessary

<sup>a</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 11. Burnet speaks of another discourse by Cranmer about the same time, on the power of bishops, and the authority of a Christian prince to make them do their duty; but expresses his fear that it is lost. *Reformat.* vol. i. p. 359.]

<sup>b</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 16.]

<sup>c</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 18.]

<sup>d</sup> [Appendix, N<sup>o</sup>. vii.]

<sup>e</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 19.]

<sup>f</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 104.]

<sup>g</sup> [See Preface, p. xxii. and Appendix, N<sup>o</sup>. xiiii.]

<sup>h</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 98.]

Doctrine, entitled, Faith, Justification, and Forgiveness of Injuries <sup>i</sup>.

Other Annotations on this Review <sup>k</sup>.

Parts of three other Discourses against the fear of Death, and on patience in Sickness and Adversity <sup>l</sup>.

Collection of Passages from the Canon Law, to show the necessity of reforming it, about the year 1544 <sup>m</sup>.

Speech to Edward the Sixth at his Coronation, 1546-7 <sup>n</sup>.

*Speech in Convocation to the Clergy*, 1547 <sup>o</sup>.

The Homilies on Salvation, Faith, and Good Works, 1547 <sup>p</sup>.

Answers to Questions concerning the Mass, 1547 <sup>q</sup>.

*Additions to the Translation of Justus Jonas's Catechism*, 1548 <sup>r</sup>.

Against Unwritten Verities, 1548 <sup>s</sup>.

Articles to be inquired into at his Visitation, 1548 <sup>t</sup>.

Preface to the Book of Common Prayer, entitled, "Concerning the Service of the Church," 1548-9 <sup>u</sup>.

Answers to the Fifteen Articles of the Devonshire Rebels, 1549 <sup>x</sup>.

Notes for a Homily on the subject of Rebellion, 1549 <sup>y</sup>.

Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, 1550 <sup>z</sup>.

Vindication of the Defence in Answer to Bishop Gardiner and Dr. Smith, 1551 <sup>a</sup>.

*Pious Prayers* <sup>b</sup>.

Declaration against the Mass, 1553 <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>i</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 66, &c.]

<sup>j</sup> [Appendix, N<sup>o</sup>. xx.]

<sup>k</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 118.]

<sup>l</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 138.]

<sup>m</sup> [See Preface, p. lv.]

<sup>n</sup> [Vol. iv. p. 145; and Appendix N<sup>o</sup>. xxxv.]

<sup>o</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 185.]

<sup>p</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 202.]

<sup>q</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 275.]

<sup>r</sup> [See above, p. cxxviii.]

<sup>k</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 65, &c.]

<sup>m</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 1.]

<sup>o</sup> [See Preface, p. l.]

<sup>q</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 178.]

<sup>u</sup> [Appendix, N<sup>o</sup>. xxxvi.]

<sup>y</sup> [Vol. ii. p. 245.]

<sup>a</sup> [Vol. iii. pp. 1, 25.]

<sup>c</sup> [Vol. iv. p. 1.]

Disputation at Oxford, 1554<sup>d</sup>.

Speech before the Papal Commissioners, 1555<sup>e</sup>.

Appeal to a General Council, 1555-6<sup>f</sup>.

Speech at his Martyrdom, 1555-6<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> [Vol. iv. pp. 4, 67.]

<sup>e</sup> [Vol. iv. pp. 83. 110.]

<sup>f</sup> [Vol. iv. p. 121.]

<sup>g</sup> [Vol. iv. p. 135.]

[The above are described by Mr. Todd as having been printed entire or in part. "Of his papers which have been saved," he proceeds to state, "some are in the library at Lambeth Palace, more in that of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; some in that of the State Paper Office of the realm, with several of his letters; more, of the latter description especially, in the British Museum; a large collection of his letters also in the Chapter House at Westminster; some at Geneva and at Zurich; some that were in possession of the late Dr. Gloucester Ridley; and some in the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge."

Among the works not now to be found, Mr. Todd mentions, besides those in the lists of Bale and Tanner,

"Reasons against the Six Articles." See Preface, p. xxvi.

"Confutation of eighty-eight Articles, devised and proposed by a Convocation in Henry's reign." See Foxe, *Acts*, &c. vol. iii. p. 647; Strype, *Cranmer*, pp. 75. 395; *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 354.]



### FACSIMILES.

- No. I. Facsimile of Cranmer's *earliest* handwriting, from his Letter to the Earl of Wiltshire in 1531.
- No. II. Facsimile of Cranmer's *latest* handwriting, from his Answer to the Devonshire rebels in 1549.
- No. III. Facsimile of the handwriting of Cranmer's principal Secretary.



*M. L. Cotton.*

# LETTERS.

## I. TO THE EARL OF WILTSHIRE<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> IT may please your lordship to be advertised, that the King his Grace, my lady your wife, my lady Anne your daughter, be in good health, whereof thanks be to God.

Lansdowne MSS. 115. fol. i. Original, Holograph. Strype, Cranmer, App. No. 1. Todd, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 31.

As concerning the King his cause, Master Raynolde Poole hath written a book<sup>c</sup> much contrary to the King his purpose, with such wit, that it appeareth that he might be for his

<sup>a</sup> [Thomas Boleyn, the father of Queen Anne Boleyn, created Earl of Wiltshire, Dec. 8, 1529.]

<sup>b</sup> [This Letter seems to have been written in 1531, during an interval passed by Cranmer in England between his embassy to Rome when he presented his book on the divorce to the Pope, and his mission into Germany to the Emperor. He was probably residing at this time with the Boleyn family, as had been the case before he accompanied the Earl to Italy. See Todd, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 30. where some errors of Strype respecting this Letter are corrected.]

<sup>c</sup> [This was doubtless the "book," which Pole some years afterwards said he had delivered to the King with "secretness." Burnet, *Ref.* vol. iii. App. B. iii. No. 51. This "secretness" explains that silence of the historians, and even of his biographer Beccatelli respecting it, which led Anthony Wood to maintain that it was never written. *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 122. Phillips relates, (and his account, though it has been questioned, seems worthy of credit,) that Pole first declared his opinion on the divorce to Henry VIII. at a personal interview, and afterwards, with a view of softening the King's displeasure, "sent his reasons in writing, with an assurance, which he knew would be acceptable, that the purport of the letter had been communicated to no body." Phillips, *Life of Pole*, p. 68. Mr. Todd objects to Phillips's term "letter," as applied to what both Cranmer and Pole called a "book;" but at that time the word "book" was used indifferently for a volume or a single sheet. See *Vocabulary to State Papers*, vol. i.]

wisdom of the council to the King his Grace; and of such eloquence, that if it were set forth and known to the common people, I suppose it were not possible to persuade them to the contrary. The principal intent whereof is, that the King his Grace should be content to commit his great cause to the judgment of the Pope; wherein me seemeth he lacketh much judgment. But he suadeth that with such goodly eloquence, both of words and sentence, that he were like to persuade many, but me he persuadeth in that point nothing at all. But in many other things he satisfieth me very well. The sum whereof I shall shortly rehearse.

First, he sheweth the cause wherefore he had never pleasure to intromit himself in this cause, and that was the trouble which was like to ensue to this realm thereof by diversity of titles; whereof what hurt might come, we have had example in our fathers' days by the titles of Lancaster and York. And whereas God hath given many noble gifts unto the King his Grace, as well of body and mind, as also of fortune; yet this exceedeth all other, that in him all titles do meet and come together, and this realm is restored to tranquillity and peace; so oweth he to provide, that this land fall not again to the foresaid misery and trouble; which may come as well by the people within this realm, (which think surely that they have an heir lawful already, with whom they all be well content, and would be sorry to have any other, and it would be hard to persuade them to take any other, leaving her,) as also by the Emperor, which is a man of so great power, the Queen being his aunt, the Princess his niece, whom he so much doth and ever hath favoured.

And where he heard reasons for the King his party, that he was moved of God his law, which doth straitly forbid and that with many great threats, that no man shall marry his brother his wife: and as for the people, that longeth not to their judgment, and yet it is to be thought that they will be content, when they shall know that the ancient doctors of the Church, and the determinations of so many great universities be of the King his sentence: and as concerning

the Emperor, if he be so unrightful that he will maintain an unjust cause, yet God will never fail them that stand upon his party, and for any thing will not transgress his commandments: and beside that, we shall not lack the aid of the French King, which partly for the league which he hath made with us, and partly for the displeasure and old grudge which he beareth toward the Emperor, would be glad to have occasion to be avenged: these reasons he bringeth for the King's party against his own opinion.

To which he maketh answer in this manner. First, as touching the law of God, he thinketh that if the King were pleased to take the contrary part, he might as well justify that, and have as good ground of the Scripture therefore, as for that part which he now taketh. And yet if he thought the King's party never so just, and that this his marriage were undoubtedly against God's pleasure, then he could not deny but it should be well done for the King to refuse this marriage, and to take another wife: but that he should be a doer therein, and a setter forward thereof, he could never find in his heart. And yet he granteth that he hath no good reason therefore, only affection which he beareth and of duty oweth unto the King's person. For in so doing he should not only weaken, yea and utterly take away the Princess's title, but also he must needs accuse the most and chief part of all the King's life hitherto, which hath been so infortunate to live more than twenty years in a matrimony so shameful, so abominable, so bestial and against nature, (if it be so as the books which do defend the King's party do say,) that the abomination thereof is naturally written and graven in every man's heart, so that none excusation can be made by ignorance; and thus to accuse the noble nature of the King's Grace, and to take away the title of his succession, he could never find in his heart, were [the] King's cause never so good; which he doth knowledge to be only affection.

Now as concerning the people, he thinketh not possible to satisfy them by learning or preaching; but as they now

do begin to hate priests, this shall make them rather to hate much more both learned men and also the name of learning, and bring them in abomination of every man. For what loving men toward their prince would gladly hear, that either their prince should be so unfortunate, to live so many years in matrimony so abominable, or that they should be taken and counted so bestial, to approve and take for lawful, and that so many years, a matrimony so unlawful and so much against nature, that every man in his heart naturally doth abhor it; and, that is more, when they hear this matrimony dispraised and spoken against, neither by their own minds, nor by reasons that be made against this matrimony, can they be persuaded to grudge against the matrimony; but for any thing they do grudge against the divorce, wherein the people should show themselves no men but beasts. And that the people should be persuaded hereto, he cannot think it.

And as for the authority of the universities, he thinketh and sayeth that many times they be led by affections, which is well known to every man, and wisheth that they never did err in their determinations. Then he sheweth with how great difficulty the universities were brought to the King's party. And moreover against the authority of the universities, he setteth the authority of the King's Grace's father and and his Council, the Queen's father and his Council, and the Pope and his Council.

Then he cometh again to the Pope, and the Emperor, and French King. And first the Pope, how much he is adversary unto the King's purpose, he hath showed divers tokens already, and not without a cause; for if he should consent to the King's purpose, he must needs do against his predecessors, and also restrain his own power more than it hath been in time past, which rather he would be glad to extend; and moreover he should set great sedition in many realms, as in Portugal, of which King the Emperor hath married one sister, and the Duke of Savoy the other. Then he extolleth the power of the Emperor and diminish[eth] the

aid of the French King toward us, saying, that the Emperor, without drawing of any sword, but only by forbidding the course of merchandise into Flaunderes and Spayne, may put this realm into great damage and ruin. And what if he will thereto draw his sword, wherein is so much power, which being of much less power than he is now, subdued the Pope and the French King. And as for the Frenchmen, [they] never used to keep league with us but for their own advantage, and we can never find in our hearts to trust them. And yet if now contrary to their old nature they keep their league, yet our nation shall think themselves in miserable condition, if they shall be compelled to trust upon their aid, which always have be our mortal enemies, and never we loved them, nor they us. And if the Frenchmen have any suspicion that this new matrimony shall not continue, then we shall have no succour of them, but upon such conditions as shall be intolerable to this realm. And if they, following their old nature and custom, then do break league with us, then we shall look for none other, but that England shall be a prey between the Emperor and them. After all this he cometh to the point to save the King's honour, saying, that the King standeth even upon the brink of the water, and yet he may save all his honour; but if he put forth his foot but one step forward, all his honour is drowned. And the means which he hath devised to save the King's honour is this<sup>d</sup>.

The rest of this matter I must leave to show your lordship by mouth when I speak with you, which I purpose, God willing, shall be tomorrow, if the King's Grace let me not. Now the bearer maketh such haste that I can write no more, but that I hear no word from my benefice, nor master Russel[']s servant is not yet returned again, whereof I do not a little marvel. The King and my lady Anne rode yesterday to Wyndsowere, and this night they be looked for again at Hampton Court; God be their guide,

<sup>d</sup> [As has been observed by Strype and Mr. Todd, the beginning of the Letter shows, that the means devised were, for the King to be "content to commit his great cause to the judgment of the Pope."]



and preserve your lordship to his most pleasure. From Hampton Court this xiii. day of June, [1531 c.]

Your most humble beadman,

Thomas Cranmar<sup>f</sup>.

## II. TO KING HENRY VIII<sup>g</sup>.

Strype,  
Cranmer,  
App. No. ii.  
from Sir  
W. Hickes's  
MSS.

Pleaseth it your Highness to understand, that at my last solicitation unto Monsieur Grandeveile for an answer of the contract of merchandise between the merchants of your Grace's realm, and the merchants of the Emperor's Low Countries; the said Monsieur Grandeveile<sup>h</sup> showed me, that forsomuch as the Diet concerning the said contract was lately held in Flaundres, where the Queen of Hungary<sup>i</sup> is Governatrice, the Emperor thought good to do nothing therein without her advice, but to make answer by her rather than by me. Wherefore it may please your Grace no further to look for answer of me herein, but of the Queen, unto whom the whole answer is committed.

Moreover, when the said Monsieur Grandeveile inquired of me, if I had any answer of the aid and subsidy, which the Emperor desired of your Grace, I reported unto him fully your Grace's answer, according unto mine instructions sent unto me by your Grace's servant, William Paget. Which

<sup>c</sup> [According to Strype, 1530 was the date of this Letter, but Mr. Todd has sufficiently proved that it was written in 1531. *Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 30.]

<sup>f</sup> [It is remarkable that in this, which is the only instance in the collection, where the Archbishop's surname appears written by his own hand, the orthography should differ from that which has been generally adopted.]

<sup>g</sup> [This and the following Letter are reports sent home to the King by Cranmer, when ambassador to the Emperor Charles V. His appointment to this post bears date the 24th of January 1531, i. e. as Seckendorf rightly observes, 1532, according to the new style. Strype seems to have understood it otherwise. Seckendorf, *Comment. de Lutheran.* lib. III. §. xvi. Add.; Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 8. (ed. Oxf. 1812.)]

<sup>h</sup> [For an account of this celebrated minister of Charles V, and of his still more celebrated son, Cardinal Granvelle, see *Biographie Universelle*, vol. xviii.]

<sup>i</sup> [Mary, the sister of Charles V, Queen Dowager of Hungary, and Governess of the Netherlands.]

answer he desired me to deliver him in writing, that he might refer the same truly unto the Emperor, and so I did. Nevertheless the Emperor, now at his departing<sup>k</sup>, hath had such importune business, that Monsieur Grandeveile assigned me to repair unto the Emperor again at Lintz, for there, he said, I shall have an answer again in writing. The French ambassador and I with all diligence do make preparation to furnish ourselves of waggons, horses, ships, tents, and other things necessary to our voyage; but it will be at the least eight or ten days, before we can be ready to depart hence. Yet we trust to be at Lyntz before the Emperor; for he will tarry by the way at Passaw ten or twelve days.

As for the Turk, he resideth still in Hungary in the same place environed upon all parts, whereof I wrote unto your Highness in my last letters. And the Emperor departed from Abagh toward Vienna the second day of this month by land, not coming by this town; but the same day the King Ferdinando<sup>l</sup> departed from this town by water, and at Passaw, fourteen miles hence, they shall meet, and so pass forth unto Lyntz, which is the midway from hence unto Vienna. And there the Emperor will tarry to counsel what he will do<sup>m</sup>: and there all the ambassadors shall know his pleasure, as Monsieur Grandeveile showed me.

I have sent herewith unto your Grace the copy of the Emperor's proclamation<sup>n</sup> concerning a General Council, and a reformation to be had in Germany for the controversies of

<sup>k</sup> [The Emperor was now on the point of setting out to take the command of the combined forces of Germany, Spain, and Italy, against the Turks under Solymán. See the next Letter.]

<sup>l</sup> [Brother and successor to Charles V. in the empire; King of Hungary and Bohemia, 1527, King of the Romans, 1531.]

<sup>m</sup> [The resolution to which he came was, to encamp his whole army near Vienna, and there to await the enemy. Sleidan, *De Statu Religionis*, lib. viii.]

<sup>n</sup> [This must have been the edict of the 3rd of Aug. 1532; by which the Emperor, on the conclusion of the treaty of Nuremberg, announced a general peace in Germany until the meeting of a General, Christian, and free Council. The protestants on their part engaged to assist the Emperor against the Turks. The contingent of troops and money which each state was bound to furnish, is alluded to in the next sentence. See Seckendorf, *Comment. de Lutheran.* lib. III. §. ix. (12); Robertson, *Charles V.*]

the faith. Also I have sent the tax of all the states of the empire, how many soldiers every man is limited unto for the aid against the Turk. Wherein your Grace may perceive, that the greatest prince in Germany (only the Duke of Burgundy and Austrey except) is not appointed above 120 horsemen and 554 footmen. Thus our Lord evermore have your Highness in his preservation and governance. From Regenspurg the iv. day of September. [1532.]

Your Grace's most humble subject,  
chaplain, and beadman,  
Thomas Cranmer.

### III. TO KING HENRY VIII.

Cotton  
MSS. Vite-  
lius, B. XXI.  
fol. 79.  
Original,  
Holograph.

<sup>o</sup> Pleaseth it your Highness to understand, that [the Emperor hath made] such speed in his journey toward Spayne, that [he hath travelled] two hundred English miles from Vienna, and is [now at a] town called Villach, but six Dutch miles from Italy, [from whence, if] possible, he intendeth to pass the seas into Spayne be[fore] Chri[stmas]. But in his passage through Italy he will speak [with the] Pope, with whom, among other matters, I suppose he will tr[eat of] a General Council to be had this next year to come, accordi[ng] to his promise unto the princes of Almayne at this last Di[et]<sup>q</sup>. And I do think that he will not forget to make mention u[n]to the] Pope of your Grace's great cause, wherein I humbly beseech your Highness that I may be instructed of your pleasure what I shall do. Because the said meeting should not much empech the Emperor's long [journey] into Spayne, he hath directed letters unto the Pope, to meet<sup>r</sup> him [at] some place in his way toward Genua.

<sup>o</sup> [This Letter is injured by fire. Some of the deficiencies have been supplied by conjecture.]

<sup>p</sup> [He did not land in Spain before April in the following year. Robertson, *Charles V.*]

<sup>q</sup> [See note (n) to Letter II.]

<sup>r</sup> [They met at Bologna. See for an account of the interview, Seckendorf, *Comm. de Luth.* lib. III. §. xi. (2); or Robertson, *Charles V.*]

What place that shall be, is not yet known, as Monsieur Grandeveile informed me, but I shall certify your Grace as soon as I shall have sure knowledge thereof: but I fear that the Emperor will depart thence, before my letters may come unto your Grace's hands. And if not, I beseech your Grace of instructions, what I shall entreat with your Grace's ambassadors<sup>s</sup> unto the Pope's holiness, if we meet together, as I suppose we shall.

As touching the Emperor's army of Italians and Spanyardes that came out of Italy, in their coming to Vienna by Isprugh, Passaw, Lintz, and other places adjoining to the waters of Enus and Danubius, they have done great damage unto all the countries that they have passed by, as I wrote unto your Highness in my last letters, dated the second day of this month; but now, in returning again into Italy by another way through Austria, Stiria, and Carinthia, the Italians have done much more harm. For eight<sup>t</sup> thousand of them, which were conducted hither per Comitem Sancti Secundi, Martionem Colump . . . Comitem Philippum Tornerum, et Jo. Baptista Castoldum, for indignation that the Emperor would not prosecute the Turk, and for lack of payment of their wages, departed from the Emperor and from their captains, and chose captain among themselves, and went before the Emperor, spoiling and robbing all the countries of Austria, Styria, and Carinthia, more than two hundred English miles in length, as well churches as other houses, not leaving monstral nor the sacrament. And the men of arms that come with the Emperor, and other that follow the court, do con[su]me all that the other left, in such sort, that I, following two days after the Emperor from Vienna, found in no town that was unwall'd, man, woman,

<sup>s</sup> [Sir Edward Karne, Dr. Bennet, and Sir Thomas Elyot, were Henry VIII.'s ambassadors with the Pope at this time. In consequence of Queen Catharine's appeal, an advocacy of the divorce cause to Rome had been granted; and it was now pressed by her party that the King should appear there by proxy. Henry refused, and was labouring to procure a commission to try the question in England. See Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. p. 242; Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 221; and *State Papers*, vol. i. pp. 336, 346, 347.]

<sup>t</sup> [See Knolles, *Hist. of the Turks*, for a full account of this mutiny.]

nor child, meat, drink, nor bedding: but, thanked be God, I found straw, hay, and corn, for my horses to eat, and for myself and my servant to lie in, but the people were all fled into [the] mountains for fear.

The said Italians not only robbed the towns, but also ravished the [wo]men, and beat the men, and slew many. And yet cometh after the Emperor, [the] captain called Fabricius Maromau<sup>u</sup> with his band about three thousand, who brenneth up all the towns which before were but spoiled, as I am informed by two of my servants which I left at Vienna, the one sick, and the other to keep him; and they told me that all the towns by the way, so far as Fabricius Maromau hath gone, be clean brent up, so much that not one house is standing, except in such strong holds as they could not attain unto. And yet one walled town they have entered into and spoiled, which the other that went before durst not attempt to assault; the name of it is Newmarkes, and a servant of mine was present, when they brake the gates and slew the porters. Of this sacking and brenning is like to ensue great penury and default of all victuals, and specially of corn; for so much as the corn here is brent up, whereupon the people should live this year, and sow their land against the next year. Thus is this country miserably oppressed of all parties, but much more by them that came to defend this country, than it was by the Turks.

*So<sup>x</sup> that hitherto I can see no great fruit that hath succeeded of this puissant army assembled against the Turk. For it hath alienated the minds of the Almaines from the Italians and Spenyardes much more than ever they were before. And moreover, as far as I can understand, it hath not a little diminished the minds, as well of the Italians as Almaines towards the Emperor, because that he so shortly hath dissolved the said army that came to him with so good courages, and he hath not prosecuted the said enterprise*

<sup>u</sup> [He is called by Knolles, Fabricius Maramaldus. Discontent at his appointment to the command was one of the causes of the mutiny.]

<sup>x</sup> [The passages in Italics were written in cypher in the original, but have been decyphered in the margin.]

*against the Turk throughout all Hungary and Greece, according to their expectation; but now the men of arms be much displeased, and many of them do say openly, that they will never return at his calling hereafter.*

And now the husbandmen of this country be in such a tumultuation for the loss of their goods and the brenning of their houses, that they muster together upon the mountains, and with guns and stones do slay many of the Emperor's people. And in divers places they come down from the mountains in the night, and do slay all the small companies that they may find sleeping. And many times they come down in the day in good companies, and rob carriages that do follow the court, and slay as many as will withstand them. So much that they have slain many gentlemen of the court, and yesterday they slew three or four gentlemen of Burgon, for whose death the Emperor is right pensive.

Y ["The protestants, as a testimony of their gratitude to the Emperor, exerted themselves with extraordinary zeal, and brought into the field forces that exceeded in number the quota imposed on them; the catholics imitating their example, one of the greatest and best appointed armies that had ever been levied in Germany, assembled near Vienna. Being joined by a body of Spanish and Italian veterans under the Marquis dal Guasto, by some heavy armed cavalry from the Low Countries, and by the troops which Ferdinand had raised in Bohemia, Austria, and his other territories, it amounted in all to ninety thousand disciplined foot, and thirty thousand horse, besides a prodigious swarm of irregulars. Of this vast army, worthy the first prince in Christendom, the Emperor took the command in person; and mankind waited in suspense the issue of a decisive battle between the two greatest monarchs in the world. But each of them dreading the other's power and good fortune, they both conducted their operations with such excessive caution, that a campaign, for which such immense preparations had been made, ended without any memorable event. Solyman, finding it impossible to gain ground upon an enemy always attentive and on his guard, marched back to Constantinople towards the end of autumn." Robertson, *Charles V.* The discontent which the Emperor provoked by not pursuing his advantage, is mentioned by the historians, but is no where so fully described as by Cranmer. "Taxant Cæsarem," says Seckendorf, "scriptores Hungari, et cum iis Pallavicinus, (lib. III. c. xi. §. 1.) quod in Hispaniam ad uxorem prolis generandæ cupidus, Ferdinando fratre deserto, festinasset. Mag-na autem culpæ pars Pontifici tribuenda est. Hujus enim copiæ, cum reliquias belli in Pannonia persequi debuissent, seditione facta Italianam repetierunt, hostiliter in ditione Austriaca incendiis grassatæ, sic vindicare se dictitantes quæ Germani in Italia (sub Borbonio scilicet et Transpegio) patrassent." Seckend. *Comm. de Lutheran.* lib. III. §. xi.]

But the boors put no difference between one man and another, for all that go with the Emperor be to them Italians and Spanyardes. They have also slain the ambassador of Mantua, as the constant fame hath been here continually these three days. And the legate de Medices<sup>z</sup>, at a town six miles hence called St. Vite, was taken prison[er, but was released] by favour of the Emperor's letters; but after in another place [they would have] slain him, if he had not escaped with good horses; [they slew] one of his men of arms with an arquebuse, and took Mon..... whom your Grace knoweth right well, and he had been sl[ain by the stroke of] an halberd, if the stroke had not light short: nevertheless [his clothes] upon his breast were cut down with the stroke unto the bare [flesh]; and afterwards they led him into the mountains almost two days, and [would] have slain him, if one man had not been his friend. And [since] is word brought, that four of the said legate's carriages be robbed, [which] came after the Emperor, and every day we hear of much murder and [rob]bing done by the boors. And yet all these dangers, than[ked be God,] I have escaped, but these two days to come I shall be [in] more jeopardy of the boors, than I was at any time yet: nevertheless, He that conducted me safely hither, I trust He will likewise conduct me into Italy and Spayne, and afterward to Englande again.

*Don Ferdinando is not much beloved in these parts, neither of the princes that be adjoining to them, nor also of his own subjects. And this wasting of this country is like to augment the murmur of the people against him, whereupon many men do fear an insurrection to follow very shortly, whereunto this commotion of the commons is a very preparative. Deus omnia vertat in gloriam suam: for here-*

<sup>z</sup>[Guicciardini relates, that the Emperor ordered both the legate, Cardinal Hippolytus de Medici, and Pietro Maria Rosso, to whom the mutiny was ascribed, to be arrested, but that he released the cardinal with many apologies almost immediately, and soon afterwards set at liberty Rosso also. Cranmer's account may be suspected to be a different version of the same transaction. Guicciard. b. xx.]

*of might follow such inconvenience as in many years after should be irreparable.*

Here hath appeared two hours before daylight every morning since the fifth or sixth day of this month a blazing star, called cometa, straight in the east, casting his beam upward, partly inclining toward the south, much whiter in colour than was the other that appeared the last year. And moreover, many persons here do affirm, that they have seen above the moon a blue cross, which mine host in a city called Indiburs and all his household did see, as they showed me. Other do say, that they have seen an horse head flaming, other have seen a flaming sword. But of these other impressions I cannot assure your Grace, for I saw no mo but the comet, which I saw within these two days<sup>a</sup>. What strange things these tokens do signify to come hereafter, God knoweth, for they do not lightly appear, but against some great mutation; and it hath not be seen (as I suppose) that so ma[ny] comets have appeared in so short time.

..... na is a great infection of the plague<sup>b</sup>, whereof is dead many of the Em[peror's] household, and among other is dead Waldesius, a Spanyarde, the Em[peror's] chief secretary, and was in his singular favour. He was well learned in the Latin tongue, and partly in the Greek; and whensoever the Emperor would have any thing well and exactly done in the Latin tongue, it was ever put to Waldesius, and I suppose that he made the draught of the answer of the Emperor, which I sent unto your Grace inclosed with my last letters.

In my journey I passed through the place where was the

<sup>a</sup> ["This was the end of those wonderful preparations made by the two great monarchs, Solyman and Charles V, in the year 1532, which held the world in great suspense, with the fearful expectation of some marvellous alteration; and so much the more, for that at the same time appeared a great blazing star for the space of fifteen days." Knolles, *Hist. of the Turks*. The appearance of the comet is also mentioned by Sleidan.]

<sup>b</sup> ["The plague was got into the camp, yea, even into his court." Knolles, *ibid.*]



first battle against the fourteen thousand Turks that came to Ens, though many say they were but eight thousand. In which battle were captains of our party, Cassiander, born in Croatia, and two Turks which have been long time servants unto King Ferdinando; one is called Bacrespal, and the other Turk Waylande. But the Turks durst not abide for fear of Duke Friderick, which was very near with six thousand horsemen and a great number of footmen. By the high way as I rode almost two English miles, lay many dead men and horses, part of Christian and part of Turks, but the great number were Turks. But to mine estimation, as much as I could view the ground, there was not slain upon both parties two thousand men. But after in another place were slain about two thousand Turks of the same band, and they slew again two or three thousand Spaniards arquebusers at the same time, and took divers prisoners, whom they carried with them into Hungary<sup>b</sup>. Beside that, from their first entering into Austria and Stiria until their returning into Hungary again, they slew in one place and other above fifteen or sixteen thousand Christian men, and took many prisoners, and escaped themselves all but three or four thousand<sup>c</sup>, which were slain as I have above written. This is the voice of this country, which I have now written unto your Grace, but Monsieur Grandeveile showed me otherwise, that all the said Turks were slain except two or three hundred, as I wrote unto your Grace in my last letters. Now I have signified unto your Grace both the saying of Monsieur Grandeveile, and also the voice of this country,

<sup>b</sup> [According to Knolles, they carried off prisoners to the number of thirty thousand.]

<sup>c</sup> ["Solymanus . . . prædatum emittit ad quindecim equitum millia, "duce Casono. Is Lincium usque supra Viennam excurrit, et longe lateque devastatis agris, nullum immanitatis genus prætermittit: cum "vero pedem referret, in nostros equites, qui fuerant emissi ut rapinis "et populationibus illum prohiberent, incidit; et diversis locis ad in- "terneccionem prope concisus, tandem et ipse occumbit." Sleidan, *De Statu Religionis*, lib. viii. According to Knolles, whose account is more full, this utter destruction befell a division of eight thousand men only, under Cason: the remainder escaped with little loss to Solyman. Knolles seems to have followed "the voice of the country," Sleidan the statement of Granvelle.]

permitting unto your Grace's wisdom the judgment of both.

This same day a doctor, chaplain to the Bishop of Saltzburg, showed me that the Turk prepareth another army, but I can hear no good ground thereof to give credence unto as yet: as soon as I can inquire the truth, I shall certify your Grace thereof.

The King Ferdinando hitherto hath accompanied the Emperor, and shortly he shall depart unto Isbrugh, where the Queen is. And because that I must follow the Emperor, I thought it good to salute him before his departure from the Emperor, and to offer him my service, and to understand if he would any thing command me unto your Grace, who [commended] him unto your Highness, and said that forso-much as the Emperor [made your Highness] participant of all the news here, it should not require [any other] news sent but only this, that the Emperor and he have recei[ved letters from] sundry parts according in one thing, that Andrew Doria h[ad capti]vate and taken from the Turk Modona and Corona in Morea<sup>d</sup>, [with an]other strong hold, whereof he remembered not the name. But [because] that hitherto they have no letters thereof from Andrew Doria himself: they will not yet give firm credence thereto.

Moreover the Emperor hath sent for the Duke William<sup>e</sup> of Bavaria to come to him, that before his departing out of Almayne he may conclu[de] peace between the King Ferdinando and the Duke of Bavaria, lest that after his departing more inconven[iences] may fall than hath been heretofore.

The Duke Dalby an Hispanyard came hither to help the Emperor in his wars, and this same day is word come, that his brother's carriages, six mulettes, and fourteen horses be taken by the boors, and two of his servants slain, and the

<sup>d</sup> [Doria ravaged the coasts of Peloponnesus, and took Coron, Patras, and Rhium, but not Modon. Knolles, *Hist. of Turks*.]

<sup>e</sup> [The Bavarian princes had opposed the election of Ferdinand to be King of the Romans, and Duke William was supposed to have aspired to that dignity himself. Seckendorf, *Comm. de Luther*. lib. 111. §. ii. Add.]

rest fled away. And this is done in the way, which, by the grace of God, I must ride tomorrow.

As concerning Duke Fridericke, the French ambassador advised me not to speak with him in the camp, for that should gender a suspicion unto the Emperor; and after that the Emperor had dissolved his army, Duke Friderick incontinent departed with his band of the empire toward his own dominion by Regenspurg; so that I, going with the Emperor another way, cou[ld] not speak with Duke Fridericke, to understand if he had any communication with the Emperor in your Grace's cause. But the French ambassador, (which coming to Vienna by the water of Danubius, left his horses at Passawe, almost two hundred English miles from Vienna,) was compelled to leave the Emperor, and in waggons to ride to his horses the same way that Duke Friderick went. And he promised me to speak to Duke Friderick in your Grace's cause, and to bring me an answer, which as soon as he cometh I shall send unto your Grace. And thus Almighty God have your Highness evermore in his preservation and governance. From Villach, the xxty day of October, [1532.]

Your Highness

. . . . chaplain and <sup>h</sup>

#### IV. TO CRUMWELL.

Master Crumwell, in my right hearty wise I commend me to you; and likewise pray you to be good master unto mine

<sup>g</sup> [The person meant seems to be John Frederic, Duke of Saxony, who had lately succeeded his father John in the electorate, and with whom Cranmer had already held a private conference. See Seckendorf, *Comm. de Lutheran.* lib. iii. §. xvi. Add. Both Strype and Burnet have copied Seckendorf's account of the interview, but the former has confused the peace subsisting between the Emperor and *Henry VIII.*, with that which was concluded at Nuremberg between the Emperor and the *German Protestants*. It was the object of Henry to form a league with the German reformers, and by their assistance to prevent Charles V. from influencing the decision of the Pope; but their unwillingness to disturb the recent pacification of Nuremberg, rendered his negotiations ineffectual.]

<sup>h</sup> [The signature is destroyed by fire.]

Cotton  
MSS. Ves-  
pasian. F.  
xiii. fol.  
75. *Original.*

old acquainted lover and friend Master Newman<sup>i</sup> this bearer, in such his suits as he at this time shall have unto you. And albeit I have diverse suits and causes of mine own to be made and moved unto you at our next meeting, which I have many times forgotten when I have been personally with you, yet I am so much beholding to the said Mr. Newman for many considerations and respects, that I am thus bold to write unto you in his favour at this time, leaving mine own causes apart until our next meeting, or some other good opportunity of time, praying you to be as good unto him in the same, as ye shall be sure to have me ready at all times to show you any pleasure that shall lie in me. At Chanon Rowe in Westminster, the viiith day of February, [1533.]

Your own assured and very loving  
good friend,  
Thomas Elect<sup>k</sup> of Canterbury.

#### V. TO CRUMWELL.

Right Worshipful Mr. Crumwell, in my hearty manner I <sup>Chapter House, Westminster.</sup> commend me to you; likewise praying you to have in your good remembrance, mine old suit for the receipt of <sup>ster; Crumwell's Correspondence. Original.</sup> Mr. Benet's advowson of the benefice of Barnake<sup>l</sup>, that the same may be delivered to my hands and custody, to the use of my friend<sup>m</sup> for whom I have thus long sued, and that it may please you, in case ye have not already spoken to Master Benet's factor in that behalf, to send this bearer my secretary, or some trusty servant of yours, with your letters or token, and with the same letters which ye have received from Mr. Benet for the grant of the same advowson, to re-

<sup>i</sup> [See Letters v. LXIV. LXXVIII. CLIII.]

<sup>k</sup> [There were in all eleven bulls for Cranmer's promotion, of which the earliest are dated the twenty-first of February, the last, the second of March; but they were applied for at the end of January. He was consecrated on the thirtieth of March, 1533. Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. p. 259.]

<sup>l</sup> [Barnack in Northamptonshire, near Stamford.]

<sup>m</sup> [Apparently Newman. See Letters IV. LXIV. LXXVIII. CLIII.]

ceive the same in your name. I am informed that the incumbent is very sick, and in great danger and peril of life, which thing moveth me to be the more importune in calling upon you in the premises, praying you to continue your good mind and favour in this and in all other my suits unto you hereafter, for which, and all other your kindness heretofore showed, ye shall have me your own assured always during my life. At Lamhith, the 21 day of April.

Your own assured,  
Thomas Cantuar.

To the Right Worshipful and my very  
loving friend Mr. Crumwell, one of  
the King's Grace's most honourable  
Council.

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VI. TO THE ABBOT OF ST. AUGUSTIN'S, CANTERBURY<sup>n</sup>.

Harl. MSS. 6148. f. 22. Brother Abbot, in my right hearty wise I commend me to you ; likewise praying you to give credence to this bearer my servant in such requests and suits as he shall have with you touching my behalf, and the same to ponder and tender with effect, according to such special trust and confidence as I have in you ; for so doing ye shall be sure to have me at all times as ready to show unto you as much pleasure, when ye shall the same desire of me. At my manor in Mortlaque, xxviii<sup>ti</sup> day of April.

To my brother Abbot of St. Augstyn's,  
besides Canterbury.

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VII. TO THE ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER<sup>o</sup>.

Harl. MSS. 6148. f. 22. In my right hearty wise I commend me unto you, &c. And where it is so, as I am credibly informed, that at this

<sup>n</sup> [John Sturvey, alias Essex, was Abbot of St. Augustin's, Canterbury, from 1523 to the dissolution. Willis, *Hist. of Abbeyes*, vol. i. p. 45.]

<sup>o</sup> [William Boston according to his oath in Rymer, or Benson according to his will, was the last Abbot, and the first Dean of Westminster.]

season there is a place or room of a vicar void within the College<sup>P</sup> of St. Marteyns, in the city of London, by the death of one Master Framton, late incumbent there, (where also you are Dean,) and as I understand as yet not appointed or named to any person: in consideration whereof, and forasmuch as now it lieth in you by reason of your deanery to do pleasure therein; I heartily require you to show your lawful favour herein in preferment of this said room, unto this bearer Sir John Smythe, one of the same College; that forasmuch as he being both of honest conversation and good name, thereby may have the more furtherance in this behalf before another stranger, not being your friend and acquaintance, and in thus so doing you shall deserve of me like commodity. And thus fare you well. From our manor of Mortelacke, the ivth day of May.

#### VIII. TO CRUMWELL.

Right Worshipful Mr. Crumwell, in my right hearty manner I commend me to you: advertising you that I have received your letters, by which ye write that the Prior of St. Gregorie's in Canterbury is willing to resign his room and

Chapter House, Westminster; Crumwell's Correspondence. Original.

Some estimate may be formed of his character from his memorable argument on the oath of succession. When Sir Thomas More pleaded his conscience for refusing it, he was told by the pliant Abbot, that he "might see his conscience was erroneous, since the great Council of the realm was of another mind; and therefore he ought to change his conscience." With this laxity of principle, it excites no surprise that under Henry VIII. he acquiesced in the dissolution of the monastery, and under Edward VI. in the spoliation of the chapter. By his conduct on the latter occasion, says Heylyn, he "saved the deanery, but lost himself; for calling to remembrance, that formerly he had been a means to surrender the abbey, and was now forced on the necessity of dilapidating the estate of the deanery, he fell into a great disquiet of mind, which brought him to his death within a few months after." Burn. *Ref.* vol. i. p. 316. Willis, *Hist. of Abbeys*, vol. i. p. 207. Heylyn, *Eccles. Restaur.* Edw. VI. p. 61.]

<sup>P</sup> [The College of St. Martin le Grand, within Aldersgate, maintained a dean and several secular canons till 1502, when it was granted by Henry VII. to the Abbot and Convent of Westminster. Several churches in London were in its patronage. In 34 Hen. VIII, it was transferred with other possessions of the monastery to the new chapter. Newcourt, *Repertorium*, vol. i. p. 424.

office there; wherefore your desire is, that I shall take and accept such a person to the same room as ye shall name unto me, promising to provide one, that not only for his discretion, good learning, and religious life, but also for many other his commendable merits and qualities shall be right apt and meet to supply the said room.

Master Crumwell, as touching this behalf or any other thing wherein I may lawfully show you any pleasure, ye shall be as well assured of the same, as ye would be willing to desire it of me. But the truth is, that in my mind I am entirely resolved to prefer to the same office, and all such other when the same shall be void, some such one person as was professed in the same house, *et sic de eodem gremio*, if any such shall be found apt and meet in the same house for it; for as long as there may be had some one meet for that room in the same house, I do think it much inconvenient for many considerations to provide a stranger to be head and ruler there. If there be none so apt and meet in the said house for the said office as the law will require, then I will be glad to provide the most meetest that can be found in any other place, of the same rule, habit, and religion, of whose sufficiency and ability I ought, if I do my office and duty, to have good experience and knowledge myself, afore that I will admit or prefer him; and forasmuch as I do not know the person whom ye would prefer to this office, and to the intent also that I may inquire of his learning, living, and of other his good qualities, I pray you that I may be ascertained of his name, and of the place where he doth demore; and that done, I will hereafter in this behalf make you such further answer as I trust ye shall be pleased withal: albeit the bringer of your letters and bearer hereof showed me, that ye did write your said letters for him and in his favour, which thing, I assure you, moveth me to take longer respite in this behalf. Ye do know what ambition and desire of promotion is in men of the Church, and what indirect means they do use and have used to obtain their purpose; which their unreasonable desires and appetites, I do trust that ye will be more ready to oppress and extinguish,

than to favour or further the same; and I remit to your wisdom and judgment, what an unreasonable thing it is for a man to labour for his own promotion spiritual. At Mortelake, the vith day of May.

Your own assured,  
Thomas Cantuar.

To the Right Worshipful and my very  
loving friend Master Crumwell, of  
the King's Grace's most honourable  
Council.

### IX. TO KING HENRY VIII.

Please it your Highness, that where your Grace's great *State Papers*, vol. i. cause of matrimony is, as it is thought, through all Chris-<sup>part ii.</sup> tianity divulgated, and in the mouths of the rude and igno-<sup>Lett. viii.</sup> rant common people of this your Grace's realm so talked of, <sup>from the</sup> that few of them do fear to report and say, that thereof is <sup>Original.</sup> likelihood hereafter to ensue great inconvenience, danger, <sup>Harl. MSS.</sup> and peril to this your Grace's realm, and much uncertainty <sup>6148. f. 2.</sup> of succession; by which things the said ignorant people be <sup>Todd, In-</sup> not a little offended: and forasmuch as it hath pleased <sup>troduction</sup> Almighty God, and your Grace of your abundant goodness <sup>to Cran-</sup> to me showed, to call me, albeit a poor wretch and much <sup>mer's De-</sup> unworthy, unto this high and chargeable office of Primate <sup>fence,</sup> and Archbishop in this your Grace's realm, wherein I be- <sup>p. xlv.</sup> seech Almighty God to grant me his grace so to use and demean myself, as may be standing with his pleasure and the discharge of my conscience, and to the weal of this your Grace's realm: and considering also, the obloquy and bruit, which daily doth spring and increase of the clergy of this realm, and specially of the heads and presidents of the same, because they in this behalf do not foresee and provide such convenient remedies, as might expel and put out of doubt all such inconveniences, perils, and dangers, as the said rude and ignorant people do speak and talk to be imminent: I, your most humble orator and beadman, am, in consideration of the premises, urgently constrained at this



time, most humbly to beseech your most noble Grace, that where the office and duty of the Archbishop of Canterbury, by your and your progenitors' sufferance and grants, is to direct, order, judge, and determine causes spiritual in this your Grace's realm; and because I would be right loth, and also it shall not become me, forasmuch as your Grace is my Prince and Sovereign, to enterprise any part of my office in the said weighty cause touching your Highness, without your Grace's favour and license obtained in that behalf: it may please, therefore, your most excellent Majesty (considerations had to the premises, and to my most bounden duty towards your Highness, your realm, succession, and posterity, and for the exoneration of my conscience towards Almighty God) to license me, according to mine office and duty, to proceed to the examination, final determination, and judgment in the said great cause touching your Highness. Eftsoons, as prostrate at the feet of your Majesty, beseeching the same to pardon me of these my bold and rude letters, and the same to accept and take in good sense and part as I do mean; which, calling our Lord to record, is only for the zeal that I have to the causes aforesaid, and for none other intent and purpose. From my manor at Lamhith, the 11th day of April<sup>9</sup>, in the first year of my consecration<sup>r</sup>. [1533.]

Your Highness' most humble  
bedsman and chaplain,  
Thomas Cantuar.

To the King's Highness.

<sup>9</sup> [There has been a slight departure here from the chronological order for the sake of keeping together the letters relating to Hen. VIII's divorce.]

<sup>r</sup> ["This letter is wholly in the Archbishop's hand writing, and it is not a little singular, that another letter of the same date, and nearly of the same tenor, likewise written by the Archbishop himself, is preserved in the State Paper Office. They both bear the marks of having been folded and sealed, and of having been received by the King. It is so difficult to conjecture why they were both written, and why they differed from each other, that the second is subjoined." *Note to State Papers*, vol. i. p. 391.

"Please it your Highness, that where your Grace's great cause of matrimony is, as it is thought, through all Christianity divulged, and in the mouths of the rude and ignorant common people of this your Grace's realm so talked of, that few of them do fear to report and say, that

## X. TO KING HENRY VIII.

Please it your Highness to be advertised, that I have received your Grace's most honourable letters, bearing date at your Grace's manor of Grenewich, the 11th day of this present month of May, and do right well perceive the con-

*State  
Papers,  
vol. i.  
part ii.  
lett. x.  
from the  
Original.*

"thereof is likelihood hereafter to ensue great inconvenience, danger, and peril to this your Grace's realm, and much uncertainty of succession; by which things the said ignorant people be not a little offended: and forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God, and your Grace of your abundant goodness to me showed, to call me, albeit a poor wretch and much unworthy, unto this high and chargeable office of Primate and Archbishop in this your Grace's realm, wherein I beseech Almighty God to grant me his grace so to use and demean myself, as may be standing with his pleasure, and the discharge of my conscience, and to the weal of this your Grace's said realm: and considering also the obloquy and bruit, which daily doth spring and increase of the clergy of this realm, and specially of the heads and presidents of the same, because they in this behalf do not foresee and provide convenient remedies, as might expel and put out of doubt all such inconveniences, perils, and dangers, as the said rude and ignorant people do speak and talk to be imminent: I, your most humble orator and beadman, am, in consideration of the premises urgently constrained at this time most humbly to beseech your most noble Grace, that where my office and duty is, by your and your predecessors' sufferance and grants, to direct and order causes spiritual in this your Grace's realm, according to the laws of God and holy Church, and for relief of all manner griefs and infirmities of the people, God's subjects and yours, happening in the said spiritual causes, to provide such remedy as shall be thought most convenient for their help and relief in that behalf; and because I would be right loth and also it shall not become me, forasmuch as your Grace is my Prince and Sovereign, to enterprise any part of my office in the said weighty cause, without your Grace's favour obtained, and pleasure therein first known: it may please the same to ascertain me of your Grace's pleasure in the premises, to the intent that, the same known, I may proceed, for my discharge afore God, to the execution of my said office and duty, according to his calling and yours. Beseeching your Highness most humbly upon my knees, to pardon me of these my bold and rude letters, and the same to accept and take in good sense and part. From my manor at Lambith, the 11th day of April, in the first year of my consecration.

"Your Highness' most humble

"beadsman and chaplain,

"Thomas Cantuar."

"To the King's Highness."

The first of these letters, it may be observed, is that which was entered by Cranmer's secretary in his book of copies, Harl. MSS. 6148.

Hen. VIII's answer to the Archbishop, granting him license to proceed to the final determination of his cause of matrimony, may be seen in the *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 392; or in Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. App. No. 24.]

tents of the same. Signifying to your Highness, that where, upon Saturday last passed, the noble Lady Catharin was, for her non appearance the same day afore me, and upon such certificate as the Mandatary only made unto me upon his oath, pronounced *contumax*; I have, this present Monday, upon such depositions as have been made and taken afore me, by Mr. Briane, Gage, and Vaux, my fellows, your Grace's servants, of and upon such words and sayings as were spoken by the said noble lady, in the time of the execution and serving of my monition, pronounced her *vere et manifeste contumacem*, so that she is (as the counsel informed me) precluded from farther monition to appear; by reason whereof I shall make more acceleration and expedition in my process than I thought I should, and I have declared my farther mind in this behalf to Mr. Brian, to whom I humbly beseech your Grace to give credence. At Dunstable, the 12th day of this present month of May, [1533.]

Your Highness' most humble  
beadman and chaplain,  
Thomas Cantuar.

To the King's Highness.

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## XI. TO KING HENRY VIII.

State  
Papers,  
vol. i.  
part ii.  
lett. xiii.  
from the  
Original.

Please it your Highness to be advertised, that your Grace's great matter is now brought to a final sentence, to be given upon Friday now next ensuing. And because every day in the next week<sup>s</sup> shall be ferial, except Friday and Saturday, therefore I cannot assign any shorter time *ad audiendam sententiam*, than in the said Friday. At which time, I trust so to endeavour myself further in this behalf, as shall be-

<sup>s</sup> [This is stated in a note to the State Papers to have been the week preceding Whitsunday; but it will be seen by the Letter to Hawkyngs, No. xiv. that it was the *second* week before Whitsunday, or Rogation week; for Cranmer there says, that "he gave final sentence the morrow "after Ascension-day." And in that week, according to his remark, every day before Friday was ferial; Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, the three Rogation days, being fasts, and Ascension-day or Holy Thursday being a festival.]

come me to do, to the pleasure of Almighty God, and the mere truth of the matter. From Dunstaple, the 17th of May, [1588.]

Your Highness' most humble  
beadsman and chaplain,  
Thomas Cantuar.

To the King's Highness.

## XII. TO CRUMWELL.

'Right Worshipful Master Crumwell, in my right hearty w[ise] I commend me to you : and likewise I thank you for your two [letters] and good advertisement by the same, which I trust I have h[itherto] satisfied, according to such trust and expectation as the King's Highness hath in me ; for where I never yet went about to [injure] willingly any man living, I would be loth now to begin [with] my Prince, and defraud him of his trust in me. And therefore [I] have used all the expedition that I might conveniently use in th[e King's] behalf, and have brought the matter to a final sentence, to [be] given upon Friday next ensuing. Because every day in t[he] next week shall be ferial, except Friday and Saturday, therefo[re I] cannot assign any shorter time *ad audiendam sententiam*, than ... Friday. At which time I trust so to endeavour myself furthe[r in] this behalf, as shall become me to do, to the pleasure of Almighty God, and the mere truth of the matter. Furthermore I pray y[ou to] think no unkindness in me, for that I have not hitherto [advertised] you of such process as I have made in this matter<sup>1</sup>, for I [assure] you I have not hitherto

Cott. MSS.  
Otho.  
C. x. fol.  
166.  
Original,  
Holograph.

<sup>1</sup> [This Letter has been much injured by fire. Several of the defects have been filled up from an extract printed by Heylyn, *Eccles. Restaur. Qu. Mary*, p. 7. Some others are supplied by conjecture. The latter are distinguished by Italics.]

<sup>2</sup> [Crumwell, however, was not ignorant of the proceedings, having received an account of them from Bedyll, one of "the counsellors in the law for the King's part," in a letter dated the 12th of May. It is there stated, that "My lord of Canterbury handleth himself very well, and very uprightly, without any evident cause of suspicion to be noted in him by the counsel of the Lady Katerine, if she had had any pre-sent there." *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 395.]

written unto the Queen's Grace,...neither to no man living, but only to the King's Highness. [*For*] divers considerations I do think it right expedient, that [*the matter*], and the process of the same be kept secret for a time, [*therefore*] I pray you to make no relation thereof, as I know w[*ell you*] will not. For if the noble lady Catherin should, by the [*bruit of*] this matter in the mouths of the inhabitants of the [country, or] by her friends or counsel hearing of this bruit, be [moved, stirred,] counselled, or persuaded, to appear afore me in the ti[me, or afore] the time of sentence, I should be thereby greatly staye[d and let] in the process, and the King's Grace's counsel here pre[sent shall be] much uncertain what shall be then further done the[rein]. For a] great bruit and voice of the people in this behalf [might perchance] move her to do that thing herein, which peradventure [she would] not do, if she shall hear little of it. And therefore I [pray you] to speak as little of this matter as ye may, and to [move the] King's Highness in likewise so to do, for the conside[rations above] recited. And this my opinion in this behalf not[*withstanding*, I] do refer all and singular the premises to the King's [*pleasure*] and judgment. From Dunstaple, the xviith d[*ay of May*] [1533.]

Your assur.....

\*Thom.....

### XIII. TO KING HENRY VIII.

*State Papers*,  
vol. i.  
part ii.  
Lett. xiii.  
from the  
*Original*.  
Harl. MSS.  
6148. fol. 2.  
Todd, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. i.  
p. 78.

Please it your Highness to be advertised, that this 23<sup>th</sup> day of this present month of May, I have given sentence in your Grace's great and weighty cause; the copy y whereof I have sent unto your Highness by this bearer, Richard Watkyns. And where I was by the letters of Mr. Thurslesby your Grace's chaplain, advertised of your Grace's pleasure, that I should cause your Grace's counsel to conceive

\* [The remainder of the signature is burnt.]

y [It will be found in Lord Herbert, *Life of Henry VIII.* p. 375; Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. App. B. ii. No. 47; Rymer, *Fadera*, vol. xiv. p. 462.]

a procuracy concerning the second matrimony, I have sent the said letters unto them, and required them to do according to the tenor thereof: most humbly beseeching your Highness, that I may know your Grace's further pleasure concerning the same matrimony, as soon as your Grace with your Council shall be perfectly resolved therein. For the time of the Coronation<sup>z</sup> is so instant and so near at hand, that the matter requireth good expedition to be had in the same. And thus our Lord have your Highness evermore in his blessed tuition and governance. From Dunstaple, the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of May, [1533.]

Your Highness' most humble  
chaplain and beadsman,  
Thomas Cantuar.

#### XIV. TO ARCHDEACON HAWKYNs.

<sup>a</sup>In my most hearty wise I commend me unto you, and even so would be right glad to hear of your welfare, &c. These be to advertise you, that inasmuch as you now and then take some pains in writing unto me, I would be loth you should think your labour utterly lost and forgotten for lack of writing again; therefore, and because I reckon you be some deal desirous of such news as hath been here with us of late in the King's Grace's matters, I intend to inform you a part thereof, according to the tenor and purport used in that behalf.

Harl. MSS.  
6148. fol.  
23.  
*Archæologia*, vol.  
xviii. p. 78.  
Ellis, *Orig.*  
*Letters*,  
first series,  
lett. cxiv.  
Todd, *Life*  
*of Cran-*  
*mer*, vol. i.  
p. 80.

And first, as touching the final determination and concluding of the matter of divorce between my Lady Kateren and the King's Grace, which said matter, after the Convocation in that behalf had determined and agreed according to the former consent of the Universities, it was thought convenient by the King and his learned counsel, that I should repair unto Dunstable, which is within four miles unto

<sup>z</sup> [The Coronation took place on Whitsunday the 1st of June. See Letter xiv.]

<sup>a</sup> [Nicholas Hawkyns, Archdeacon of Ely, succeeded Cranmer as ambassador to the Emperor Charles V.]

Amptell, where the said Lady Kateren keepeth her house, and there to call her before me to hear the final sentence in the said matter. Notwithstanding, she would not at all obey thereunto, for when she was by Doctor Lee cited to appear by a day, she utterly refused the same, saying, that inas-much as her cause was before the Pope, she would have none other judge; and therefore would not take me for her judge.

Nevertheless the viiith day of May, according to the said appointment, I came unto Dunstable, my <sup>b</sup> Lord of Lincoln being assistant unto me, and my Lord of <sup>c</sup> Wynchester, Doctor Bell, Dr. Claybroke, Dr. Trygonnell, Dr. Hewis, Dr. Olyver, Dr. Brytten, Mr. Bedell<sup>d</sup>, with divers other learned in the law, being counsellors in the law for the King's part: and so there at our coming kept a Court for the appearance of the said Lady Kateren, where were examined certain witness which testified that she was lawfully cited and called to appear, whom for fault of appearance was declared *contumax*; proceeding in the said cause against her *in pœnam contumaciæ*<sup>e</sup>, as the process of the law thereunto belongeth; which continued fifteen days after our coming thither. And the morrow after Ascension-day I gave final sentence therein, how that it was indispensable for the Pope to license any such marriages.

This done, and after our rejourneying home again, the King's Highness prepared all things convenient for the <sup>f</sup> Coronation of the Queen, which also was after such a manner as followeth.

The Thursday next before the feast of Pentecost, the King and the Queen being at Grenewyche, all the crafts of London thereunto well appointed, in several barges decked

<sup>b</sup> [John Longland.]

<sup>c</sup> [Stephen Gardyner.]

<sup>d</sup> [See Letters XII. LXI. "He was clerk of the Council, a learned man, and much made use of by Crumwell." Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 194.]

<sup>e</sup> [Mr. Todd's correction has been adopted here. The reading in the manuscript is *contumaciam*.]

<sup>f</sup> [This Coronation is better remembered than most others, from its having been introduced by Shakspeare into his play of Hen. VIII. The details are given with great minuteness by Stow, *Annals*.]

after the most gorgeous and sumptuous manner, with divers pageants thereunto belonging, repaired and waited all together upon the Mayor of London; and so well furnished came all unto Grenewiche, where they tarried and waited for the Queen's coming to her barge: which so done, they brought her unto the Tower, trumpets, shambes, and other divers instruments all the ways playing and making great melody, which, as is reported, was so comely done as never was like in any time nigh to our remembrance.

And so her Grace came to the Tower on Thursday at night, about five of the clock, where also was such a peal of guns as hath not been heard like a great while before. And the same night, and Friday all day, the King and Queen tarried there; and on Friday at night the King's Grace made eighteen Knights of the Bath<sup>g</sup>, whose creation was not alonely so strange to hear of, as also their garments<sup>h</sup> stranger to behold or look on; which said Knights the next day, which was Saturday, rid before the Queen's Grace throughout the City of London towards Westminster Palace, over and besides the most part of the nobles of the realm, which like accompanied her Grace throughout the said City; she sitting in her hair upon a horse litter, richly apparelled<sup>i</sup>, and four Knights of the five ports bearing a canopy over her head. And after her came four rich chariots, one of them empty, and three other furnished with divers ancient old ladies<sup>k</sup>; and after them came a great train of other ladies and gentlewomen: which said progress from the beginning to the ending, extended half a mile in length by estimation, or

<sup>g</sup> ["On Friday at dinner, served the King all such as were appointed by his Highness to be Knights of the Bath, which after dinner were brought to their chambers, and that night were bathed and shriven according to the old usage of England, and the next day in the morning the King dubbed them according to the ceremonies thereto belonging." Stow, *Annals*, where is a list of their names.]

<sup>h</sup> [According to Stow, they rode before the Queen "in violet gowns with hoods purfled with miniver like doctors."]

<sup>i</sup> ["She had on a kirtle of white cloth of tissue, and a mantle of the same furred with ermine, her hair hanging down, but on her head she had a coif with a circlet about it full of rich stones." Stow, *ibid.*]

<sup>k</sup> [Two of these "ancient old ladies," were the "old Duchess of Norfolk, and the old Marchioness of Dorset." Stow, *ibid.*]



thereabout. To whom also, as she came along the City was showed many costly pageants, with divers other encomies spoken of children to her. And so proceeding throughout the streets, passed forth unto Westminster Hall, where was a certain banquet prepared for her, which done, she was conveyed out of the backside of the palace into a barge, and so unto York Place<sup>l</sup>, where the King's Grace was before her coming, for this you must ever presuppose, that his Grace came always before her secretly in a barge, as well from Grenewyche to the Tower, as from the Tower to York Place.

Now then on Sunday was the Coronation, which also was of such a manner.

In the morning there assemble[d] with me at Westminster Church, the Bishop of York<sup>m</sup>, the Bishop of London<sup>n</sup>, the Bishop of Wynchester<sup>o</sup>, the Bishop of Lyncoln<sup>p</sup>, the Bishop of Bath<sup>q</sup>, and the Bishop of St. Asse<sup>r</sup>, the Abbot of Westminstre<sup>s</sup>, with ten or twelve more Abbots, which all revestred ourselves in our pontificalibus, and so furnished, with our crosses and crosiers, proceeded out of the Abbey in a procession unto Westminster Hall, where we received the Queen apparelled in a robe of purple velvet, and all the ladies and gentlewomen in robes and gowns of scarlet, according to the manner used before time in such business: and so her Grace sustained of each side with two Bishops, the Bishop of London and the Bishop of Wynchester, came forth in procession unto the Church of Westminster, she in her hair, my Lord of Suffolke bearing before her the Crown, and two other lords bearing also before her a Sceptre and a white rod, and so entered up into the high altar, where 'divers

l . . . . . [" Sir, you  
 " Must no more call it York-place, that is past:  
 " For since the Cardinal fell, that title's lost;  
 " 'Tis now the King's, and called—Whitehall."

Hen. VIII. Act IV.]

<sup>m</sup> [Edward Lee.]

<sup>n</sup> [John Stokesley.]

<sup>o</sup> [Stephen Gardyner.]

<sup>p</sup> [John Longland.]

<sup>q</sup> [John Clerk.]

<sup>r</sup> [Henry Standish.]

<sup>s</sup> [William Benson or Boston. See Letter vii.]

<sup>t</sup> [" At length her Grace rose, and with modest paces  
 " Came to the altar: where she kneel'd, and saint-like

ceremonies used about her, I did set the Crown on her head, and then was sung *Te Deum*, &c. And after that was sung a solemn mass, all which while her Grace sat crowned upon a scaffold, which was made between the high altar and the choir in Westminstre Church; which mass and ceremonies done and finished, all the assembly of noblemen brought her into Westminstre Hall again, where was kept a great solemn feast all that day; the good order thereof were too long to write at this time to you. But now, Sir, you may not imagine that this Coronation was before her marriage, for she was married much about St. Paul's day<sup>u</sup> last, as the condition thereof doth well appear, by reason she is now somewhat big with child. Notwithstanding it hath been reported throughout a great part of the realm that I married her; which was plainly false, for I myself knew not thereof a fortnight after it was done. And many other things be also reported of me, which be mere lies and tales.

Other news have we none notable, but that one Fryth<sup>z</sup>, which was in the Tower in prison, was appointed by the

"Cast her fair eyes to heaven, and prayed devoutly.

"Then rose again, and bow'd her to the people:

"When by the Archbishop of Canterbury

"She had all the royal makings of a Queen;

"As holy oil, Edward Confessor's crown,

"The rod and bird of peace, and all such emblems

"Laid nobly on her; which performed, the choir,

"With all the choicest music of the kingdom,

"Together sung *Te Deum*."

Hen. VIII. Act IV.]

<sup>u</sup> [This part of the Letter, as has been observed by Mr. Ellis, proves two facts respecting which there has been some dispute: one, that Anne Boleyn was married on St. Paul's day, the 25th of January; the other, that Cranmer was not present on the occasion. The date of the marriage is given correctly by Stow; but Hall, and Holinshed after him, name St. Erkenwald's day, the 14th of November. The presence of Cranmer is asserted by Lord Herbert, whose mistake has been adopted by Burnet and Dr. Milner.]

<sup>z</sup> [A peculiar interest is attached to the name of Frith, from his being the first Englishman after Wicliff, who wrote against the received doctrine of the Eucharist, from the celebrity of his opponent in the controversy, Sir Thomas More, and from the influence which his writings are supposed to have had on Cranmer. See Preface; Burnet, *Reformat.* vol. i. p. 338; Foxe, *Acts*, &c. vol. ii. p. 303, and vol. iii. Appendix, p. 989; where is a very interesting narrative of his appearance before the Archbishop at Croydon.]

King's Grace to be examined before me, my Lord of London, my Lord of Wynchestre, my Lord of Suffolke, my Lord Chancellor <sup>y</sup>, and my Lord of Wylteshere, whose opinion was so notably erroneous, that we could not dispatch him, but was fain to leave him to the determination of his Ordinary, which is the Bishop of London. His said opinion is of such nature, that he thought it not necessary to be believed as an article of our faith, that there is the very corporal presence of Christ within the host and sacrament of the altar, and holdeth of this point most after the opinion of Œcolampadius. And surely I myself sent for him three or four times to persuade him to leave that his imagination, but for all that we could do therein, he would not apply to any counsel; notwithstanding now he is at a final end with all examinations, for my Lord of London hath given sentence and delivered him to the secular power, where he looketh every day to go unto the fire <sup>z</sup>. And there is also condemned with him one Andrewe, a tailor of London, for the said selfsame opinion.

<sup>a</sup> If you have not heard of our ambassadors lately gone over, you shall understand that my Lord of Northfolk, my Lord of Rocheforde, Master Paulet, Sir Francis Bryan, Sir Antoney Browne, &c, Dr. Gooderyche, D. Aldryche, and D. Thrylbey, be gone unto France to the French King <sup>b</sup>. And as I suppose they go from him to the Pope unto . . . . <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>y</sup> [Sir Thomas Audeley was appointed Lord Keeper the 20th of May 1532, on the resignation of Sir Thomas More; and Lord Chancellor the 26th of January, 1533. *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 389.]

<sup>z</sup> [Both Frith and Andrew Hewet were burnt in Smithfield on the 4th of July, 1533. Foxe, *Acts*, &c. vol. ii. p. 309. Burnet, following Hall and Stow, places their execution in 1534, but Foxe's date is strongly supported by this Letter.]

<sup>a</sup> [This latter part of the Letter is omitted, both by Mr. Ellis and by Mr. Todd.]

<sup>b</sup> ["The King understanding that the Pope, the Emperor, and the French King, should meet at Nice in June following, he appointed the Duke of Northfolk, &c. to go in ambassage to the French King, and both to accompany him to Nice, and also to commune with the Pope there, concerning his stay in the King's divorce." Stow, *Annals*.]

<sup>c</sup> [Francis I. and the Pope met in October at Marseilles, and arranged the marriage which had been for some time under negotiation

Further you shall understand, that there is many here which wish you to succeed your uncle<sup>d</sup>; notwithstanding I would you should not think the contrary, but that there be a great sort which would it should not come to pass; nevertheless you be neither the nearer ne further off through such idle communication.

Finally, I here send unto you a bill for the bank of four ducats de largo, which sum I would you should not take it up before you have need thereof, and therefore I send it for your commodity and necessity; for it is none of the King's Grace's money, nor his said Grace knoweth nothing thereof, but alonely of my benevolence to serve your purpose, in case, as I said, you should lack the same. And thus fare ye well. From my manor of Croydon, the xvii. day of June. [1533.]

#### XV. TO THE MAYOR OF CAMBRIDGE AND HIS BRETHREN.

In my right hearty wise I commend me unto you, and <sup>Harl. MSS.</sup> to each of you. And where of late I wrote unto you in the <sup>6148. f.</sup> favour of one of mine ally, called Humfrye Stockewith, concerning his liberty in absenting himself from the offices of your town, the reasonable causes whereof I declared unto you in my other letters to you directed in that behalf, and since that time I have no understanding ne certification of your minds in that behalf: in consideration whereof, and forasmuch as I am some deal desirous to be advertised of your towardness therein, I heartily desire you to send me word by this bearer in writing, what you intend to do concerning the same. And if I herein may perceive any kindness

between the Duke of Orleans, afterwards Henry II, and Catharine de Medici, the Pope's niece. Burnet.]

<sup>d</sup> ["On the death of Dr. West, Bishop of Ely, his nephew and godson Dr. Nicholas Hawkins, Archdeacon of Ely, at that time the King's ambassador in foreign parts, was designed to succeed him; but he dying before his consecration could be effected, the King granted his license to the Prior and Convent, dated March 6, 1534, to choose themselves a bishop; who immediately elected in their chapter-house, the seventeenth of the same month, Thomas Goodrich." Chalmers, *Biogr. Dict.* art. Goodrich.]

in you for the obtaining of my request, I will at all times be ready to show you like pleasure. And thus fare you well. From my manor of Croydon, the xxv. day of June.

To Master Mayor of Cambridge and  
his brethren.

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XVI. TO THE MASTER<sup>c</sup> OF JESUS COLLEGE<sup>f</sup>, CAM-  
BRIDGE.

Harl. MSS. In my right hearty wise I commend [me] unto you, &c.  
6148. f. 22. And so certifying you that I send you here a buck to be  
b. bestowed amonges your company within your college. And  
Todd, *Life* forasmuch as you have more store of money, and also less  
*of Cran-* need than I at this season, therefore I bequeath a noble  
*mer*, vol. ii. of your purse towards the baking and seasoning of him.  
p. 285. And whensoever I have so much money before hand as I am  
now behind hand, I shall repay you your noble again. And  
thus fare you well. From my manor of Croydon, the  
xxvi. day of June<sup>g</sup>.

To the Master of Jesus College in  
Cantabrigge.

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XVII. To ———

Harl. MSS. Right hearty and wellbeloved, I commend me unto you,  
6148. f. 22. &c. letting you to understand, that by the great suit and in-  
b. stance of my special friends I have overcharged my house  
with servants. Wherefore I desire you, that your son W.  
may be with you at home unto such time as my business be  
something overpast. I can put none of my servants from

<sup>c</sup> [Wm. Capon. Le Neve, *Fasti*.]

<sup>f</sup> [Cranmer had been Fellow of Jesus College. He vacated his fellowship by marriage, about 1512, but was re-elected on the death of his wife in the following year.]

<sup>g</sup> [Mr. Todd places this Letter nearly twenty years later, under 1552. But he gives no conclusive reason for his arrangement; and the book of copies from which it is taken, may be fairly assumed from the known dates of some of its contents to have been wholly written before 1536. See Preface.]

me but such as have some friends to take unto, for else I think they should be greatly hindered thereby, therefore I intend to put none away but such as be my friends' children. For lether I had be bold of my own friends that of strangers, by reason that strangers will peradventure take it more displeasantly and unkindly, than I am sure my own friends will. Surely and unfeignedly I do like your son singularly well, and therefore I intend to send for him, God willing, again, as shortly as I may conveniently. Moreover I have spoken with Doctor Elyston in your favour, and he hath taken day with me to St. James' day next, to the intent he may be sure what the Chapel of St. Marget is worth by the year; that done, I trust that matter will come to good effect, and that ye need not to doubt therein by God's grace; and thus fare ye well. From my manor of Croydon, the xxvi<sup>th</sup> day of June.

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XVIII. TO THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN <sup>b</sup>.

My very loving lord, I commend me heartily to you. So <sup>Harl. MSS.</sup> it is that my servant John Creke, this bearer, is in good <sup>6148. f. 21.</sup> hope of a preferment in the University of Oxforthe, by means of special good friends which do and would earnestly labour for him, as he shall declare unto you; wherein I pray you, my Lord, right heartily, that he may for my sake have your favour and assistance, which when it shall lie in me, I would surely requite and recompense, God willing; who keep and preserve you. From Croydon, the vth day of July.

To my Lord of Lincoln.

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XIX. TO BALTHASOR.

In my right hearty wise I commend me unto you. And <sup>Harl. MSS.</sup> where it is so, that one of my chaplains, named Master Wit- <sup>6148. fol. 26.</sup>

<sup>b</sup> [John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, succeeded Archbishop Warham as Chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1532. Wood, *Fasti*, p. 51.]

well<sup>i</sup>, by reason of a certain disease lying and being within his knee, is now under your cure for the remedy of the same: and as I am credibly informed [it] is so inveterately congealed, that it is not like easily and in short time to be dissolved, notwithstanding I understand you have declared hitherto as well kindness as diligence to him in that behalf; wherefore I heartily thank you for your said pains; requiring to continue your good towardness therein as you have begun, and so to use all such lawful expedition herein as may conveniently be devised, to the intent he may be the sooner released of this his pain. And in so doing I shall be ready to show you always such pleasure as lieth in me to do, when you shall the same require. And thus fare you well. From my manor of Croydon, the vth day of July.

To Master Balthasor, Surgeon unto  
the King's Highness.

XX. TO THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN<sup>k</sup>.

Harl. MSS. In my right hearty wise I commend me unto you, &c.  
6148. f. 26. And where there is a matter of variance between the Warden of All Souls College within the University of Oxford, and this bearer, Sir W. A. priest, for the interest of a chauntry lying and being within your diocese, from which he is expelled, as he saith, unjustly: in consideration thereof, and forasmuch as all such variances begun without my diocese, by the statute<sup>l</sup> I cannot call them before me; having also in consideration the great cost and vexation whereby the parties should be put to coming unto me so far: I heartily pray

<sup>l</sup> [Probably John Whitwel, mentioned by Strype as the Archbishop's almoner and chaplain; *Cranmer*, p. 176, 179.]

<sup>k</sup> [John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford.]

<sup>l</sup> [Probably the Statute 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12. for restraint of appeals to Rome; by which it was enacted, that appeals should thenceforth be made "from the Archdeacon or his official, if the matter be there begun, to the Bishop diocesan of the said see, if in case any of the parties be grieved;" and if it be commenced before the Bishop diocesan, to the Archbishop of the province. *Statutes of the Realm*.]

you therefore, you being within three or four miles thereunto, to take some pains to set the parties at a unity and peace therein, according to right and conscience. And in thus doing, I will be as ready to show you like pleasure at all times. And thus fare you well. From my manor of Croydon, the viiith day of July.

To my Lord of Lincoln.

### XXI. To POTTKYNS.

Master Pottkyns, I greet you well, &c. And where there is a collation of a benefice now in my hands through the death of one Sir Richarde Baylis, priest of the College of Mallyng, according as you may be further instruct by this letter herein inclosed, the place and room whereof I intend to dispose, I will therefore, that you send unto me a collation thereof; and that your said collation have a window expedient to set what name<sup>m</sup> I will therein. And thus fare you well, &c. [1533.]

Harl. MSS.  
6148. fol.  
26. b.

### XXII. To HIS CHANCELLOR.

Master Chancellor, I greet you well. And where I sent unto for the process of a variance between Pery<sup>n</sup> and Benbowe, supposing you had taken and examined the witness thereof, which I understand is not as yet done: in consideration thereof, I will that you forthwith examine the said witness, to the intent their depositions may be joined unto your said process, and then sent again therewithal unto [me]. Thus fare you well. From Croydon, the viiith day of July, &c.

Harl. MSS.  
6148. fol.  
26. b.

<sup>m</sup> [The name inserted was Stephen Padley, who succeeded Richard Bayley the 9th of July, 1533. *Cranmer's Register*, fol. 340. a.]

<sup>n</sup> [See Letters xxviii. xxxiii.]



## XXIII. To ———

Harl. MSS. In my right hearty wise I commend me unto you. And  
 6148. fol. where I understand, that through the virtue of a certain  
 26. b. commission to you directed, you have liberty and authority  
 to examine and finish a matter in controversy of land be-  
 tween one A. B. of the one party, and my loving friend  
 C. D. of the other, father unto my trusty and wellbeloved  
 servant this bearer: in consideration thereof, and foras-  
 much as this said variance hath so long depended unde-  
 termined, not without great damage, and vexation of the  
 said A. B; I heartily desire you, that at this mine in-  
 stance, if you can conveniently at this time use such expe-  
 dition herein, that thereby he may know now to what deter-  
 mination he shall stand unto, which, after so many delays  
 past, should now be unto him singular pleasure to know :  
 exhorting you furthermore to show unto him your lawful  
 favour in his right, and, so doing, I will be as ready at all  
 times, &c.

## XXIV. WARRANT FOR VENISON.

Harl. MSS. We will and command you to bring, or cause to be  
 6148. fol. brought, into our larder, to the use of our household within  
 77. b. our manor of Otteforde, against the xxii<sup>ti</sup> day of this present  
 month, one buck of season, to be taken out of our parks of  
 Slyndon<sup>o</sup> within your office, any restraint or command-  
 ment had or made to the contrary heretofore thereof in any  
 wise notwithstanding, and that you fail not as ye tender our  
 favour. And these our letters shall be your sufficient war-  
 rant and discharge in this behalf. Yeven under our signet  
 at our manor of Oteforde, the xviii<sup>ti</sup> day of the month  
 of July, in the xxv. year of the reign of, &c. and the first  
 year of our consecration. [1533.]

<sup>o</sup> [In Sussex near Arundel. See Letter xxxviii.]

## XXV. To KYNGESTON.

Cousin Kyngeſton<sup>p</sup>, in my right hearty wiſe I commend <sup>Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 27.</sup> me to you : doing you to underſtand that I have received your letters, and do perceive the contents of the ſame. And where ye write, that your ſon Antoney had ſmall ſpeed afore me, marvelling why I did uſe the old proceſs, whereby you do think that the whole matter is fruſtrate and deſtroyed, and your ſon alſo : ye may be well aſſured, that I did peruſe the ſaid old proceſs for none other intent, than for the information of my conſcience only. And albeit I did thus uſe it, yet I was never minded to reduce the ſame in my ſentence. And as I did therein, ſo would or ſhould every good judge have done, if he would do his office and duty with equity. Ye do know well, that at the firſt beginning I ſent for the ſame, and uſed it for my information. If I had not, or would not ſo have done, I might right well have been noted negligent, as not willing to know the truth. And I ſhould have done otherwiſe than ever any judge did hitherto, or ever will do hereafter. And it is pity that ever I had been judge, if I would not have ſought all means to be right informed. And when I took new depoſitions of other wiſneſs, I did it for none other intent but upon your ſon's words ; ſuppoſing and truſting that he could have brought ſuch wiſneſs as may have countervailed the firſt ſixteen wiſneſs brought by you, which cometh now to none effect ; nor as all the learned men in the law that were then preſent with me at that time, as well the Dean of the Arches as alſo both his counſel and her's, did then plainly ſay, it is not poſſible to bring any wiſneſs that ſhould countervail

<sup>p</sup> [This may have been Sir William Kingſton, commander of the guard ſent to conduct Wolſey to the King, and conſtable of the Tower at the time of Anne Boleyn's imprisonment there. See Ellis, *Original Letters*, 1ſt ſer. vol. ii. p. 53. And Anthony his ſon may be the Sir Anthony Kingſton, who, as Provost-maſter of the weſtern army in 1549, was more diſtinguiſhed for the readineſs of his wit than for his humanity. See an inſtance of his cruelty, vol. ii. p. 244. In 1551, he became one of Edward VI's Council for Wales, was afterwards a partiſan of Queen Jane, and was committed to the Tower by Queen Mary in 1555. See Holinſhed, vol. iii. p. 1006 ; Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 458 ; iii. pp. 10, 284.]

the first sixteen witness, unless the said sixteen could be rejected as not honest men, and not indifferent to depose in the cause; which thing, although Dorothy Harp do say that she can do, nevertheless I do not think it. And to be plain with you, as far as I do see yet in the matter, I am at my wits' end to give you counsel in it, for by my faith, if I could imagine any good counsel in the same, I would be no less glad to give it you, than you would be to take it. But in my judgment, all the learned men of Englande cannot give you counsel, except you take the other way of your son's impotency; and yet I think that will not serve neither. And where you write, that the setting forth of the first process and witness was only your act for three causes special in your letters expressed: I do think verily, that if those witness examined, knowing the truth do conceal the truth, and depose otherwise than truth, surely they be much to be blamed and worthy great punishment; and then they, and you that brought them forth, have lost your son, and not I. And contrariwise, if they knowing the truth have deposed nothing but truth, and as they do know, then the matter must stand as it may stand with equity, and ye to be contented therewith. Wherein you shall be well assured to have me upright and just, without any manner of inclination to any party otherwise than justice will suffer; but so far as equity and justice will permit, I shall be glad to incline to your desire, and specially seeing that it is the desire of the other party also. But me seemeth for this time, that if your son and his wife would both set apart their wilful minds, and agree together as man and wife, it should be great comfort to them and all their friends, and to the pleasure of God. And if they will continue in their folly still, except I can see some better cause why they should not be man and wife than I do see yet, I shall never consent, that he shall live in adultery with another woman, and she with another man. For if he were my son, I had rather that he begged all his life than to live in adultery; and so I think you had also. And thus our Lord preserve you. From my manor of Oteforde the xix. day of July.

## XXVI. TO CERTAIN CURATES.

Forasmuch as I am credibly informed by the church-wardens of the parish of Mallyng, how that their church is so far in decay, that the said parish of itself is not able to repair the same again without great help of their well-disposed neighbours, by reason whereof they have instantly desired of me [to] write to your parish in their behalf: I will therefore, that ye at a convenient time exhort and move your parishioners to give their aid and help unto them therein; inasmuch as in so doing it will be both a right charitable deed, and also a very good occasion whereby your said parish may require of them such like commodity when you shall need (as they do) likewise the same. Willing you also to desire two of the most honest men of your said parish, to take the pains in gathering and preserving of that which shall be given in this behalf. And thus fare you well. From my manor of Ottforde, the xix. day of July.

To certain Curates.

XXVII. TO THE ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER<sup>q</sup>.

Brother Abbot, in my right hearty wise I commend me unto you, &c. And forasmuch as ye were contented to promise unto me the next room that should chance hereafter to be void, among the beadmen in the foundation<sup>r</sup> of that noble prince of perpetual memory, King Henry the VIIth, for one John Fysshier, whom I do much tender in that behalf; I heartily desire you therefore not to forget your said promise, but that ye will remember the same, even as you would be remembered of me at such time as it lieth in me to show you any pleasure hereafter. And thus fare you well. From my manor of Ottforde, the xix. day of July.

To my brother Abbot of Westminster.

<sup>q</sup> [See Letter vii.]

<sup>r</sup> [Respecting this foundation see the oath of William Boston, Abbot of Westminster, in Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 459.]

## XXVIII. TO HIS CHANCELLOR.

Harl. MSS.  
6148. fol.  
28.

Mr. Chancellor, I greet you well. I will that you send unto me all the process of the judges delegatory, with the depositions of such witness as I wrote of late to you of to be examined concerning the matter of variance of matrimony between Thomas Perry<sup>s</sup> and Jane Benbowe, which if you have accordingly done, then to warn the parties to appear before me on Monday next coming. And thus fare you well, &c.

## XXIX. TO CRUMWELL.

Harl. MSS.  
6148. fol.  
28.

In my right hearty wise I commend me unto you. And where the Prior of the friar preachers of Bristoll sueth unto me for a license to preach, yet am I loth to grant the same, unless I might have some sure information by one of the Council how he is discharged of his business before them: in consideration hereof I heartily desire you to advertise me by this bearer, in what case he standeth, and whether he be after such a sort and manner discharged, so that it be meet for me to give him my said license to preach through my province. And thus fare ye well. From my manor of Otteforde the xix. day of July.

Over this, I most heartily desire you at this mine instance to further all that in you is this said bearer my servant<sup>s</sup>, touching his preferment to the room of the Esquire Bedell of Arts at Oxford, which is now in the King's Grace's hands to give to whom he will at his pleasure, forasmuch as the said University hath without his Grace's assent and license admitted one by way of resignation to the said room, (their<sup>u</sup>

<sup>s</sup> [See Letters xxii. xxxiii.]

<sup>t</sup> [See Letter xviii.]

<sup>u</sup> [This is illustrated by the following extract from Wood, *Annals*, A. D. 1532. "After these troubles followed others of greater moment between the University and Town, concerning divers liberties and privileges, the report of which coming to the King's hearing, instructions were sent down from him to make a surrender of their liberties." In pursuance of these instructions the University surrendered their privi-

statutes and liberties as well then as now being in the King's hands,) which admittance, as I am informed, is frustrate, if it would so please his Grace to consider the same: therefore gladly would I that my said servant were preferred thereunto before another, considering how it would be to him an apt room, and also a good living therewithal. Wherefore, eftsoons I pray you to show unto him your lawful favour in this behalf, whereby you shall not alonely bind him to be your daily beadman, but also be sure of me to show you any pleasure that I can therefore. And thus fare you well. From my manor of Otteford the xix. day of July.

To my especial friend Master Cromwell.

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XXX. TO THE PRIORESS OF ST. SEPULCHRE'S, CANTERBURY.

Sister Prioress, in my hearty wise I commend me unto you. And so likewise will that you do repair unto me to my manor of Otteforde, and bring with you your nun<sup>x</sup> which was some time at Courteupstrete, against Wednesday next coming: and that ye fail not herein in any wise. Thus fare you well. From our manor of Otteforde, &c. [1533.]

To the Prioress.

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XXXI. TO LORD ABERGAVENNY.

In my right hearty wise I commend me unto your lordship, &c. And where I am informed by divers of my leges both regal and papal. "Soon after, or about that time, the Bur-  
"gesses surrendered up their chiefest privileges, (though not all, as from  
"several complaints is apparent,) together with an obligation, whereby  
"they stood bound to abide the word or decision of the King. After  
"he had retained them some time in his hands, (the places in the Uni-  
"versity disposal, which fell in that time, being bestowed by him  
"on those he thought fit, as particularly a Bedell's place,) he at length  
"(after several articles had been put up against each other in that  
"time, which for brevity I omit) confirmed all the ancient privileges  
"and liberties of the University, and commanded all his subjects, par-  
"ticularly the Mayor and Burghers of Oxford, to observe, keep, and in  
"no wise infringe them."

<sup>x</sup> [Elizabeth Barton. See Letters LXXXII. LXXXIII. LXXXIV.]

tenants of Mafeldey, that there be certain ancient franchises and liberties<sup>2</sup> thereunto belonging, which hitherto hath been always quietly maintained by my predecessors; notwithstanding as they do again report, there is one William Smythe hath enterprised to infringe the said liberties, in serving of a *Supplicavit* to one John Kydder tenant there: in consideration thereof, I heartily desire you, forasmuch as I am myself ignorant of such liberties, that you will execute and provide such condign punishment for the offender herein as law and conscience will suffer you thereunto, so that this poor man may have some redress thereby. Requiring you furthermore henceforward to redress all such offences within my said liberties, upon like informations, according to your discreet and politic wisdom in that behalf, as you shall think most necessary from time to time. And in thus doing you shall not alonely do unto me singular pleasure, but also thereby be sure of me to show at all times that pleasure I may. Thus fare you well. From my manor at Otteforde the xix. day of July.

To my especial friend my Lord of  
Burgavenny.

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### XXXII. TO THE DEAN OF THE ARCHES.

Harl. MSS.  
6142. fol.  
29.

Mr. Dean, I greet you well. And where I am informed by one James <sup>a</sup>Bulstrode, that he hath divers witness, which could make manifest depositions concerning the matter of variance in matrimony between him and one Edwardes, whose said witness as yet you have not examined, ne will not, as he reporteth, unless you have some knowledge from me therein: I will therefore, in case it be not repugnant or prejudicial to the course of the law, that you take all manner

<sup>1</sup> [Mayfield in Sussex; where was formerly a palace with a park belonging to the see of Canterbury, alienated by exchange in the first year of Edw. VI. Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 281.]

<sup>2</sup> [Lord Abergavenny appears to have been Steward of the liberties of the Archbishopric. See Letters CCLXIII. CCLXLV.]

<sup>a</sup> [See Letters XXXIII. LXI.]

of depositions, as well for the one part as for the other, to the intent the knowledge of the truth may the more openly appear in this behalf. And thus fare you well. From my manor of Otteford the xxi. day of July.

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XXXIII. TO THE DEAN OF THE ARCHES.

Mr. Dean, I greet you well. And where as well the matter in controversy between Thomas Perry<sup>b</sup> and one Benbowe, as also the matter between James Bulstrode<sup>c</sup> and one Edwardes, stand undetermined, the parties with importune suit always calling unto me thereupon, and the term almost now at an end: i[n] consideration thereof, and forasmuch as I am not assured what day is most convenient to appoint the said parties to be here before me, having your assistance therewithal; I will therefore, that ye appoint both day and time in that behalf, willing you further to warn Dr. Townsende to be here with you, so that he may still continue with me in the vacation time. And further, that you appoint either party to bring with them their learned counsel, to the intent we make the more speed therein. Over this I advertise you, that where you desired to know my mind, whether you shall make privy Mr. Chancellor and Pottkyns in the matter which you wrote to me of, my mind is in that behalf, that you shall show nothing to them thereof, but keep the same to yourself until your next resort unto me, when you shall know further of my mind therein. And thus fare you well. From my manor of Otteforde the xxii. day of July.

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XXXIV. TO DR. BELL.

I heartily commend me unto you: and forasmuch as ye heretofore promised me that I should have a determinate answer of you, as touching the taking to farm of your be-

<sup>b</sup> [See Letters xxii. xxviii.]

<sup>c</sup> [See Letter xxxii.]



nefice beside Southwell called Normanton for a kinsman of mine, and that the time which ye appointed to give the same is now past : I desire you therefore, that ye without any further delay will send me now by my servant this bearer a final answer in this behalf. And where ye before made a stop herein, because of your promise which ye made to Master Basset, I assure you, he hath assigned and remitted unto me his interest and title in the same, like as I shall plainly show you by his letters, what time soever ye shall require to see them. Thus fare ye well. From my manor of Ottford the xxiii<sup>ti</sup> day of July.

To Master Dr. Bell be this delivered.

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XXXV. To DR. BELL.

Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 33. In my right hearty wise I commend me unto you. And even so thank you for your benevolent kindness, which for my sake ye have showed unto this bearer my kinsman, requiring you hereunto, as ye have begun so to proceed with the same, in all such his matters and affairs as he shall have hereafter to do with you. And forasmuch as ye be so good to grant unto him a lease of your benefice, I require you as in that behalf to let him enjoy it as shortly as you may conveniently, trusting also that you will thereunto extend and enlarge your conscience, for granting sufficient years therein. And look what pleasure or commodity on my behalf I can do for you, ye may be sure of me to accomplish the same from time to time, &c.

To the same.

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XXXVI. To DR. CLAYBROKE AND DR. BASSETT.

Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 33. I heartily commend me unto you: likewise thanking you for this bearer my kinsman, to whom as I understand you be especial friend, in such matters and causes as he hath to do with you, requiring you also in my name and behalf to give condign thanks unto the vicars chorals at Southwell

for the same. And if I may do unto you or them any pleasure, ye shall always have me ready to that lieth in me the best I can, &c.

To Doctor Claybroke and Doctor Bassett.

XXXVII. TO THE DUCHESS OF NORFOLK<sup>d</sup>.

Madam, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto <sup>Harl. MSS.</sup> your ladyship: and so certify you, that I have received your <sup>6148.</sup> <sup>fol. 30.</sup> letter concerning the permutation of the benefice of Cheveing unto your chaplain Mr. Molinex, wherein I was ever minded to satisfy your desire so much as in me was; but for so much as the said Mr. Baschirch<sup>e</sup> changed his mind, and that he hath resigned the said benefice unto another man<sup>f</sup>, your ladyship's further request now is, to have the next grant of the said benefice of Cheving, when it shall be by any manner way void, promising therefore the resignation of a benefice of the King's patronage, named Curremalet in Somersetshire, to whomsoever I shall name the same. Truly I am right well contented to apply unto your mind therein, although this said benefice of Cheveing is well worth forty marks, which is much more than the eighteen pounds. And where you wrote, that after so many times sent to know my mind herein, as yet you have no word thereof: surely I commanded my servant Creke to inform you after what condition the said benefice was resigned; as knoweth Almighty Jesus, who I beseech to preserve your good ladyship. From my manor of Otteforde, the xxiii. day of July. [1533.]

To the right Honourable and my very good  
Lady the Duchess of Northfolk.

<sup>d</sup> [Probably the Duchess Dowager, who was afterwards attainted of misprision of treason for concealing the misconduct of her granddaughter Catharine Howard.]

<sup>e</sup> [See Letter CLXV.]

<sup>f</sup> [Viz. Richard Astall, who was collated to Chevening the 15th of Oct. 1533. *Cranmer's Register*. See Letters XLIX. LVIII.]

## XXXVIII. To LORD ARUNDEL.

Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 30. In my right hearty wise I commend me unto your good lordship, &c. And where I am credibly informed of a certain composition concluded between my predecessors and yours, concerning the game and other liberties in the forest of Arundell, for the number of thirteen bucks or stags in summer, and for so many does or hinds in winter, which (as is more plainly specified) are yearly due unto the Archbishop of Canterbury's larder, within his manor of Slyndon<sup>ε</sup>: in consideration hereof, and forasmuch as the store of my other parks and games are now, by reason of this last vacation, utterly wasted and decayed, whereby I am at this season destitute of venison, both for myself and my friends; and so am thereby also now constrained more effectually to require of you this my said duty herein, I most heartily desire your lordship, that I may have these my said bucks or stags at your pleasure at this time. And hereafter when my game is better increased and replenished, I shall be as glad again to accomplish your requests in such like matters from time to time, &c.

To my very singular good Lord, my  
Lord of Arundell.

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## XXXIX. THE DUKE OF NORFOLK TO CRANMER.

Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 30. b. My Lord, in my right hearty manner I commend me unto you: signifying unto the same that the King's pleasure is, that ye do send unto me, with all speed and celerity, all such books and writings as ye have in your custody, sealed or subscribed with the hands of learned men, for the justifying of his Highness' great cause: and that with the said books and writings ye do send also all such manner process in form authentic, as hath been made by you touching his Grace's said cause. From Greenwich, the vth<sup>h</sup> day of September. [1533.]

To my Lord of Canterbury his Grace. Yours, T. Norfolk.

<sup>ε</sup> [See Letter xxiv.]

<sup>h</sup> [Queen Anne Boleyn was now at Greenwich on the eve of her confinement, and the King was therefore anxious to collect all the documents necessary for proving the legitimacy of the child. See the next Letter.]

## XL. TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

My Lord, in my right hearty manner I commend me Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 30. b. unto your good Lordship: certifying the same, that this present Sunday<sup>i</sup> I have caused to be delivered unto Master Cromewell all such books<sup>k</sup> and writings as have come to my hands concerning the King's Grace's great cause, according to the said Mr. Cromewell's request, made unto me therein in his said Grace's behalf. And as for all manner process had and made in the said matter, they be remaining in the hands of my Chancellor, to be reduced in authentic form according to the order of the law for such a process. And for this intent I have sent one of my secretaries to bring them unto you with all celerity he can. [1533.]

To my Lord of Norfolk his Grace.

XLI. TO ROSELL<sup>l</sup>.

Brother Rosell, in my right hearty wise I commend me Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 31. unto you, and in likewise to my sister your bedfellow, &c. And where I understand that your son is very apt to learn and given to his book, I will advise you therefore that ye suffer not him to lose his time, but either that ye set him forth to school at Southwell, or else send him hither unto me, that at the least between us he utterly lose not his youth, &c. Further, I pray you have me commended unto your father and mother. And thus fare ye well. From my manor of Otteforde, &c.

## XLII. TO HIS CHANCELLOR.

Master Chancellor, I commend me unto you: and so will, Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 31. that, according to the due form and manner of my license in

<sup>i</sup> [Sunday the 7th of Sept. 1533, the day on which Queen Anne Boleyn was delivered of her daughter Elizabeth. See Letter LXXXIV.]

<sup>k</sup> [See for an account of these books Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. p. 194; Foxe, *Acts*, &c. vol. ii. p. 631.]

<sup>l</sup> [Dorothy, a sister of the Archbishop, married Harold Rosell Esq. of Radcliffe on Trent. Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 419; Todd, *Life of Cranmer*.]

that behalf, you do admit into the Arches this bringer, Mr. Doctor Cave, a civilian, in as ample manner and condition as shall be most convenient both for his state and degree therein. And thus fare you well, &c.

To Master Chancellor.

### XLIII. TO THE DEAN OF THE ARCHES.

Harl. MSS. Master Dean, I commend me unto you, &c. signifying  
6148. fol. the same, that inasmuch as I have admitted this bearer,  
31. Mr. Doctor Cave, for one of the Arches, I will that you in like condition and effect do consider and take the same from time to time accordingly, &c.

To Master Dean.

### XLIV. TO DR. TRYGONELL.

Harl. MSS. In my right hearty wise I commend me unto you, &c.  
6148. f. 31. and so in like manner require the same to go unto my Lord Chancellor<sup>m</sup>, and that in my name, not alonely to desire his Lordship to show his lawful favour unto Master Hutton, of London, grocer, in his matter which I wrote unto you of before, but also ye will so instruct and ripe him therein, that he need not, for lack of information, be doubtful in that behalf; and in thus doing I will be as ready to show unto you like pleasure when you shall require the same. Thus fare you well, &c.

To Mr. Doctor Trygonell.

### XLV. TO BROWGH.

Harl. MSS. I commend me unto you, &c. For certain causes [moving]  
6148. f. 31. me reasonably hereunto, I charge you to be with me at Otte-

<sup>m</sup> [Sir Thomas Audeley. See Letter xiv. p. 32.]

forde upon Saturday next ensuing. At your coming you shall know more of my mind. From my manor of Otteford, &c.

To Master Browgh.

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XLVI. To ———

*Postscripta*<sup>n</sup>.

I commend me unto you, and where I am uncertified of Harl. MSS. the deliverance of a letter sent to you, and dated the xth <sup>6148. fol.</sup> day of this present month, the intent and purport whereof <sup>34. b.</sup> was, that (for divers causes reasonably me moving,) you should repair unto me at Otteford, which now, inasmuch as I am in doubt of the deliverance thereof, [I] will eftsoons that you with all speed and celerity at the sight hereof do accomplish that my said intent. And at your coming you shall know further of my mind in this behalf. From my manor of Otteford.

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XLVII. To JOHN FLEMYNG.

I do commend me unto you, &c. and so will, for divers Harl. MSS. considerations me moving hereunto, that ye do repair im- <sup>6148. fol.</sup> <sup>29. b.</sup> mediately after the sight hereof unto me, at my manor of Otteford, or where by chance I shall be else. At which time you shall know further of my mind in such matters as I have to do with you. From my manor of Otteford, the xviith day of September.

To Sir John Flemyng, Curate of St.  
Nicolas Parish in Bristoll.

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XLVIII. To CRUMWELL.

Right Worshipful Master Crumwell, in my hearty wise Chapter House, I commend me to you: and where I am credibly informed Westmin-ster; Crumwell's Cor-respondence. Ori- ginal.

<sup>n</sup> [In the original manuscript this appears as a postscript to a Letter to Rosell, No. LXIII, on the education of his son; where it is obviously out of place. It must clearly have followed some such summons as is contained in the preceding Letter to Browgh.]

of a matter afore my Lord Chancellor<sup>o</sup> depending, between John Broke, plaintiff of the one party, and Richarde Mares and other, defendants of the other, wherein hath been used marvellous delays by the means of contrary parts and their counsel, I pray you to be for my sake good master unto the said Broke, and to such as be of his counsel in the furtherance of his right; and also to speak effectuously in your own name to my Lord Chancellor to make a speedy end in this matter<sup>p</sup>. For this doing ye shall have me at all times ready to show such pleasure as shall lie in me; and I pray you to remember my kinsman John Padley, sanctuary man in Westminster. From Otford, the xxiiiith day of September.

Your assured,  
Thomas Cantuar.

To the Right Worshipful and my very  
loving friend Master Crumwell, one  
of the King's Grace's most honour-  
able Council.

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XLIX. To ———

Harl. MSS. In my right hearty wise I commend me unto you, &c.  
6148. fol. And where I am credibly informed that this bearer, my  
31. b.

<sup>o</sup> [Sir Thomas Audeley.]

<sup>p</sup> [It may seem, that on this and many other occasions, Cranmer by making interest with the judges, interfered with the due course of law; but it may be inferred from the writings of Latymer, that this was almost the only chance which a poor man then had of obtaining justice. For his Sermons abound with complaints of legal delays; and in one which he preached before Edward VI, he exhorted the King to hear men's suits himself. "I cannot," he says, "go to my book, for poor folks come unto me, desiring me that I will speak that their matters may be heard. I trouble my Lord of Canterbury, and being at his house, now and then I walk in the garden, looking in my book, as I can do but little good in it. I am no sooner in the garden and have read awhile, but by and by cometh there some one or other knocking at the gate. Anon cometh my man, and saith: 'Sir, there is one at the gate would speak with you.' When I come there, then is it some one or other that desireth me I will speak that his matter might be heard, and that he hath lain this long time at great costs and charges, and cannot once have his matter come to the hearing." *Second Sermon before Edward VI.* 1549.]

well beloved servant, <sup>a</sup> A. B. hath a full grant of Mr. A.<sup>r</sup> to be the farmer of his parsonage with you ; and forasmuch as my said servant intending for his most surety and profit to abide thereupon, supposeth by reason he is destitute of a convenient mansion for that behalf, that he cannot more expediently bestow himself and his household, if he might thereunto obtain your favour, than with you : in consideration hereof, and forasmuch as your vacant houses be now most apt for him that shall be farmer of the said parsonage, I heartily require you to owe unto him your lawful favour herein, and that the rather at this mine instance, which I were loth you should consider, in case I thought it should not be more for your commodity in this your solace, than his profit. From my manor of Ottforde, the iide day of October.

To the Parson <sup>a</sup> of Che[vening].

# I. TO THE PRIORESS AND CONVENT OF WILTON.

In my right hearty wise I commend me unto you : and <sup>Harl. MSS.</sup> where I am advertised by your authentic letters unto me, <sup>6148. fol.</sup> addressed by this bearer, Sir Robert F., how desirous ye are, <sup>31. b.</sup> for the zeal ye bear unto the good order of your religion, to have an election <sup>t</sup> of an abbess, whereunto by those your

<sup>a</sup> [Thomas Abberforde. See Letter LVIII.]

<sup>r</sup> [Richard Astall, parson of Chevening. See Letters xxxvii. LVIII.]

<sup>t</sup> [There seems to be an error here, for the parson is spoken of in the Letter as a third person.]

<sup>1</sup> [In 1528 the election of an Abbess of Wilton was the cause of a serious misunderstanding between Hen. VIII. and Wolsey ; the Cardinal having been instrumental to the success of Isabella Jordayn, the Prioress, against the wishes of both the King and Anne Boleyn. See some curious Letters on the subject in *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 313, &c. and *Harl. Misc.* vol. iii. p. 58 ; from which it appears, that the house at that time was badly regulated and in much need of reformation. Some of the nuns resisted so obstinately the shutting up of " certain doors and " ways," that it was thought necessary " to put three or four of the cap- " tains of them in ward." The present election seems to have terminated in favour of Cecil Bodenham, who was pensioned at the dissolution, together with the Prioress and thirty-one nuns. Willis, *Hist. of Abbeyes*, vol. ii. App. p. 29.]



said letters you move and also require of me aid concerning the same: this is to signify unto you hereby, that inasmuch as I perceive, that this your suit doth as well proceed of your mere and own free wills, without provocation of other men's suits, as of the love and zeal ye bear unto your said religion, I will, (the King's Grace's pleasure know[n] therein,) do that lieth in me to do; and owe unto you my lawful favour from time to time, &c.

To my well beloved sister and sisters  
the Prioress and Convent of the  
monastery of Wilton.

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LI. To ———

Harl. MSS. Wellbeloved, I greet you well, &c. your supplication by  
6148. fol. this bearer I have received, whereby I perceive your griefs,  
31. b. which to redress some part after your mind, (the King's  
Grace's pleasure known therein,) I shall be as glad to do  
and accomplish, as any that hath been in such a room as  
God now hath called me unto. From my manor of Otte-  
ford thevth day of October, &c.

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LII. TO GRESHAM.

Harl. MSS. Master Gresham<sup>u</sup>, I heartily commend me unto you:  
6148. fol. thanking you for your credit unto Master Gerves for me;  
32. and also for your letter, where I am now more ascertained  
of my day, (which I understand is past,) than I was before;  
by reason whereof I am not even now in a very readiness to  
accomplish your mind herein; notwithstanding I trust you  
shall be in no danger, for shortly I will send to the said  
Master Gerves to require of him a little respite unto my  
next audit at Lambeth, which will not be long unto, and

<sup>u</sup> [This may have been either Sir Richard the father, or Sir John the uncle of the celebrated Sir Thomas Gresham. They were both opulent merchants in the city of London. Ward, *Life of Gresham*.]

then I trust to satisfy him, and be glad to do for you as great pleasure by the grace of God, &c. From Otteford the vith day of October.

### LIII. TO LORD ROCHFORD<sup>x</sup>.

My Lord, in my right hearty wise I commend me unto <sup>Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 32.</sup> your good Lordship: and where this bringer P. M. sueth unto me to write unto you in his favour, that you would be so good lord unto him, as to move my Lord of Northfolke at your request to prefer the same to my Lord of Richmond's<sup>y</sup> service to the room of a secretary, which, as I perceive, is now void: in consideration hereof, and forasmuch that at your request I took his brother<sup>z</sup> to my service, whose diligence and fidelity I do now much esteem, I heartily require your Lordship to tender this his said suit; and that the rather at this my request ye do therein the more effectually, as your discreet wisdom in that behalf doth think best for his furtherance: for I myself have this confidence in him, that by reason he is brother unto my said servant, he will do no less diligent service unto my said Lord of Richmond than his brother doth now unto me; as knoweth God, who preserve you, my good Lord Rocheford. From my manor of Otteford the vith day of October, &c.

To my very singular good Lord, my  
Lord of Rocheforde, &c.

### LIV. TO COLLMAN<sup>a</sup>.

Master Collman, I commend me unto you, &c. pray-<sup>Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 30. b.</sup> ing you, as my trust and fidelity is in the same, to proceed in making of a sale in Buchurste of such woods as

<sup>x</sup> [The unfortunate brother of Anne Boleyn.]

<sup>y</sup> [Henry Fitzroy, natural son of Henry VIII.]

<sup>z</sup> [Probably Raife Morice, a secretary in whom the Archbishop had great confidence. See Strype.]

<sup>a</sup> [John Colman was, in 1535, the Archbishop's bailiff for Wyngham and its dependencies. *Val. Eccles.*]

shall be thought most best by your discretion for my profit, according to such informations as my officers made unto you at their last being at Canterbury; and in thus doing you shall at this time do me pleasure. And for your further surety herein, this my writing shall be a sufficient warrant for you at all times in this behalf, &c. vii. day of October.

To Mr. Collman at Canterbury.

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L.V. TO HIS CHANCELLOR.

Harl. MSS. Master Chancellor, I greet you well. And forasmuch as  
6148. fol. I am credibly informed that the nomination of a Vicar unto  
32. the vicarage of Withbroke in the diocese of Coventry and Lychfield belongeth unto me in the vacation of the bishop there<sup>a</sup>, which said nomination I have given unto the Prior of Coventry, [I will that] ye do dispatch the said Prior according to your form devised by the law in that behalf, and as you shall think most convenient, &c.

To Master Chancellor.

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LVI. TO THE CURATE OF SUNDRIDGE.

Harl. MSS. I commend me unto you, &c. And where I am adver-  
6148. fol. tised by this bringer, John Pers, that for lack of a banns  
32. b. asking you defer the same from solemnizing of his matrimony, the default whereof he reporteth was [in] one, who in his absence for him should have given money to the clerk for the intimation thereof: I will therefore that you make no further lets or impediments herein, advertising the same, that forasmuch as in considering the premises there appeareth in his behalf no coven or deceit, I am content at this time to dispense with him. From Otteford, &c.

To the Curate of Sunriche.

<sup>a</sup> [Geoffrey Blythe, Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, died the latter end of 1533. Rowland Lee, his successor, was elected the 10th of Jan. 1534, consecrated the 19th of April, and restored to the temporalities the 6th of May following. Le Neve, *Fasti*.]

LVII. TO THE PRIOR OF CHRIST'S CHURCH, CANTERBURY.

Brother Prior, in my right hearty wise I commend me <sup>Harl. MSS.</sup> unto you : heartily thanking you for your good and kind <sup>6148. fol.</sup> token which I have received by your brothern and mine, <sup>32. b.</sup> not deserved as yet ; nevertheless you should have done me much more greater pleasure, if you had lent it me full of gold, not for any pleasure or delectation that I have in the thing, but for the contentation of such as I am indebted and dangered unto ; which I assure you hath grieved me more of late, than any worldly thing hath done a great season ; in this I am bold to show you my necessity, thinking of good congruence I might in such lawful necessity be more bolder of you, and you likewise of me, than to attempt or prove any foreign friends. Wherefore, trusting in your benevolence and of all my brethren for the premises, I shall so recompense the same again, according as ye shall be well contented and pleased withal. Thus fare ye well.

To the Prior of Christ's Church in  
Canterbury.

LVIII. TO THE PARSON OF CHEVENING<sup>b</sup>.

Master Astall, I commend me unto you. And where <sup>Harl. MSS.</sup> you were contented that I should have the farm<sup>c</sup> of your <sup>6148. fol.</sup> <sup>32. b.</sup>

<sup>b</sup> [See Letters xxxvii. xlix.]

<sup>c</sup> [The *farming* of benefices was the ordinary practice in those days, (See Foxe, *Acts*, &c. vol. iii. p. 167 ; ) and must not be confounded with *fee farming*, which seems to have crept in shortly afterwards. The latter system is explained to have been a *permanent* arrangement, or *commutation*, and was bitterly inveighed against by Latymer. This plain spoken preacher did not scruple to ascribe it to the machinations of Satan. "What an unreasonable devil is this? He provides a great while beforehand for the time that is to come: he hath brought up now of late the most monstrous kind of covetousness that ever was heard of: he hath invented *fee farming* of benefices, and all to decay this office of preaching; insomuch that when any man hereafter shall have a benefice, he may go where he will, for any house he shall have to dwell upon, or any glebe land to keep hospitality withal; but he must take up a chamber in an ale-house, and there sit to play at tables all the day. A goodly curate!" *Sixth Sermon before Edw. VI* 1549.]

parsonage of Chevenyng for one of my servants, which then I minded unto my servant Abberforde, supposing you would not have exacted of him, ne charged the same further for the yearly rent and revenues thereof, than was wont to be paid; yet, that notwithstanding, as I am informed, ye be not contented and agreeable to take xvlii. yearly therefore of him, which, as I hear say, is xli<sup>s</sup>. more than was accustomed to be paid before Master Milles had raised the same; but thereunto also you would have him stand charged, over and besides the xvi<sup>li</sup>. with iiiij<sup>li</sup>. more, which amounteth every year to the sum of xx<sup>li</sup>: Sir, I much marvel that you will desire thus far to exceed, in this uncertain world, from the accustomed rent thereof; I had thought you would rather have minished the old exaction than now to increase the same. I trust therefore you will not so hardly regard my first request herein, but am sure, after the most simple manner, ye will accomplish your said promise to me in this behalf. For in case my friend cannot somewhat likely have a living thereby, I had rather he were without it than have it. And what ye intend to do herein, I require you to send me an answer thereof by this bringer. Thus fare you well. From my manor of Otteforde the viii. day of October.

To the new Parson of Chevenyng, Mr. A.

#### LIX. To Dr. DOWNES<sup>d</sup>.

Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 33. b. In my right hearty wise I commend me unto you: and forasmuch as heretofore I had a promise made unto me by Doctor<sup>e</sup> Benett, (whose soul God pardon,) for the farm of his prebend in Southwell, for a kinsman of mine named John Thorpe; which said promise I doubted not herein

<sup>d</sup> [He was Chancellor of the Church of York, and one of the divines employed in compiling *The Institution of a Christian Man*. His judgment on Confirmation may be seen in Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i. App. N<sup>o</sup>. 88.]

<sup>e</sup> [Dr. William Benett, who succeeded Gardyner in 1529 as Henry VIII.'s ambassador at Rome, died abroad in the autumn of 1533. *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 337; Burnet, *Ref.* vol. iii. p. 158.]

should have taken good effect in case death had not prevented the same: in consideration hereof, and inasmuch as by the death of the said Doctor Benett, the collation of it belongeth unto my Lord your master<sup>f</sup>, I heartily pray you, that if it be yours or any of my Lord's chaplains, ye will be so good unto my said kinsman as to grant him, at this my request, to have the farm thereof, doing as other reasonably will do. And this if you can bring to pass to succeed accordingly, I will be both bound for the payment of the money thereof, and also show unto you and yours like pleasure, &c. ix. day of October.

To Mr. Doctor Downes.

#### LX. TO A PARK-KEEPER.

I commend me unto you: and whereupon certain communication had with this bearer, Master Roger Herman, I have assigned unto the same vi. loads of wood, to be delivered out of that my park called Corell's Wood, within that your office, I will and command you therefore, that you suffer him to carry the same, when he shall require it to be delivered and appointed unto him, of such waste wood as shall be meet for fuel, to the intent the timber or young spring be not wasted thereby. And for your surety herein, this my letter shall be unto you a sufficient warrant and discharge. The x. day.

Harl. MSS.  
6148.  
fol. 33. b.

To the Keeper of my Parks, called Corell's Wood.

#### LXI. TO THE DEAN OF THE ARCHES.

Master Dean, I greet you well. And where you advise me (upon the suit of Edwardes<sup>g</sup> unto you) to grant a new commission to the same, for the examination of certain witness, you know very well how aforetime I granted both parties to have commissions in that behalf, at which season the said

Harl. MSS.  
6148.  
fol. 34.

<sup>f</sup> [The Archbishop of York.]

<sup>g</sup> [See Letters xxxii. xxxiii.]

Edwardes regarded it not. And now forasmuch (by all likelihood) as he, perceiving what the other witness hath deposed, would hereby find some way to delay and prolong the matter; Sir, herein I signify unto you, that I am nothing willing thereunto, for on this manner of granting commissions we shall spend another year in waste, and be no more nearer the matter than we be now. And where you write unto me that Master Bedell<sup>h</sup> hath such business, that he cannot intend to examine the witness concerning the matter in variance between the Abbot of Tyltey<sup>i</sup> and my Lord of London's chaplain, and so thereby you stay in making out the commission, I will that you appoint Master Trygonell to be jointly with Mr. Doctor Oliver, instead of Mr. Bedell, in the said commission. The xi. day.

To the Dean of the Arches.

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LXII. TO STAPLETON.

Harl. MSS. 6148.  
fol. 34. In my right hearty wise I commend me unto you: signifying to the same, that I am right glad to hear such good report of you as I do, as well in that ye be so effectuously minded and given to see your pastoral cure discharged by your continual preaching and teaching, as also in confirming the same by your good conversation, example of living, and charitable behaviour towards your neighbours, whereunto I exhort you in Christ's behalf to go forward and proceed, as ye have hitherto right well begun. And where also I am advertised, that by your both good provision, and provident wisdom, there is a free school maintained with you for the virtuous bringing up of youth, I heartily require you, inasmuch as with this bearer I send now unto you my sister's son, named Thomas Rosell<sup>k</sup>, apt (as I suppose) to learning, that ye will at this my attemptation and request, do so much as to see him ordered and instruct in such doctrine

<sup>h</sup> [See Letter xiv.]

<sup>i</sup> [An abbey of White Monks in Essex, near Dunmow. Tanner, *Notit. Monast.*]

<sup>k</sup> [See Letter xli.]

as shall be convenient both for his age and capacity. And for those your pains in so doing, I will always be ready to show unto you like pleasure. Thus fare you well. From my manor of Otteforde, the xiith day of October.

To Master Stapleton, Parson of Byngham.

### LXIII. To ROSELL<sup>1</sup>.

Brother, I right heartily commend me unto you, and in Harl. MSS. like wise unto my sister your bedfellow, &c. And where of<sup>6148. fol. 34.</sup> late I wrote to you, that ye should send your son to school unto Southwell, supposing at that time that those parties had been clear from sickness, so it is as I am now advertised that they die there. In consideration thereof, and forasmuch as I am credibly informed that Master Stapleton, Parson of Byngham, hath by his provision set up a free school in his parish, of whose good name and conversation I hear much report worthy of commendation and praise, I will therefore advise you that forthwith you send your said son thither unto school, to the intent the said Master Stapleton may have the governance of him, to whom I have written a letter in that behalf. The xii. day [of October].

To my right well beloved brother,  
Mr. Rosell.

### LXIV. To CRUMWELL.

Right Worshipful Master Crumwell, in my right hearty Chapter wise I commend me to you: and likewise pray you to have House, Westminster; my friend Mr. Newman<sup>m</sup> in your good remembrance for Crumwell's Correspondence. Original. Mr. Benett's advowsonage, so that it may please you to call the same out of Mr. Benett's kinsman's hands, and to send the same unto me by my secretary, this bearer, whom I do send unto you purposely at this time for that matter.

<sup>1</sup> [See Letters xli. lxii.]

<sup>m</sup> [See Letters iv. lix. lxxviii. cliii.]



And at such time as I may show you any pleasure, I pray you to be as bold upon me. From my manor at Otford, the xviith day of October.

Your own assured

Thomas Cantuar.

To the Right Worshipful and my  
very loving friend Mr. Crumwell,  
of the King's Grace's most honour-  
able Council.

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LXV. TO THE BISHOP OF HEREFORD<sup>n</sup>.

Harl. MSS. In my right hearty wise I commend me unto you, &c.  
6148.  
fol. 34. b. And forasmuch as I understand, by a supplication to me delivered by this bearer, the parson of ———, that heretofore, through the procuration of one Mr. Robert ap David Lloyd, your receiver, the same hath persuaded divers of this complaintiff's parish, not alonely to withdraw their tithes and oblations, but thereunto by the said David Lloyd's sinister and misreport to you, caused his benefice to be sequesterate, and the sequestration thereof committed to certain temporal men, amonges whom, one named Howell Abowan, after he had received the fruits thereof, did so waste and consume them, that when the sequestration was relaxed, and this said complaintiff restored again, he could not, ne yet cannot obtain of the said Abowan any restitution of his said fruits; and where also, after that time you made a final determination between this complaintiff and his parishioners concerning the said tithes and other misorders, which for a certain time was well observed and took right good effect, whereupon it was thought that all things should have grown to a quietness, yet now, that notwithstanding, the said David Lloid hath (as this complaintiff reporteth) renewed the said variance, whereby, as well his tithes is now withdrawn again, contrary to your former determination, as

<sup>n</sup> [Charles Booth. He died in 1535, and was succeeded by Cranmer's friend, Edward Fox.]

also . . . . . denied him for the reformation thereof, against all right and equity : in consideration of the premises, and inasmuch as you in your diocese ought, before all other, to see justice ministered, I exhort you, and thereunto require the same, the rather at this my instance and request, to see your foresaid determination concerning these matters of variance, to be executed with justice ; for this complaintiff requireth of you none other favour in this behalf, but according to your determination he may enjoy the effect thereof. And surely loth were I to take on me the redressing of any such griefs within your diocese, unless for fault of justice I must be constrained thereunto : but herein I doubt not that your discretion and wisdom will suffer any such enormities to be unreformed, when the verity and truth of them shall be patified and made open unto you. Thus fare you well. From my manor of Otteford the xviii. day of October.

To the Bishop of Harwarde.

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LXVI. TO PALLGRAVE °.

I do commend me unto you : signifying to the same, that inasmuch as you write unto me, as well for the agreement of the fruits of your benefice of St. Dunston's concerning the last quarter in the vacation time, as also for the oblations offered there upon your Church holiday, I will that you, for a final determination herein, do resort unto Pottekyns, to know your end, to whom I have committed the ordering of all such matters belonging unto me ; for you may right well consider, that I am neither skilled herein, nor that it is convenient for me to meddle in such causes ; and yet not doubting but that mine officer will minister justice unto all parties accordingly. And where you say also, that you are not able to pay further out of hand so much money, but thereunto requireth days of payment for the same : Sir, as

° [John Pawlesgrave was instituted to the rectory of St. Dunstan's, the 3<sup>rd</sup> of October, 1533. Newcourt, *Repertorium*, vol. i. p. 334.]

touching that, I suppose you may better bear your necessity, than I may mine, considering both my great charges hitherto, and how I am thereby at this season compelled to prove all the friends that I can make, for the satisfying of such sums as be now due to be paid ; and yet I think not the contrary but that I shall lack much for the accomplishment of the same. Therefore I reckon you will rather endanger yourself to your friends, than now to require any such commodity of me, being so far behind hand.

To Master Pallgrave, Parson of St.  
Dounston's in the East at London.

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LXVII. TO LORD CHANCELLOR AUDLEY.

Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 35. In my right hearty wise I commend me unto your good Lordship, &c. And where I am advertised by this bearer, Doctor Maye, my Vicar General within the diocese of Ely p, that by reason that Doctor Clyff<sup>q</sup> and other keepeth away from him the records and registers belonging unto his office, he cannot in divers matters and causes minister justice accordingly ; and forasmuch also, as there is none other convenient way or means, neither by the course of the law spiritual nor temporal, for the obtaining of them, as I am in this behalf informed, I heartily require your good Lordship, that you will at this mine instance cause a sergeant of arms to call the parties which have the custody of the said registers

p [Nic. West, Bishop of Ely, died the twenty-eighth of April, 1533. His successor, Thomas Goodrich, was elected the seventeenth of March, and consecrated the nineteenth of April, 1534. Le Neve, *Fasti*. Dr. Maye, as the Archbishop's Vicar General, seems to have governed the diocese in the interval. There were two Doctors Maye, brothers, and both eminent men. Dr. William Maye, who is probably the person here mentioned, visited the diocese of Norwich as Cranmer's commissary in 1534, became Dean of St. Paul's 1545, was deprived under Mary, and in the reign of Elizabeth was nominated to the Archbishoprick of York, but died before consecration. Dr. John Maye was Master of Catharine Hall, Cambridge, and in 1577 Bishop of Carlisle. Strype.]

q [Probably the Dr. Cliff, who was Chanter of York and Dean of Chester, and whose opinion on Confirmation is printed by Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i. App. No. 38.]

before you, to the intent they may show reasonable causes why they ought not to deliver them : and in thus doing you shall both help to aid justice, and do also unto me singular pleasure, which to recompence I will be at all times ready and glad. This said bringer can further instruct your Lordship in this, to whom I pray you to give credence. Thus fare you well. From my manor at Ottford, the xxiiiith day of October.

To my Lord Chancellor.

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LXVIII. To ———

I greet you well. And where this bearer, my friend Master Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 35. Chesewryght, one of the King's chaplains, hath the benefice of Wysbeche given unto him, within the diocese of Ely, whose suit unto me is for the agreement of the fruits thereof now in the vacation time, I will, that inasmuch as I can little skill in that behalf, that you, with Master Pottkyns, order the matter according to your discretions with favour. And thus fare you well, &c.

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LXIX. TO HIS CHANCELLOR.

Master Chancellor, I greet you well. And forasmuch as Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 35. b. this bringer, the Vicar of Milton, complaineth and findeth himself aggrieved, as well for that he is overcharged for the King's subsidy<sup>r</sup>, as also for an acre of glebe land withholden from him ; which injuries the Abbot of St. Austen's<sup>s</sup> doth enforce him to sustain, both contrary to an ancient composition, and also the Act of the Parliament favouring him in that behalf : I will, that you, in consideration hereof, examine

<sup>r</sup> [Probably the subsidy granted by Convocation in 1523, consisting of the half of all spiritual benefices, to be levied in five years. See Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 699; and Letter cXLVII. An Act of Parliament for a subsidy was passed in the same year, from which the clergy were graciously excepted, provided that they taxed themselves to a higher amount.]

<sup>s</sup> [John Sturvey, alias Essex, Abbot of St. Augustin's Canterbury.]

his said composition, and thereupon send me word how you think the matter standeth, to the intent I may see a redress in that behalf.

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LXX. To ———

Harl. MSS.  
6148. fol.  
36. My especial good Lord, I most heartily commend me unto your Lordship. Your loving letter by your servant I have received, whereby I perceive your request therein; which to accomplish I would be as glad as any man living, if it might stand both with my ordinary power and my honesty withal; for I fear me I have gone and proceeded so far already by way of promise herein, that conveniently I cannot fulfil your desire in that behalf, whereof I am right sorry; and yet notwithstanding I will promise you to do that I may therein, as it shall be well known to you hereafter.

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LXXI. To ———

Harl. MSS.  
6148. fol.  
36. In my right hearty wise I commend me unto you. And where I am advertised by Master Dean of Lincoln's <sup>t</sup> letters of your toward mind that you bear unto my kinsman and servant Henry Byngham <sup>u</sup>, for his preferment unto the office of the auditorship of the Church of Lyncoln, now being in your hands and disposition; to whom, as I understand, in that behalf ye could be right well content to declare your convenient favour, in case you had not made a former grant unto a kinsman of your own; which notwithstanding, as I do again perceive, your mind is to entreat your said kinsman to relinquish his interest therein: Sir, for this your gentle and favourable behaviour hitherto towards my said kinsman, I heartily give unto you condign thanks therefore; requiring

<sup>t</sup> [James Mallet, installed in the deanery of Lincoln the 21st of May 1532. *Le Neve, Fasti.*]

<sup>u</sup> [This may have been the Bingham who married Cranmer's sister. See the articles preferred against the Archbishop in 1543, in Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 17.]

the same, that now the rather at this mine instance and request, ye will as well on your behalf as also for the obtaining the good will of your said kinsman, accomplish your intended purpose herein; and in so doing I shall be at all times ready to acquit and recompense the same accordingly.

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LXXII. To ———

In my right hearty wise I commend me unto you. And where I am advertised by my servant Jefere Eton, that you by your deed obligatory did stand bound in x<sup>li</sup>. to one Thomas Eton his brother, late deceased, to pay to him lxvi<sup>s</sup>. viii<sup>d</sup>. yearly, unto such time that he were advanced to some spiritual promotion of the clear value of viii<sup>li</sup>. by the year, over and above all charges and reprises; which said Thomas Eton then afterward for a time exercised the room of the officialship in Exetre; whereupon you denied the payment of the said pension or annuity, contrary to the right and order of the temporal law, as I am informed by learned counsel: therefore and inasmuch as my said servant, now being sole executor unto his brother, must accomplish and perform his testament, I require you, and that the rather at this mine instance and request, that ye will either now pay unto the same all such sums of money, which in the name of a pension or annuity were heretofore due unto the said Thomas Eton his brother, or else to conclude some reasonable agreement with him therefore, to the intent he need not any further attempt the law in this behalf.

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LXXIII. THE EARL OF ESSEX \* TO CRANMER.

My very good Lord, in my right hearty manner I commend me unto your Grace; and where it hath pleased you to write

\* [Henry Bourchier; by whose death by a fall from his horse in 1539, without male issue, the title of Earl of Essex became extinct. This correspondence confirms Burnet's account of his being a *severe* man. Burn. *Ref.* vol. iii. p.276.]

me in favour of one Richard Stansbye, that is to admit him favourably to his declaration against a bill of complaint offered to me against him, so that if he were found faultless of such things as be surmised in the said complaint, he might with my favour enjoy such as conscience would require ; or else, if he be found faulty, that then upon his submission I would weigh the matter with some charitable favour, the sooner at your request : my Lord, so it is, that there is no such complaint offered to me against the said Richard Stansbie, wherefore I might accomplish your said request. But the said Stansbie was of late my bailly, and also my copyholder of certain lands in Bilston, in Suffolk, for the favour that of long time I did bear unto him, until that now of late, at my court holden at Bilston foresaid, as well his dissimulate and cloaked untruth in misusing of his office both as against me and my tenants there, as his misdemeaning of his copyhold against the customs used within the said manor was by the whole homage presented. Wherefore I have seized into my hands his said copyhold, according to right, conscience, and custom, and have also deprived him of his office, intending never hereafter to bear him no such favour, that he shall have any thing of me more than right and conscience shall require ; praying your Grace so to be contented therewith, nothing doubting the same, if your Grace knew the said misdemeanours. And what pleasure I may show to any other person at your request hereafter, I shall be glad to do the same, as our Lord knoweth ; who have you in his blessed tuition. The xiii. day of October.

By my Lord of Essex.

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#### LXXIV. TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Harl. MSS.  
6148. fol.  
36. b. In my right hearty wise I commend me unto your good Lordship. These be to advertise you, that I have received your letters dated at Stansted the xiii. day of October. Whereby I perceive that you intend not to do any wrong to Richard Stansbye, notwithstanding any complaint or presentment made against him, which is my very trust, and the rather at my request. Wherefore eftsoons, I will desire you to be so good lord unto him, that two well learned

men and indifferent may have the hearing of all matters, that your Lordship is informed that he hath misordered himself against you. And so be it, that the said Stansby by any such misdemeanour hath not forfeit any of his land or copyhold, then I trust your Lordship will be contented that he may enjoy his lands and copyhold according to right and conscience. And if the said two indifferent learned men shall reasonably think that he hath misordered himself in any point, the same Richarde Stansby shall humbly require you to be his good lord, and shall to his small power make such amends for his offences, as shall be by the said two learned men thought reasonable. Trusting that in this his age ye will the rather be good lord unto him, and have herein the less regard to his negligence. Which to recompense I doubt not but that you shall have now no less good service of him, than ever you had of the same heretofore; and of my behalf such pleasure and commodity as you shall at any time require of me accordingly.

An answer to the same by my Lord.

⁊ [The Earl, it seems, paid no attention to this and some other letters; and at length provoked the following peremptory order from Henry VIII.

*By the King.*

*To our right trusty and right wellbeloved Cousin and Counsellor, the* Harl. MSS.  
6148. fol.  
*Earl of Essex.*

"Right trusty and right wellbeloved cousin, we greet you well. And 37. b.  
"where upon complaint made unto us by our subject Richarde Stansby  
"for putting him out of certain copyholds, lands, and tenements, in  
"your town of Bylston, which he and his ancestors have holden of  
"you and your ancestors many years, it was thought by our Council  
"upon the examination of the matter to be reasonable, that our said  
"subject should be restored to the possession of the said customary  
"lands and tenements, paying his rents and services to you for the  
"same, as hath been accustomed, till such time as the cause of seizure  
"thereof were examined by our said Council, and an order therein  
"taken as to justice and equity should appertain; and that afterward  
"our right trusty and right wellbeloved counsellor, Sir Thomas Audeley,  
"Knight our Chancellor of England, and other of our counsellors, have  
"directed unto you their several loving letters, advertising you of the  
"mind of the residue of our Council in the premises, and advising you  
"rather of yourself, upon the humble suit of our said subject, to restore  
"him accordingly, than it should be done by any order of compulsion;  
"which notwithstanding, ye, neither following their wholesome admonitions, nor yet the mind and order of our said Council, will not in



## LXXV. TO CERTAIN GENTLEMEN IN HERTFORDSHIRE.

Harl. MSS.  
6148. fol.  
39.

In my right hearty wise I commend me unto you. And where this bringer, Thomas Wiggynton, one of my tenants of Tryng, hath offered unto me a supplication concerning such injuries and wrongs as he is compelled to sustain, by reason that certain unadvised persons, whose names are comprised in the said supplication, hath unjustly, as he reporteth, both slandered and spoiled him of his goods and good name; and by cause it is against reason to give credence to one party, the other parties not heard; and also, forasmuch as the matter also being in a place so far distant from me, that I cannot call the parties and witness before me without their intolerable charges: I require you, forasmuch as you being as well justices of the peace as also dwelling nigh there, to whom the administration of justice the rather belongeth, that you will take the pains to peruse this said supplication, and thereto to see such justice ministered, as shall be thought convenient according to law and good conscience, to the intent this poor man need not any further to complain unto me or any other for the same.

To certain Gentlemen in Hartefordshire.

“any wise [be] answerable to the same, but have lately sent to the lands and grounds in variance certain persons unknown; which being there assembled have forcibly kept the possession of the same, intending to cast out the goods of our said subject therein; being to the evil example of other, in case it should be suffered, as we be informed; whereof we do not a little marvel: We let you to wit, that forasmuch as it belongeth unto us to minister right justice and equity to every of our subjects, and willing the order and decrees of our Council to be firmly obeyed and observed without violation, do signify unto you the premises; and not doubting that ye, being of such authority and one of our Council, will conform yourself to observe and ensue such orders as is or shall be taken by our said Council, without giving evil examples to other persons, or otherwise to give us occasion to compel you; which of necessity we must do, if after such proceeding ye thus attempt us; seeing it standeth not with good congruence nor our prerogative, that the process and orders made by us and our Council, or by our writs in causes of justice, should be resisted by any of our subjects, by colour of any manner liberty or franchise. And therefore we will and command you to take good respect to yourself in this behalf, and to follow the orders of our Council therein: as ye will answer unto us at your peril in that behalf, and as you tender our pleasure. Yeven under our signet, at our manor of Westminster the xxvi. day of March.”]

LXXVI. TO THE ARCHDEACON OF CANTERBURY<sup>a</sup>.

Master Archdeacon, in my right hearty wise I commend me unto you. And where I am informed by my servant John Creaque<sup>a</sup>, that the farm of your parsonage of Hayes is already, or else shortly like to be void, I heartily require you, at this mine instance, that you will grant to him the preferment thereof, whensoever the same shall next happen to be void, he finding you sufficient sureties for the payment thereof, and thereto giving you as much as any other reasonably will give. And what you intend to do herein, I require you to advertise me by this bearer, or as shortly as you may conveniently. And if there be any pleasure that I may do for you again, you may be sure to be bold of me accordingly.

Harl. MSS.  
6148. fol.  
39. b.

To the Archdeacon of Canterbury.

LXXVII. TO BONER<sup>b</sup>.

In my right hearty manner I commend me to you. So it is, as ye know right well, I stand in dread, lest our holy

Cotton  
MSS.  
Cleop. E. vi.  
f. 234. b.  
*Original.*  
Burn. Ref.  
App. vol. iii.  
book ii.  
No. 24.

<sup>a</sup> [Wm. Warham, nephew to the late Archbishop. He resigned both the archdeaconry of Canterbury, and the provostship of Wingham in March 1534, in favour of Edmund Cranmer, and retired on a pension. Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 24; (edit. Oxf. 1812.) Le Neve, *Fasti.*]

<sup>a</sup> [See Letters xviii. xxxvii.]

<sup>b</sup> ["I find moreover, that the Archbishop of Canterbury at this time, "suspecting the Pope would proceed against him, by the advice of "our King made his appeal also to the Council, which he desired our "agents to intimate to the Pope. The success whereof yet doth not "appear in our Records." Lord Herbert, *Life of Henry VIII.* p. 389. Boner was now the English agent to the Pope, and had lately presented to him the King's appeal at Marseilles. There can therefore be little doubt of his being, as Strype supposes, the person who was entrusted with a similar commission by Cranmer. Yet Burnet considered, it does not appear on what grounds, that this Letter was addressed to Crumwell. See his *Hist. of Reformat.* vol. iii. p. 161; and Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 36. The appeal itself was probably never delivered; for Boner, writing on the 13th of November, nine days earlier, states that the Pope had already left Marseilles, and that he himself was on the point of setting out from thence on his return to England. Even if Cranmer's letter had been forwarded sooner, the rejection of the King's appeal as "frivolous, forbidden, and unlawful," would have afforded but little en-

father the Pope do intend to make some manner of prejudicial process against me and my Church; and therefore having probable conjectures thereof, I have provoked from his Holiness to the General Council, accordingly as the King's Highness and his Council have advised me to do; which my provocation and a procuracy under my seal I do send unto you herewith, desiring you right heartily to have me commended to my Lord of Winchester<sup>c</sup>, and with his advice and counsel to intimate the said provocation, after the best manner that his Lordship and you shall think most expedient for me. I am the bolder thus to write unto you, because the King's Highness commanded me thus to do, (as ye shall I trust further perceive by his Grace's letters,) nothing doubting in your goodness, but at this mine own desire ye will be contented to take this pains, though his Highness shall percase forget to write unto you therein: which your pains and kindness (if it shall lie in me in time to come to recompense) I will not forget it, with God's grace; who preserve you as myself. From Lambeth, the xxiid day of November. [1533.]

Thomas Cantuar.

#### LXXVIII. TO CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westminster;  
Crumwell's  
Correspondence.  
*Original.*

Right Worshipful Master Crumwell, I commend me heartily to you, likewise praying you to continue good master to my friend of old acquaintance Mr. Newman<sup>d</sup>, this bearer, to whom, albeit I have been a tedious suitor unto you a long time, upon such comfortable promise as ye first made unto me for him, I eftsoons pray you now to make such resolute and comfortable answer therein, as I do trust

couragement to the presentation of another from the Archbishop. See Boner's very curious narrative of his interview with the Pope, in *Burnet, Reformat.* vol. III. App. B. ii. No. 23.]

<sup>c</sup> Stephen Gardiner; who was at this time at Marseilles on an embassy to Francis I.

<sup>d</sup> [See Letters IV. v. LXIV. CLIII.]

to receive from you in the same; for seeing this was the first suit that ever I made unto you, wherein, after that ye had answer from Doctor Benet<sup>e</sup>, ye promised me that I should have my desire, and that I should not mistrust the matter; it would grieve me that the same should now take none effect, seeing the matter doth now rest in your goodness and benevolence. As long as ye were only mediator for me in it to him that had the thing, ye did ever give me good hope and comfort in it, and therefore I do now trust verily, that, seeing the same thing is come to your own hands and disposition at your pleasure, ye will now be as good in it, as ye were when ye were mediator for the same. The truth is, that my friend aforesaid was born in the same parochie, which thing moveth him to be the more desirous of it, and me to be the more importune upon you for him; for albeit I have offered unto him the expectation and advowsonage of some one promotion of my collation, of as good value as is the value of the same thing that I do desire of you, I assure you he hath refused the same, and desired me (as a man much affectionate to his native country) to continue suitor unto you in this behalf; so that he regardeth that benefice<sup>f</sup> much better than my said overture. And therefore I pray you, good Mr. Crumwell, stay not with me now in this matter, seeing I have sued so long for the same, and ever have had comfortable promise in it. And by these my letters I do faithfully promise you, that ye shall have, when ye will, as good a benefice of my gift for the same, as that is, and so should ye have had and shall have, and as much other pleasure as I may at any time show unto you, or to any friend of yours for your sake, though I had never written or spoken in this matter. When ye shall have cause to prove me, ye shall be assured to find me conformable to

<sup>e</sup> [See Letter LIX.]

<sup>f</sup> [If, as may be conjectured from Letter v, the benefice coveted by Newman was Barnack, Cranmer seems to have failed in his application: for Robert Benett, probably a relative of Dr. W. Benett to whom the advowson appears to have belonged, was rector there in 1535. *Val. Eccles.*]

this my promise, God willing; who ever keep you. From Otforde the 26th day of November.

Your own assured

Thomas Cantuar.

To the Right Worshipful and my very loving friend Master Crumwell, of the King's Grace's most honourable Council.

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LXXIX. TO CRUMWELL.

Chapter House, Westminster; Crumwell's Correspondence. *Original.*

Todd, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 99.

Right Worshipful Master Crumwell, in my right hearty manner I commend me to you. So it is, that I lately received certain letters from my friend Doctor Goderic<sup>s</sup>, by whom I do perceive, that ye have not only spoken to the King's Highness for the loan of a thousand marks to my use, whose pleasure is (as the same Master Goderic writeth) that I shall receive of you at this time five hundred pounds and no more, but also have practised with my Lord of Wiltshire and other, which at this time do claim many duties of me; for which your kindness I do heartily thank you, praying you to cause the same five hundred pounds to be delivered to my secretary Thomas Berthlet, this bearer, which shall deliver unto you an obligation for the payment thereof, at such day as is expressed in the same; which obligation (in case the same be not made according to your mind) I will be glad to reform, and seal unto you a new accordingly as ye shall require a new to be made, and will send the same unto you with speed. From Otforde, the 26th day of November.

Your own assured

Thomas Cantuar.

To the Right Worshipful and my very loving friend Master Crumwell, of the King's Grace's most honourable Council.

<sup>s</sup> [Probably Dr. Thomas Goodrich, afterwards Bishop of Ely and Lord Chancellor. He had been fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, at the same time with Cranmer. See his *Life* in Chalmers, *Biogr. Dict.*]

## LXXX. TO LORD ABERGAVENNY.

My very special good Lord, I commend me heartily unto your Lordship: signifying to the same, that my servant John Creke hath advertised me of your loving mind towards me, how willing you be to accompany me at Canterbury<sup>h</sup>, wherefore I give unto you most hearty thanks. Nevertheless I will not at this season put you to any pains in this behalf. Notwithstanding, if your lordship do send me some venison, and especially a red deer or two, against Tuesday next, you should do unto me herein singular pleasure, which to requite I would be always ready, God willing; who keep and preserve your good Lordship. From my manor of Ottforde, the xxvii. of November.

To my Lord of Burgaveny.

LXXXI. TO THE ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER<sup>i</sup>.

Brother Abbot, in my right hearty wise I commend me unto you. And where, of your benevolence, ye promised unto me the next room which should chance to be void amonges the beadmen of the foundation of King Henry the Eighth [Seventh<sup>j</sup>?] for one William [John?] Fysshier, so it is, as I am credibly informed, that there is now one of the said rooms void and in your disposition. I heartily require you therefore, that the said John F. may be preferred thereunto, according to your aforesaid promise. And in so doing I will be at all times ready to requite the same accordingly, God willing; who keep you, &c. The xxix. day of November.

To my brother Abbot, the Abbot  
of Westminster.

<sup>h</sup> [Cranmer was installed at Canterbury on the 3rd of Dec. 1533. Lord Abergavenny, who held an office under him, had probably offered to attend him on the occasion. The approaching ceremony explains also the application for venison.]

<sup>i</sup> [William Boston or Benson. See Letter vii.]

<sup>j</sup> [See Letter xxvii.]

## LXXXII. TO KING HENRY VIII.

Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 3. Pleaseth it your Most Noble Grace to understand, that the feigned revelations and illusions of the false Nun<sup>k</sup> of St. Sepulcres here at Canterbury, and the other matters contained in them, now after that they have been opened and declared to the people<sup>l</sup>, be had in great abomination and detestation unto them. And as far as I can perceive or learn, all your Grace's people here be as glad as any men may be, that the said false and forged matters be come to light. And as concerning the Prior<sup>m</sup> and Convent of my Church, (whom I have diligently examined,) I find them as conformable and reformable as any number with whom I have communed any time. And I see them greatly sorrow and lament, that any of their congregation<sup>n</sup> should order himself so, that such

<sup>k</sup> [The countenance which she received from such men as Wolsey, Warham, More, and Fisher, the important political character of several of her revelations, and her exaltation by some Roman Catholic writers to the rank of a martyr, have all combined to give celebrity to Elizabeth Barton, "the Holy Maid of Kent." A brief account of her impostures is given by Cranmer himself in Letter LXXXIV. Her story is told at length in the preamble to the Act of Parliament for her attainder, (Stat. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 12.) an abstract of which will be found in Burnet. See also some curious particulars in Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 177. The Nun herself, Bocking, Dering, Risby and Rich, two observant friars, Richard Master Parson of Aldington, and Henry Golde Parson of Aldermay, were hanged at Tyburn, the 20th of April, 1534. Stow, *Annals*; Strype, *Memorials*.]

<sup>l</sup> ["All whose detestable facts, as well of idolatry, heresy, and also of treason, were so wittily and learnedly, by God's word, convinced at Canterbury by Dr. Hethe, now Chancellor of England, (she being present and openly confessing the same,) and also by another learned man [Salcot, Bishop of Bangor] at Paul's Cross; that the most part of them which were before by her seduced, did then utterly abhor her "shameless and abominable facts." *Confutation of Unwritten Verities*, (vol. iv.) A portion of an address to the people on this imposture, with corrections in Cranmer's handwriting, is still preserved in the Chapter House, Westminster; *Theological Tracts*, vol. vii. fol. 16. It may perhaps be part of the abovementioned discourse by Hethe, which the Archbishop probably thought proper to submit to the inspection of Crumwell. Some extracts from it have been inserted in the notes.]

<sup>m</sup> [Thomas Goldwell. At the dissolution he had been Prior of Christ's Church twenty-three years, and received a pension of 80*l* per annum. Somner, *Ant. of Cant.* by Battely, part iii. p. 116.]

<sup>n</sup> [Dr. Edward Bockyng, the Nun's ghostly father and chief adviser, and John Dering, who had a great share in compiling the books of her revelations, were both monks of Christ's Church, Canterbury. See Letters xc. CLVIII, note.]

word and slander should grow of this occasion, or that thereby occasion should be given to your Grace to take displeasure against the whole company, amonges whom few in comparison of their great number appear to be knowing or consenting to the said false revelations or illusions. And almost only such as were Doctor Bokkynges novices, men of young years, and of less knowledge and experience. The Prior of my Church, a man of great simplicity, and void of malice, as far as I can judge, hath been touched with this matter; but I cannot understand that he hath reported it to any other, but only to my predecessor, then being his ordinary and your Grace's counsellor. Which prior and his brethren, the saddest and seniors of the house, with all the other young sort, considering the matter sounding to your Grace's displeasure, which they regard as greatly as they do any thing else in this world, (as far as I can judge,) be greatly discomforted, dismayed, and sad, and have desired me very instantly to be a mediator for them to your Most Noble Majesty, to be gracious and merciful unto them, offering of their free wills, (besides their fervent prayers for your noble estate long and prosperously to endure) to do some pleasure unto your Highness after their power, to attain your gracious favour, mercy, and pardon. And I suppose they will desire me to offer unto your Grace for a pleasure, ii. or iii. *cl*. Wherein I dare nothing do, unless your Grace's pleasure be to me first known, assuring your Grace, that as far as I can understand by any means that I can devise, that besides the ornaments of the Church and some plate that the Prior and certain officers hath, this monastery is not aforehand, but in debt divers ways. In consideration whereof and of their good minds, I most humbly beseech your Highness to be gracious and merciful unto them, the rather for my poor intercession; and that they may have some comfortable word or letter from your Grace, for their comfortation in this their great pensiveness and dolour. Thus our Lord have your Grace evermore in his preservation and governance. From my place at Canterburye, the xiii. day of December. [1533.]



## LXXXIII. To CRUMWELL.

Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-  
respond-  
ence. *Original.*

Right Worshipful Mr. Crumwell, in my right hearty wise I commend me unto you: doing you to understand, that I have received by John Anthony, this bearer, such letters as ye directed to my Lord Elect of Chester<sup>o</sup>, and to Mr. Bedill<sup>p</sup>; by which I do perceive, that it is the King's Grace's pleasure that my said Lord Elect and Master Bedyll, which departed from Canterbury afore the receipt of your said letters, should leave the Parson of Aldington<sup>q</sup>, Dering the monk, and Father Laurence<sup>r</sup> behind them in ward and safe keeping, but not as men at liberty. But forasmuch as this bearer showed me, that it was your mind that the said persons should be put to liberty in their own houses upon sufficient surety, I do now stand in doubt, whether I may commit them to ward and safe keeping according to your said letters, or else put them at liberty in their own houses upon sufficient surety, according to such word as the said Anthony brought unto me; whom I do remit unto you at this time with these my letters to ascertain you of the premises, and to bring from you such letters as shall please you to direct unto me of your resolute mind in this behalf. The said three persons shall in the mean time remain in ward and safe keeping, until I may know your mind in this matter. The Parson of Aldington and the monk Dering were this Tuesday at night delivered unto me at my manor at Forde, and the other is not yet come unto me.

<sup>o</sup> [Dr. Rowland Lee. See the next Letter.]

<sup>p</sup> [See Letter xiv. p. 28.]

<sup>q</sup> [Richard Master. He was very instrumental in bringing Eliz. Barton into notice, Aldington being the place where at the commencement of the imposture she was living as a maid servant.]

<sup>r</sup> ["Thomas Lawrence, being register to the Archdeacon of Canterbury, at the instance of Edw. Bockyng wrote a great book of the false and feigned miracles and revelations of the said Elizabeth, in a fair hand, ready to be a copy to the printer." Stat. 25. Hen. VIII. c. 12. "She sent her revelation [to the Pope,] by Silvester Darius and by one John Anthony Pulleon, the Pope's ambassadors in England; betwixt the which Nun and Silvester Darius was interpreter this old man, one Lawrence of Cant. scribe to the Archdeacon of Canterbury." MS. Chapter House, Westminster, *Theol. Tracts*, vol. vii.]

From my manor at Forde, the xvi. day of December.  
[1533.]

Your assured  
Thomas Cantuar.

To the Right Worshipful and my very  
loving friend Mr. Crumwell, of the  
King's Grace's most honourable  
Council.

LXXXIV. TO ARCHDEACON HAWKYNs.

Master Archdeacon, I[n] my right hearty wise I commend me unto you. These be to ascertain you of such news as be here now in fame amonges us in England. And first ye shall understand, that at Canterbury within my diocese, about eight years past, there was wrought a great miracle in a maid by the power of God and our Lady, named our Lady of Courteupstret; by reason of the which miracle there is established a great pilgrimage, and ever since many devout people hath sought to that foresaid Lady of Curte of Strett.

Harl. MSS.  
6148. fol.  
38.  
*Christ.  
Remem-  
brancer,*  
Nov. 1820.  
Todd, *Life  
of Cran-  
mer*, vol. i.  
p. 89.

The miracle was this: the maid was taken with a grievous and a continual sickness, and in during her said sickness she had divers and many trances, speaking of many high and godly things, telling also wondrously, by the power of the Holy Ghost as it was thought, things done and said in other places, whereas neither she was herself, nor yet heard no report thereof. She had also in her trances many strange visions and revelations, as of heaven, hell, and purgatory, and of the state of certain souls departed\*, and

\* [For instance; "that my Lord Cardinal came to his death before " God would have had him by the space of fifteen years, and therefore " Almighty God hath given no sentence upon him, but will defer it till " those years be expired, which it was the will of God he should have " lived in the world." MS. Chapter House, Westminster, *Theolog. Tracts*, vol. vii. fol. 16. In another of her revelations she described, how she saw the disputations of the devils for Wolsey's soul; and how she was three times lift up and could not see him, neither in heaven, hell, nor purgatory: and at the last where she saw him; and

amonges all other visions one was, that [she] should be conveyed to our Lady of Courte of Strett, where she was promised to be healed of her sickness, and that Almighty God should work wonders in her; and when she was brought thither and laid before the image of our Lady, her face was wonderfully disfigured, her tongue hanging out, and her eyes being in a manner plucked out and laid upon her cheeks, and so greatly disordered. Then was there heard a voice speaking within her belly, as it had been in a tun; her lips not greatly moving; she all that while continuing by the space of three hours and more in a trance; the which voice, when it told any thing of the joys of heaven, it spake so sweetly and so heavenly that every man was ravished with the hearing thereof; and contrary, when it told any thing of hell, it spake so horribly and terribly that it put the hearers in a great fear. It spake also many things for the confirmation of pilgrimages and trentals, hearing of masses, and confession, and many such other things. And after she had lain there a long time, she came to herself again, and was perfectly whole<sup>t</sup>, and so this miracle was finished and solemnly rung, and a book written of all the whole story thereof, and put into print, which ever since that time hath been commonly sold and gone abroad amonges all people. After this miracle done, she had a commandment from God in a vision, as she said, to profess herself a nun. And so she was professed, and hath so continued, in a nunnery at Canterbury, called St. Sepulcre's, ever since.

And then she chose a monk of Christ's Church, a doctor in divinity<sup>u</sup>, to be ghostly father, whose counsel she hath used and evermore followed in all her doing. And evermore since from time to time hath had almost every week

how by her penance he was brought unto heaven. See Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 178.]

<sup>t</sup> ["After mass she kneeled afore the image of our Lady of Court of Street, and said then she was made perfectly whole, where she was perfectly whole afore she came thither, as she hath plainly and openly confessed afore divers of the King's Grace's Council." MS. Chapter House, Westminster, *Theol. Tracts*, vol. vii.]

<sup>u</sup> [Edward Bockyng. "He informed the said Archbishop [Warham,] that a voice had spoken in her in one of her trances, that it was the pleasure of God that he should be her ghostly father." MS. *ibid.*]

or at the furthest every fortnight, new visions and revelations, and she hath had oftentimes trances and raptures, by reason whereof, and also of the great perfectness that was thought to be in her, divers and many as well great men of the realm as mean men, and many learned men, but specially divers and many religious men, had great confidence in her, and often resorted unto her and communed with her, to the intent they might by her know the will of God; and chiefly concerning the King's marriage<sup>x</sup>, the great heresies and schisms within the realm, and the taking away the liberties of the Church; for in these three points standeth the great number of her visions, which were so many, that her ghostly father could scantly write them in three or four quires of paper. And surely I think, that she did marvelously stop the going forward of the King's marriage by the reason of her visions, which she said was of God, persuading them that came unto her how highly God was displeased therewith, and what vengeance Almighty God would take upon all the favourers thereof; insomuch that she wrote

<sup>x</sup> ["For all the time of her abode at Aldington, she meddled not with the King's Grace's marriage. . . . But after that she had been at Canterbury a while, and had heard this said Dr. Bocking rail like a frantic person against the King's Grace's purposed marriage, against his Acts of Parliament, and against the maintenance of heresies within this realm, declaring and blustering out his cankered malice, . . . then soon after she began to feign herself to have visions and revelations from God, and said that God commanded her to say to the late Lord Cardinal, and also to the late Archbishop of Canterbury, that if they married, or furthered the King's Grace to be married to the Queen that now is, they both should be utterly destroyed. And so she showed them under such manner, that it appeared by their acts and deeds that they gave confidence to her; for the said Archbishop had, afore her coming to him, provoked from the Pope to the General Council, intending to proceed in the King's Grace's matter of matrimony and divorce, seeing his Grace could have none indifferent justice showed him in other places. . . . And the said Cardinal was as well minded and bent to go forth in the King's Grace's said cause of matrimony and divorce as any man living, according to the law of God and the law of nature, till he was perverted by this Nun, and induced to believe, that if he proceeded in the same, God would sore strike him." MS. Chapter House, *Theol. Tracts*, vol. vii. It will be seen that Cranmer also expresses an opinion, that Wolsey was influenced by the Nun. But it is much more likely that he had some design of using her as a tool, than that he really gave credit to her visions.]

letters to the Pope, calling upon him in God's behalf to stop and let the said marriage, and to use his high and heavenly power therein, as he would avoid the great stroke of God, which then hanged ready over his head, if he did the contrary. She had also communication with my Lord Cardinal and with my Lord of Canterbury my predecessor, in the matter; and [in] mine opinion, with her feigned visions and godly threatenings, she stayed them very much in the matter.

She had also secret knowledge of divers other things, and then she feigned that she had knowledge thereof from God; insomuch that she conceived letters and sent them forth, making divers people believe that those letters were written in heaven<sup>y</sup>, and sent from thence to earthly creatures. Now about Midsummer last, I, hearing of these matters, sent for this holy maid, to examine her<sup>z</sup>; and from me she was had to Master Cromewell, to be further examined there. And now she hath confessed all, and uttered the very truth, which is this: that she never had vision in all her life, but all that ever she said was feigned of her own imagination, only to satisfy the minds of them the which resorted unto her, and to obtain worldly praise: by reason of the which her confession, many and divers, both religious men and other, be now in trouble, forasmuch as they consented to her mischievous and feigned visions, which contained much perilous sedition and also treason, and would not utter it, but rather further the same to their power.

She said that the King should not continue King a month after that he were married. And within six months after, God would strike the realm with such a plague as never was seen, and then the King should be destroyed. She took upon her also to show the condition and state of souls de-

<sup>y</sup> [Mary Magdalen was said to have given her a letter that was written in heaven in characters of gold: "which is as false as God is true: for by much inquisition Mary Magdalen is found out, and is turned into a monk of St. Augustin's in this town, named Hawkeherste, which hath confessed the writing thereof, and the limning of these golden words *Jehus Maria*, which be written above the letter." MS. Chapter House, Westminster, *Theol. Tracts*, vol. vii.]

<sup>z</sup> [See Letter xxx.]

parted, as of my Lord Cardinal<sup>a</sup>, my late Lord of Canterbury, with divers other. To show you the whole story of all the matter, it were too long to write in two or three letters; you shall know further thereof at your coming home.

As touching the bishopricks that be void, ye shall understand, that Doctor Salcott, the Abbot of Hydde, is elect Bishop of Banger, Doctor Lee, the lawyer, is elect Bishop of Chestre<sup>b</sup>. There is as yet none elect Bishop of Elie: you shall know at your coming home who shall be<sup>c</sup>. The Parliament is not holden this term, but is prorogued to the xv. day of January. The Queen's Grace was brought about the xiii. or xiv.<sup>d</sup> day of September of a princess. I myself

<sup>a</sup> [See p. 79, note (s.)]

<sup>b</sup> ["There sat but one Bishop at Chester before 1541, viz. Peter, "consecrated 1067: yet several of his successors in the see denominated themselves Bishops of Chester instead of Litchfield." Willis, *Hist. of Cathedrals*, vol. i. p. 318. So also Le Neve. Yet Stow says, that "Dr. Rowland Lee, that married the King to Queen Anne, was "made Bishop of Chester, then Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, "and President of Wales." *Annals*. His election to the see of Litchfield and Coventry took place the 10th of January, 1534. Le Neve, *Fasti*.]

<sup>c</sup> [See Letter xiv. p. 33, note (d.)]

<sup>d</sup> [It is singular that this date is not correct. The Princess Elizabeth was born on Sunday, September the 7th; as is proved beyond dispute by an official note announcing the event, from Queen Anne Boleyn to Lord Cobham, which is preserved in the Harleian Collection, and has lately been printed in the *State Papers*. This note, it may be remarked, was evidently prepared beforehand, by a secretary who anticipated the gratification of the King's wishes for a son; for the word *Prince* has been altered in two places into *Princess* by the insertion of an s. The well known passage of Shakspeare on this subject will occur to every one:

"K. Hen. Now by thy looks,

"I guess thy message. Is the Queen delivered?

"Say, ay; and of a boy.

"Lady. . . . . Ay, ay, my liege;

"And of a lovely boy: the God of heaven

"Both now and ever bless her! 'tis a girl,

"Promises boys hereafter." *Hen. VIII.*

The Latin lines in Holinshed both give the date accurately, and notice that the birth took place on a Sunday.

Septembris (Deus hoc voluit) quæ septima lux est  
Consecrata venit Domino volventibus annis,  
Parturiet conjux Henrici principis Anna.

But his authority has not been universally followed by historians; some naming September the 6th, others, like Cranmer, September the 13th.]

was godfather<sup>e</sup>, the old Duchess of Northfolke and my Lady Marquess Dorset were godmothers. The Duke of Richmond<sup>f</sup> hath married my Lady Mary, the Duke of Northfolke's daughter. From Lamethe, the xx. day of December, A<sup>o</sup>. xxv Reg. [1533.]

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LXXXV. TO A PRIOR.

Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 40. Brother Prior, I do right heartily commend me unto you. And so likewise desire the same, that, at this mine instance, ye will grant unto me the next admission of a student unto the University of Oxford, when any such of your company shall hereafter happen to be permitted thereunto. And for the same I will be ready to do unto [you] as great a pleasure. From my manor of Ford, the xxv. day of December.

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LXXXVI. TO HIS CHANCELLOR AND DEAN OF THE ARCHES.

Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 40. I commend me unto you. And whereas the Commissary<sup>g</sup> of my jurisdiction in Calice writeth unto me as well concerning my visitation there, as also for mine advice in an unlawful matrimony now depending before him; wherein it seemeth, that he hath further proceeded in that behalf than peradventure he ought, as you may partly conjecture by this his letter herein enclosed: I require you therefore, that, inasmuch as these matters before specified are more largely declared in his said letter, that you, according to the effect of them, with all celerity do send me your advice what is most expedient to be done, touching the ready expedition hereof. Thus fare you well. From my manor of Forde, the xxvii. day of December.

To my Chancellor and Dean of the  
Arches.

<sup>e</sup> [See the last scene in Shakspeare's Hen. VIII.]

<sup>f</sup> [Henry Fitzroy, the King's natural son. He was at this time fourteen years old.]

<sup>g</sup> [John Butler. See Letters xci. ccxxv.]

LXXXVII. TO THE ABBOT OF READING<sup>h</sup>.

Brother Abbot, I commend me unto you. And whereas Harl. MSS. 6148. f. 40. I am credibly informed, that, through the death of Doctor Benet, (whose soul God pardon,) there is the collation of a benefice called Aston, in Hertefordshire<sup>i</sup>, in your hands and disposition; which, forasmuch as the same standeth very commodiously for a friend of mine, I heartily require you that at this time you will give unto me the collation thereof, not doubting but that I shall exhibit and promote such a personage thereunto, as you shall hereafter think the same well bestowed. And I for my part will be ready at all times to show unto you like pleasure accordingly.

## LXXXVIII. To ———

I commend me unto you. And where I do right well Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 40. b. perceive by a testament now before me of one Thomas Broune, late Poticary of the town of Bristow, that he, amonges other legacies comprised therein, hath bequeathed and given a certain garden lying and being in C. Street, to my loving friend David Hutton, which said garden ye (in the name and title of Marget your wife, late wife and executrix to the said Thomas Broune) do retain and occupy, not alonely contrary to the intent of his said will, but also against good right and conscience denieth unto the said David the just possession thereof: I do require you, and thereto likewise exhort you, for a more quietness herein, that ye, according to the delegation of the said testament, from henceforth do not interrupt, let, or hinder the said David lawfully requiring or seeking his interest in the said garden; to the intent that you, in your so doing, may both

<sup>h</sup> [There is no authority in the manuscript for this address, but there can be little doubt of its being correct: for the Manor and Church of Aston were given by the Queen of Henry I. to the Abbot and Monks of Reading, and continued in their possession till the general dissolution. Chauncy, *Antiq. of Hertfordshire*.]

<sup>i</sup> [Near Stevenage.]



accomplish justice, and also avoid thereby farther inconvenience that may ensue on your behalf, if he, in attempting the law against you, do attain unto the same; whereunto you shall enforce him, if you persist in denying his just claim thereunto. And where also the said Thomas Broune bequeathed xx<sup>li</sup>. towards the marriage of a certain maid named Ales B., as likewise amonges the legacies of the said testament more evidently it doth appear, which sum of money the said David Hutton delivered unto you, to the intent that you should in the mean season have the occupying of the same; so it is, as I am informed, that ye be not now willing to depart from it, and in a manner denieth the receipt thereof. Therefore eftsoons I desire you, to the intent so charitable a deed be not hindered, nor the young woman defrauded of her right, that the said xx<sup>li</sup>. may be delivered unto the said David Hutton, that thereby he, according both to his office, trust, and fidelity to him committed, may as well foresee the performance of the said legacy, as also provide for the safe custody of the same sum against such time it may be due to be paid.

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LXXXIX. To CRUMWELL <sup>k</sup>.

Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster;  
Crumwell's  
Corres-  
pondence.  
*Original.*

In my right hearty manner I commend me unto you: certifying you, that to accomplish the King's commandment I

<sup>k</sup> [Mr. Todd considers this Letter to refer to an embassy from England to the German princes assembled at Smalcald in Dec. 1535, in which Hethe was associated with Fox, Bishop of Hereford, and Dr. Barnes. (*Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 147.) But the object of that mission was the formation of a Protestant league against the Pope, rather than the defence of the King's marriage to Anne Boleyn; which was manifestly the "great cause" now to be maintained. The Letter seems also to have been addressed to Crumwell before he was Secretary of State; and if so, must have been written in January 1534. (See *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 425, note.) And it is clear from the language of Letter *CLII*, that Hethe filled some diplomatic situation on the continent before June 1535. He may perhaps have succeeded Archdeacon Hawkyns at the Court of the Emperor Charles V. early in 1534; or he may have been sent to a meeting of the German reformers held at Nuremberg in May of the same year; (when, according to Seckendorf, an attempt was made on the part of Hen. VIII. to obtain their approbation of his divorce;) or he may have been employed on both these services.

shall send unto you Mr. Heth<sup>1</sup> to-morrow, which for his <sup>Todd, Life</sup> learning, wisdom, discretion, and sincere mind toward his <sup>of Cran-</sup> prince, I know no man in my judgment more meet to serve <sup>mer, vol. i.</sup> p. 148. the King's Highness' purpose; yet for many other considerations I know no man more unable to appoint himself to the King's honour than he; for he lacketh apparel, horses, plate, money, and all things convenient for such a journey; he hath also no benefice, nor no promotion towards the bearing of his charges. And as you know I am in great necessity, and not able to help him, in all these things I know no remedy, unless it please the King's Highness to furnish him of all things necessary to his voyage, and more-

Upon the whole, the most probable date of the Letter appears to be 1534. See Letter xiv. note (d). Seckendorf, *Comment. de Lutheran.* lib. iii. §. xxvi. (8.) and §. xxxix. Add. (d) and (e)].

<sup>1</sup> [Nicholas Hethe, afterwards a distinguished ornament of the Church of Rome, was at this time a zealous reformer. He seems indeed, from his conversation with Cranmer in the preceding year, to have been inclined to depart farther from the received doctrines than most of his brethren. "When," says Foxe, "they had finished the examination of Frith, (see Letter xiv. p. 31.) the Archbishop conferring with Dr. Hethe privately between themselves said; 'This man hath wonderfully travailed in this matter, and yet in mine opinion he taketh the doctors amiss.' 'Well my lord,' should Dr. Hethe say, 'there was no man that could avoid his authorities of St. Augustine.' 'Wherein?' said my lord. Then Dr. Hethe began to repeat the said authorities of St. Augustine again, inferring and applying them so straitly against my lord of Canterbury, that my lord was driven to his shot anchor, and said: 'I see by it,' quoth he to Hethe, 'that you with a little more study will be easily brought to Frith's opinion,' or such like words in effect. And some chaplains there were of my lord of Canterbury's, which openly reported, that Dr. Hethe was as able to defend Frith's assertions in the sacrament as Frith was himself." Foxe, *Acts, &c.* vol. iii. p. 991. Under Henry VIII. Hethe was successively Bishop of Rochester and Worcester; under Edward VI. he was deprived; under Mary he became Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor, and in the latter capacity signed the writ for Cranmer's execution; and under Elizabeth, "he lived after a little trouble, quietly and nobly in his own Lordship of Chobham, situate in Surrey. He was always honourably esteemed by the Queen, and sometimes had the honour to be visited by her Majesty." Strype, *Annals*, vol. i. p. 142. But it was not the least of his honours to have deserved the praise of Melancthon. This learned reformer, who became acquainted with him at the conferences at Smalcald, has thus contrasted him with his colleagues Fox and Barnes; "Unus Nicolaus Hethus Archidiaconus humanitate et literis excellit inter hospites nostros. Cæteri æγιστοι ημειςτας φιλοσοφίας και γλυκύητοις, ideo conversationem eorum fugio quantum possum." Seckendorf, *Comm. de Luth.* lib. iii. §. xxxix. Add. (e.) See also Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. i. p. 704. Fuller, *Church Hist.* book viii. sect. ii. §. 19.

over to allow him such a diet, whereof alone he may maintain his room and office to the King's honour. Wherein I beseech you to persuade the King's Highness in my name, adding thereunto all the help that you may do also. And as for his acquaintance with the King's great cause, I know no man in England can defend it better than he. Nevertheless I pray you send him again to me, that we may confer it together once again, before he depart hence. Thus our Lord have you in his preservation. From my manor at Otteforde the 5th day of January.

Your own assured

Thomas Cantuar.

To mine especial and singular good  
friend Master Cromewell.

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### XC. TO CRUMWELL.

Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-  
respond-  
ence. Ori-  
ginal.

Right Worshipful Master Crumwell, in my hearty manner I commend me to you. So it is that at my late being at Forde, it was brought to my notice and knowledge, that the Monk Dering<sup>m</sup> hath lately compiled and made (sithens the first time that Mr. Henry Golde<sup>n</sup> came to be examined before me) a certain treaty *de Duplice Spiritu*, in which mention is made, as well for the defence of the Nun's revelations, as for the soluting of my reasons made unto the said Golde. Whereupon I have diligently examined the said Dering, which hath confessed that he hath made such a book, but he will in no wise be known where it is, saying that he hath burned the same. That notwithstanding, I have caused him to write the whole effect (as he saith it is) of the same book, the copy whereof I have sent unto you sealed, which is a very minute thing, in respect of the same

<sup>m</sup> [See Letters LXXXII — LXXXIV.]

<sup>n</sup> ["Henry Golde took upon him to be interpreter between Elizabeth Barton, and one of the Pope's orators, named Anthonye Pul-lyon."... "And the said Henry Gold over this, actually travelled and made relation thereof to the Lady Katharyne, Princess Dowager, to animate her to make commotion in this realm against our Sovereign Lord." Stat. 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 12.]

book which was first made, as it is thought. And therefore I pray you to take the pains to examine the said Golde, and such other of his adherents, as ye shall think most meet to be examined in this matter; whether he or they, or any of them do know of any such book, or have seen or heard of any such or not, and at your convenient leisure to ascertain me of his and their sayings in this behalf, and of all such other comperts as you shall by the same your examination try and search out. For the person, by whom I came to the knowledge hereof, hath informed me, that the book was delivered unto the said Golde, and that he thinketh that Golde hath it still in his custody; wherefore I do think it very expedient that some good and politic mean be made for the trial and search of the verity in the premises betimes, without tract or delay, praying you that it may be so. From Ottforde, the 6th day of January. [1534.]

Your own assured ever  
Thomas Cantuar.

To the Right Worshipful and his very  
loving friend Mr. Crumwell, of the  
King's Grace's most honourable  
Council.

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XCI. To JOHN BUTLER<sup>o</sup>.

I commend me to you: willing you that ye shall nothing do touching my visitation in those parties at Calice, until ye shall farther know of my mind therein; but such diligent inquisition as shall lie in you to make for the trial and truth of the matrimony between Fraunceis Hastynge and his pretended wife, I will that ye shall use and make; and especially to learn and know, how and for what cause the first matrimony between Davison and the said pretended wife of Hastynge was dissolved, and of the premises to ascertain me, with as good speed as ye may therein conveniently use.

<sup>o</sup> [See Letters LXXXVI. CCXXV.]

Harl. MSS.  
6148. fol.  
18.

This done, ye shall afterwards know farther of my mind touching the same. Albeit in the mean time, if Davison be dwelling or commorant within my jurisdiction there, ye shall call and convent him and the other two personages afore you; and first examine the former contract: which done, ye shall much the sooner come to the verity and truth of the second. But in case the said Davison be in England, or in any place out of my jurisdiction, I will then, that upon knowledge had of the certainty where he is, ye shall either write your letters to the Ordinary there, and to him intimate the very fact and merit of the same matter, (as far as ye do know in it,) and to desire him in my name to examine the said Davison herein, and to transmit unto you the copies of the same examination for your information and instruction in that behalf; or else shall advertise and advise the said Fraunces Hastynges, and his pretended wife, to be contented that the matter may be examined where the said Davison doth dwell. And in this behalf I require you to use such diligence and industry as shall beseem you to use, as well for the due trial and truth in the premises, as for your certificate unto me in the same. From Otforde the xiiith day of the month of January.

To Master Butler, my Commissary  
at Calice.

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## XCII. TO THE RECTOR OF PETWORTH.

Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 42. In my right hearty wise I commend me unto you. So it is, as I am informed, that one John Bower<sup>p</sup>, now farmer of your parsonage of Petewourth, doth therein enjoy a lease of yours, which by reason when it shall happen to be expired, the same much doubteth, lest that at the end and term of the same he be clearly avoided thereof, by some other suit, to his no little both damage and hinderance, being now so

<sup>p</sup> [In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 1535, John Bowyar is stated to be Seneschal of the rectory lands of Petworth, and Thomas Maundvyld to be Rector.]

furnished and settled therein : I require you at this my instance, ye will not alonely renew to him his said lease from time to time, but also to suffer to continue therein all such covenants as hath been hitherto observed between you. And in thus doing I will show unto you like pleasure, when you shall reasonably require the same. From Lameth the viiith day of February.

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XCIII. To——

I commend me unto you. And where it is so, that through a controversy, lately begun between you and divers of your parochinars, for certain tithe which you now challenge of them by the course of the law, and so thereby constrained, they have sued unto me for a more quiet end in that behalf: my pleasure is therefore that you stay your said suit in attempting the law any further against them, until such time that I myself being in those parts, may hear the due examination hereof; which I suppose will not be prejudicial either to you or them, but rather most quiet for all parties at length. From Lameheth, the viii. day of February.

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XCIV. TO THE PRIORESS OF STANFELD<sup>9</sup>.

Sister Prioress, I do right heartily commend me unto you. Where it is so that the Vicar of Quadryng is content, for the love and favour he beareth unto this bearer, Master Nicholas Robertes, my old acquaintance, to resign unto the same his vicarage, if so that he might obtain your good will thereunto : these shall be therefore heartily to desire and require you, that he may herein obtain your convenient favour, and that the rather at this instance and request. And if there be any like pleasure that I may do for

<sup>9</sup> [Stanfeld in Lincolnshire, a Benedictine nunnery. The church of Quadring in the same county was appropriated to it in the reign of Richard II. Tanner, *Not. Monast.*]

you, I will be always ready to accomplish your requests accordingly. The xiiii. day of February.

—◆—

♥

XCV. TO THE PARSON OF CHEVENYNG <sup>1</sup>.

Harl. MSS.  
6148. fol.  
42.

I commend me unto you. And where it is so that one Asleyne Durmeryght, wife unto John Durmeryght, of your parish of Chevenyng, hath complained to me of the unjust and uncharitable demeanor of her said husband, for his unreasonable and oft beating and cruel threatening of her, as in that behalf somewhat I perceive like to be true, by reason both parties hath been examined with me: I will therefore that you from henceforward see that there be a reformation had between them: and that when any such breaches hereafter shall happen in this behalf, according to your both duty and discretion, ye set a charitable end between them. And if he or she do refuse to apply unto your such directions, as you shall think convenient at any time, ye then do advertise me thereof accordingly. From Croydon, &c.

To the Parson of Chevenyng.

—◆—

XCVI. TO THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER <sup>2</sup>.

Harl. MSS.  
6148. fol.  
42. b.

My Lord, in my right hearty wise I commend me unto you: and so likewise desire the same, that whereas one Master Devenyshe <sup>3</sup>, Master of Art and my kinsman, is very desirous (for his better information and knowledge in divinity) to con-

<sup>1</sup> [R. Astall. See Letter LVIII.]

<sup>2</sup> [This Letter seems to have been written to John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, early in 1534, before his imprisonment for refusing to take the oath of succession. He had been Confessor to Margaret, mother of Hen. VII. and is supposed to have suggested to her the foundation of St. John's and Christ's Colleges.]

<sup>3</sup> [Perhaps William Devenish, afterwards Prebendary of Canterbury, who was deprived under Queen Mary for being married.]

tinue his study and learning at the University, to be so good lord unto him at this mine instance and request, that the same may obtain your convenient favour to be admitted one of the fellows of St. John's College in Cambridge, amonges whom as I am advertised there is now a room void and at your disposition; whereunto if your lordship do admit him, I doubt nothing at all but that you shall like the man every day better than other, for verily I think he lacketh not of those qualities which should become any honest man to have, over and besides the gift of nature wherewith God hath above the common rate endued him, as I trust the Master of the College, this bearer, can more expressly ascertain your said lordship in that behalf. And if there be any like pleasure that I may show unto you therefore, I will be at all times ready to accomplish the same to my power. As knoweth our Lord, who keep your good lordship in health. From, &c.

To my Lord of Rochester.

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XCVII. TO THE WARDEN<sup>u</sup> OF ALL SOULS COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

Master Warden, in my right hearty wise I commend me Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 42. b. unto you. And where at your last being with me at Lameheth I desired your good will in a farm of yours, the name whereof at that time I could not readily call unto my remembrance: so it is, as I am advertised, that the same is named Les Wydon in Northamptonshire<sup>x</sup>, which forasmuch as the years and term thereof shall be shortly expired: I heartily require you, that at this mine instance and request, ye will, as effectually as you may, move the rest of your company to accomplish this my said suit, so that by yours and their agreement I may obtain the next lease that shall

<sup>u</sup> [Roger Stokeley; elected the 10th of March 1533, resigned in 1536. Wood, *Hist. of Oxford.*]

<sup>x</sup> [Loys Weedon, near Towcester.]



be granted in that behalf for a special friend of mine, paying in every condition as much as any other reasonably will give for the same, for the which I will at all times be ready to show both to you and them like pleasure accordingly, &c.

To the Warden of All Souls College  
in Oxford.

### XCVIII. TO THE INHABITANTS OF HADLEIGH.

Harl. MSS. In my right hearty wise I commend me unto you. And  
6148. fol. sorry I am to hear there is lack of charity, and also be  
1. many grudges amongs you, you all being Christian men  
*Christ. Re-* which should be of such charity and unity as if ye were but  
*membran-* one body. And to the intent ye should be so, and that ye  
*cer.* should the rather be induced to concord, and specially  
Nov. 1820. against this good time <sup>y</sup>, I have desired this bearer, Master  
Hughe Vaghan, to take the pain to come unto you now with  
these my letters, and to exhort you all in my name and on  
my behalf, and most specially in the name of our Lord, that  
you and every of you put away such grudges <sup>z</sup> as ye have  
one against another, and become lovers together as children  
of God ought to do: (for whosoever is out of charity, do  
what he will, it is not acceptable in the sight of God: and  
how can he love God that hateth his Christian brother, which  
is the creature of God :) so to continue in charity here in  
this world together as the sons of one Father, our Lord in  
heaven, that ye may be beloved of him after in heaven.

And where Sir Thomas Ros<sup>a</sup>, your Curate, hath been

<sup>y</sup> [Viz. the approaching Easter.]

<sup>z</sup> [Party spirit seems to have run very high at Hadleigh. Foxe speaks of two brothers, Walter and John Clarke, sore enemies to the truth, who procured the arrest of their Curate Ros. On the other side, Ros's friends were so strong, that it was said an hundred men were not able to fetch him out of the town.]

<sup>a</sup> [See Letter cclxxxviii, where he is recomended by Cranmer for an Irish Archbishopric. His varied fortunes are related by Foxe, vol. iii. p. 932. and Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 275. It is unnecessary to insert here more than a few particulars relating to his connexion with Hadleigh. He was arrested there early in 1533, on a charge of being privy to the burning of the Rood of Dover Court. About Midsummer, he

before me for these words, which as it is surmised he spake in the pulpit there, here following: "A man's goods spent for his soul after his death prevaileth him not:" forasmuch as I am credibly informed that no small number of you which were present at that sermon when these words were spoken, (as it is pretended,) doth affirm that he said not so, but these: "That a man's goods, given out of charity, and so the child of damnation, spent after his death shall not prevail his soul:" and forasmuch as I understand that your said Curate, as soon as he heard that such matters was surmised against him by such as have not been his friends and favourers heretofore, as I am also credibly informed, went into the pulpit and declared, that he neither said, neither meant those words but of such as died out of charity and was buried in hell, as the rich glutton was in the Gospel, of which he treated when those words were spoken, and also to the intent that the more charity should continue among you:

I have sent the said Curate to you again, desiring you which have not been his friends heretofore to leave your grudges, and you all to accept him favourably, the rather for this my writing. Not intending hereby, but if you or any of you shall have just cause against him hereafter, you shall and may prosecute the same according to justice; for it is not mine intent in any wise hereby to let justice, if it be justly prosecuted without great and probable suspicion of malice and calumnious accusation. And if any of you shall have at any time hereafter any just cause to sue afore me,

was set at liberty by Cranmer's means; "but yet so, that he was bound not to come within twenty miles of Hadleigh. After this he came to London, and there preached the Gospel half a year, till Hadleigh men hearing thereof, laboured to have him to Hadleigh again, and indeed by means of Sir John Rainford, Knight, obtained at the Archbishop's house to have him thither. Howbeit, by means one was placed in the Cure at Hadleigh, he could not enjoy his office again there, but went to Stratford three miles off, and there continued preaching the word three years." Foxe. It appears however from this Letter, that he *did* return to Hadleigh, and that fresh complaints were brought against him. Perhaps he in consequence of these remained there but a short time, and was thence supposed by Foxe not to have been reinstated at all.]

ye shall be sure of such favour as I may lawfully show unto you. At Lameth, the xx<sup>ti</sup>. day of March.

To my wellbeloved the Inhabitants  
of Hadleghe.

XCIX. TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK<sup>b</sup>.

Harl. MSS. My Lord, in my right hearty wise I commend me unto  
6148. fol. you. And where at the <sup>c</sup> last day of the late Convocation  
21. b. kept at Paul's in London, many questions and doubts were moved of the reading and declaration of the General Sentence commonly used at four terms of the year; and after much communication and debatements of great arguments and reasons therein made and had, it was at the last, by the counsels of our whole house, condescended and agreed, that the reading of the same General Sentence should be for a time suspended and stayed, until some other direction may be therein further taken and provided; (which, as I suppose, cannot be conveniently done before the next assembly of bishops and prelates of my province the next Convocation;) and that I should by my letters speedily advertise your lordship of the premises, to the intent it may please you to cause general monitions to be made within your province, that the said General Sentence be no more read or declared until some other direction may be further taken therein: I therefore pray you, my lord, that, forasmuch as it shall be meet and convenient that one conformity be used in your province and mine, specially touching the said General Sentence, that the declaration and reading of the same may be respited, until some other direction may be hereafter further

<sup>b</sup> [Edward Lee.]

<sup>c</sup> [Viz. the 31st of March 1534. See Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 164; Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 771; Wake, *State of the Church*, p. 479. "The General Sentence was a solemn curse denounced by the curates to their parishes once a quarter: wherein a great number of persons were wont to be accursed; and a large share of these execrations were framed to fall upon those that infringed the privileges and immunities of holy Church." Strype, *ibid.* The Form used on these occasions may be seen at length in his Appendix, No. 46.]

taken in that behalf. And how ye shall be minded therein, I pray you that I may be ascertained by your letters as soon as you may. [1534.]

C. To ——— d.

. . . . I therefore will you to cause general monitions to be made within the diocese of Sarum, that the said General Sentence may be no more read or declared, until some other direction may be further taken as aforesaid; and that ye ascertain me as soon as ye may conveniently, with speed, of your doings in the premises. From Croydon, the iv. day of April. [1534.]

Harl. MSS.  
6148. fol.  
21. b.

CI. To A BISHOP.

*The copy of an Inhibition sent by my Lord of Canterbury unto other for seditious preaching begun in Easter week<sup>e</sup> concerning the King's Grace's marriage, in Anno Regni xxv<sup>o</sup>. H. VIII. [1534.]*<sup>f</sup>

Harl. MSS.  
6148.  
fol. 20.

In my right hearty wise I commend me unto you: letting you wit, that forasmuch as it hath come to my know-

<sup>d</sup> [Strype supposes that this Letter was addressed to the Bishop of Sarum; but in April 1534, which from the reference to the resolution respecting the General Sentence, is clearly its date, there was no bishop of that see: Cardinal Campegio having been recently deprived by Act of Parliament, and his successor, Nicholas Shaxton, not being yet elected. It must therefore have been written to some one who administered the diocese during the vacancy. The beginning of it may be supplied from the preceding Letter: for it was obviously the same, and was therefore not copied separately by the secretary.]

<sup>e</sup> [The Easter day of 25 Hen. VIII. was the 5th of April, 1534.]

<sup>f</sup> [According to Strype there was a similar inhibition in the preceding year: "it being thought convenient that preaching at this juncture should be restrained, because now the matter of sermons chiefly consisted in tossing about the King's marriage with the Lady Anne, and condemning so publicly and boldly his doings against Queen Katharine; the priests being set on work by her friends and faction." *Cramer*, p. 21. See also *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 167.]

ledge, that divers persons at this present time, under the pretence of preaching to the people the word of God, which is the word of charity, unity, and concord, do minister unto their audience matter of contention, slander, debate, and murmur, as well concerning the true catholic doctrine of Christ's Church, as also other public matters, nothing meet ne convenient for their audience; and I therefore, calling unto me my right wellbeloved brothers in God, the Bishops of London<sup>g</sup>, Winchester<sup>h</sup>, and Lyncoln<sup>i</sup>, have, for speedy remedy hereof, devised and agreed with my said brothers, that an inhibition should be incontinently sent forth from every one of us in our diocese, to forbid all such as have already licence to preach by any letter heretofore granted unto them, to preach from henceforth by virtue and authority of any such letters, but that they shall resort to every of us in our diocese to obtain new letters and licence concerning the same: And also all Curates authorized by the law to preach in their own parish churches, shall, if they be disposed to preach, first resort unto us in like manner; so as at such time as they shall repair to us or our officers for any such licence, injunction shall be made unto them to have regard and respect in their preaching to the Constitution Provincial, in the title there *De Hæreticis*, in the first chapter, that is to say, that they shall temper their matter, *secundum subjectum auditorum*; and in no wise to touch or intermeddle themselves to preach or teach any such thing that might slander or bring in doubt and opinion the catholic and received doctrine of Christ's Church, or speak of such matters as touch the Prince, his laws, or succession, considering that thereupon can ensue no edification in the people, but rather occasion of talking and rumour to their great hurt and damage, and the danger and perils of their bodies and souls: Wherefore, in consideration of the premises, I require you and pray you to follow the said order as well [in] sending forth speedy monition or inhibition, as also in giving instruction of such your Curates as intend to preach, and other such as ye shall afterward admit by yourself or by your

<sup>g</sup> [John Stokesley.]   <sup>h</sup> [Stephen Gardyner.]   <sup>i</sup> [John Longland.]

trusty officers, as is afore written, having such respect to the execution hereof, as will satisfy the duty of your office in the sight of God and man<sup>k</sup>. Whereunto ye will, I doubt not, have such regard at all time as becometh you. Thus, my lord, most heartily fare you well. At my manor of Lameth.

### CII. TO THE PRIORESS OF STANFELD.

Sister Prioress, in my right hearty wise I commend me Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 19. unto you, and likewise to the other my sisters of your convent. And where, at my request and instance to you made in my other letters<sup>l</sup> in the favour of my friend Mr. N. R. for his preferment to the vicarage of Quadryng, ye, according to the effect and tenor thereof, have accomplished the same, as now in that behalf I am advertised by your letters dated the first day of April; I give unto you most hearty and condign thanks therefore, trusting the said Mr. Roberts, according to my letters to him addressed for the same, will in such manner be conformable and agreeable to all ordinances and customs as hath been heretofore used by his predecessors for the quietness of you and your house, that ye shall have cause to be glad to have preferred him for my sake. The which, if I perceive to happen in him the contrary, surely he shall both lose my favour and be in danger of my displeasure therefore. And you notwithstanding to be sure of me to requite and recompense this your gratuity and gentle behaviour accordingly. From Lamehe.

To the Prioress of Stanfeld.

### CIII. TO N. ROBERTS.

I commend me unto you. And where at my request Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 19. and instance the Prioress and Convent of Stanfeld hath

<sup>k</sup> [An order for the regulation of preaching was issued in June, 1534. See Appendix.]

<sup>l</sup> [See Letter xciv.]

given to you the presentation of Quadryng, as according to their letters to me addressed in that behalf I am credibly informed, wherein they have desired me also to exhort you to be content with the same, observing such laudable customs as the late incumbent and other his predecessors hath done, without further trouble, vexation, or unquietness to them or their house; these shall be therefore likewise to admonish you herein, (as ye tender my favour and will avoid my displeasure,) that according to this their reasonable request you do so endeavour yourself from time to time to accomplish the same, that they have not just cause to repent hereafter of this their benevolence declared unto you, which to happen would be unto me great displeasure, but much more your hinderance in so doing, &c.

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#### CIV. TO THE PRIORESS OF SHEPPEY.

Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 39. b. Sister Prioress, I greet you well. And forasmuch as I understand by my servant Thomas Abberforde, that the farm of your parsonage of Gyllynham is shortly like to be void, of which (as he reporteth) you aforetime promised him the next avoidance; I require you, that now, the rather of this mine instance, ye will let him have the preferment thereunto, he finding you sufficient sureties for the payment thereof. And what you intend to do in this behalf I require you to advertise me by my secretary, whom I send unto you for that intent. And if you will accomplish mine request herein, I will at all time be as good unto you in other matters, wherein you shall have to do with me.

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#### CV. TO THE PRIORESS OF SHEPPEY.

Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 19. b. Sister Prioress, I commend me unto you. Where heretofore I wrote unto you my letters in the favour of my servant T. Abberforde, for the lease of your farm at Gyllyngham, whereof ye have aforetime (as I am credibly informed)

made unto him a promise, as honest witness examined by mine officers in that matter have affirmed; I pray you that ye will now at his coming to you, not alonely finish and accomplish your said former promise, but also for my sake to show him such other favour therein, as ye may show lawfully; whereby ye shall minister unto me right good cause and occasion to tender as much your desire another time, when ye shall any thing reasonably desire of me. And how ye shall be minded herein, I pray you that I may be ascertained by your letters at the return of my said servant. And where my said servant hath further informed me, that ye, at his last being with you to know your mind to my former letters, answered him that ye would right gladly satisfy my request herein, if I would affirm and say that ye may thus do justly without any dishonesty; I assure you I do not see how ye may better save and conserve your honesty in this matter, than to accomplish your promise in the same made, whereof is good record and testimony. And if you will otherwise do, ye should by so doing cumber your conscience and dishonest yourself much. And albeit I do trust verily <sup>m</sup>.....

To the Prioress of Sheppey.

#### CVI. To CRUMWELL.

Right Worshipful Master Crumwell, after most hearty commendations, &c. I doubt not but you do right well remember, that my Lord of Rochester and Master More<sup>n</sup> were contented to be sworn to the Act of the King's succession<sup>o</sup>, but not to the preamble of the same. What was the cause of their refusal thereof I am uncertain, and they would by no means express the same. Nevertheless it must needs be, either the diminution of the authority of the

<sup>m</sup> [Nothing has been lost here, the copy never having been finished.]  
<sup>n</sup> [See an account of the appearance of Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More before the Commissioners at Lambeth on the 13th of April 1534, in Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 26; or Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. p. 315.]

<sup>o</sup> [Stat. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 22. For the proceedings under it see Burnet; who gives the preamble and the oath at length, vol. i. p. 294.]



Bishop of Rome, or else the reprobation of the King's first pretended matrimony. But if they do obstinately persist in their opinions of the preamble, yet meseemeth it should not be refused, if they will be sworn to the very Act of succession: so that they will be sworn to maintain the same against all powers and potentates. For hereby shall be a great occasion to satisfy the Princess Dowager and the Lady Mary, which do think they should damn their souls, if they should abandon and relinquish their estates. And not only it should stop the mouths of them, but also of the Emperor, and other their friends, if they give as much credence to my Lord of Rochester and Master More, speaking and doing against them, as they hitherto have done and thought that all other should have done, when they spake and did with them. And peradventure it should be a good quietation to many other within this realm, if such men should say, that the succession, comprised within the said Act, is good and according to God's laws. For then I think there is not one within this realm, that would once reclaim against it. And whereas divers persons, either of a wilfulness will not, or of an indurate and invertible conscience cannot alter from their opinions of the King's first pretended marriage, (wherein they have once said their minds, and percåse have a persuasion in their heads, that if they should now vary therefrom, their fame and estimation were distained for ever,) or else of the authority of the Bishop of Rome: yet if all the realm with one accord would apprehend the said succession, in my judgment it is a thing to be amplected and embraced. Which thing, although I trust surely in God that it shall be brought to pass, yet hereunto might not a little avail the consent and oaths of these two persons, the Bishop of Rochester and Master More, with their adherents, or rather confederates. And if the King's pleasure so were, their said oaths might be suppressed, but when and where his Highness might take some commodity by the publishing of the same. Thus our Lord have you ever in his conservation. From my manor at Croydon, the xvii. day of April.

Your own assured ever,

Thomas Cantuar.

## CVII. To CRUMWELL.

In my most hearty wise I commend me unto you. And so likewise desire you to be good master unto this bearer, Robert Markeham, whom, for the good qualities I know in him, I heartily desire you in all his such suits and causes as the same hath now before you, to show unto him your lawful favour, and that the rather at this mine instance. And what pleasure I may show unto you for the same, ye shall be sure thereof accordingly. Thus our Lord preserve you. From Croydon, the xxvi<sup>th</sup> day of April.

Your own assured,  
Thomas Cantuar.

To my especial and singular good friend,  
Mr. Crumwell.

## CVIII. To CRUMWELL.

Right Worshipful Mr. Crumwell, in my right hearty wise I commend me unto you. Likewise praying you to have in your good remembrance such suit as I heretofore, as well by mouth as writing, made unto you for my kinsman Henry Hatfile, surveyor of my lands. So it is, that by agreement lately taken between him and the prebendar[ies] of Suthwall, he shall exchange certain lands of his, for certain lands in mortmain belonging to the said prebendaries. And amongst other things of the said agreement it is condescended, that the same my kinsman shall procure the said lands, which the said prebendaries shall have of him, to be mortmained by a certain day, for the same lands which he shall have of the said prebendaries out of mortmain; wherefore I heartily pray you, that my said kinsman may have your favourable expedition as soon as it may be: for surely, unless the same lands which the said prebendaries shall have of my said kinsman may be mortmained afore the day shall be expired, the said agreement shall stand void, and much inquietness shall continue in these par-

ties, as have continued already there this hundred years. Whereof hath grown great occasion of manslaughter divers times, as well to my said kinsman's grandfather of his father's side, as to his grandfather of his mother's side, and to divers other. And it is to be feared, unless this agreement take effect now, that the same variance shall continue still, which God forbid. Wherefore I pray you to be his good master for the expedition of his suit, as my special trust is in you.

Mr. Roodd hath also been with me at Croidon, and there hath subscribed the book<sup>P</sup> of the King's Grace's succession, and also the conclusion "quod Romanus Episcopus "non habet majorem auctoritatem a Deo sibi collatam in hoc "regno Angliæ quam quivis alius externus episcopus;" and hath promised me, that he will at all times hereafter so conform himself as shall be always to the King's Grace's contentation, and that he will at no time hereafter preach in any doubtful case, but that he will first counsel with me therein. Wherefore, if it may stand with the King's Grace's pleasure, I would that he might have licence again to preach; wherein I pray you to know the King's Grace's pleasure. From Croydon the 28th day of April<sup>Q</sup>.

Your assured ever,  
Thomas Cantuar.

To the Right Worshipful and my  
very loving friend Master Crum-  
well, of the King's Grace's most  
honourable Council.

<sup>P</sup> [See Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 26.]

<sup>Q</sup> [The mention of subscribing the book of the King's succession, proves that this Letter could not have been written earlier than 1534. Yet Crumwell is not addressed as Secretary, though he was appointed to that office before the 12th of April of this year. See *Note to State Papers*, vol. i. p. 425. Thus in this case the evidence for the date derived from the address clearly fails, and it has therefore been disregarded in some other letters, where there are reasons, though not so conclusive as in the present instance, for suspecting it.]

## CIX. To ———

In my most hearty wise I commend me unto you. And <sup>Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 43.</sup> forasmuch as I [am] credibly informed by this bearer John Hutton that the same hath a certain suit unto you; to whom for many considerations as my friend, I owe as special favour as to any man else of his like state and degree; I heartily require you therefore, that he may for my sake obtain your lawful favour in such his said suits and requests, as in that behalf at this time shall be by him declared unto you; for the which, when it shall lie in me, I will likewise be ready to requite and recompense the same unto you accordingly.

## CX. To ———

In my hearty wise I commend me unto you. And <sup>Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 43.</sup> so likewise desire you to be good to this bearer A. B. my friend, in all those his suits and requests as he hath now to do with you. He is the man whom for many considerations I do much favour, and would the best that lieth in me his preferment. Wherefore I heartily require you, at this mine instance the rather, to tender his said pursuits, and show unto him such your lawful favour in this behalf as you would use towards me, in case I myself had the same now to practise with you.

## CXI. To ———

I commend me unto you. And where this bearer Richard <sup>Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 43.</sup> S. hath complained unto me, how that ye withhold from him an *Enchiridion*<sup>r</sup> in English, supposing the same to be of

<sup>r</sup> [Probably Tyndale's translation of the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* of Erasmus, a book very generally popular at that time, but denounced as dangerous by the enemies of the reformation. See Jortin, *Life of Erasmus*; Ames, *Typogr. Antiq.* Dibdin, vol. ii. p. 235.]

no good authority or privilege, I will, that forasmuch as the King and his Council doth indifferently permit the said book to be read of all and singular his subjects, ye, without any farther let or perturbation to the said Richard, do either deliver unto him his said book, or else that ye repair unto me immediately after the sight hereof, to declare unto me some cause why you should thus detain from him the said Enchiridion, and so manifestly deny the authority of the same.

For inhibiting of Enchiridion.

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## CXII. TO THE VICAR OF CHARING.

Harl. MSS.  
6148. fol.  
43.

I commend me unto you, &c. And where I am advertised by this bearer W. S. that ye have a suit against him in my Commissary's Court at Canterbury for a matter of defamation, the circumstances whereof he hath declared unto me ; so it is that I perceive, as well by his behaviour as by his sorrowful words, that he is right repentant in misusing any such slanderous reports towards you, and so hath sued unto me for to instance you in like wise not to pursue any farther herein, to his no little damage and undoing, but charitably to remit his offence, and that the rather at this my request, I therefore advise you and also require you to be contented herewith, considering he is so willing to submit himself to you accordingly. Whereunto I do exhort you, for divers considerations, to cease all rigorous suit in the law, specially in this cumbrous time, and to receive him friendly unto you, forgiving all displeasure and grudges hitherto past ; as according to the rule of charity ye be bound one to another. Which end no doubt shall both please greatly Almighty God, and also be very meritorious to you in accomplishing the same.

To the Vicar of Charyng.

CXIII. To DR. COCKS<sup>t</sup>, HIS CHANCELLOR.

In my right hearty wise I commend me unto you. And Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 43. b. Christ. Remembrancer. Nov. 1820. whereas the bearer hereof hath been suspended, and as he thinketh, further process made against him for a suit of certain tithe that you demand of him before my Commissary at Canterbury; and, as he reporteth unto me, hath been always conformable to agree with your deputies and farmer at Egerton, for such his duties as hath been customably required of him and other afore time, until now of late, for certain things as me seemeth of small value, hath been sued at the law, whereby so constrained by rigour of the same, he sueth unto me for a more quiet and charitable end in this behalf: I therefore advise you and thereunto exhort you, considering such towardness in him, that, specially in this cumbrous world, ye do entreat and handle as well him as other your parishioners and neighbours after some other more charitable means, avoiding as much as in you is the obloquy of such enormities, wherewith the whole clergy is daily reproached and slandered. And rather that some charitable end should now seem to come of you, than he thus to be enforced to seek for the same.

To Doctor Cokes, my Chancellor.

## CXIV. To ———

I commend me unto [you]. And where at the late Parliament there was a bill promoted into the Parliament House Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 43. b. concerning certain exactions of tithes within Rumney marsh<sup>u</sup> and other certain grounds, as I now remember, by cause that,

<sup>t</sup> [Dr. John Cocks, though he was Cranmer's Auditor of the Audience, and Vicar General in spirituals, yet, according to Strype, was a secret favourer of the papists, and did not exert himself, when employed to inquire into the conspiracy against the Archbishop in 1543. See Strype, *Cranm.* pp. 19. 119.]

<sup>u</sup> [A bill concerning tithes in Romney Marsh, having been brought up from the Commons, was read the first time in the House of Lords the 24th of March, 1534, and then appears to have been dropped. *Lords' Journals.*]

as in the said bill was pretended, the inhabitants there do pay not only tithes for all things that do renew there, but also over and besides the same do pay <sup>iii</sup>d. for every acre, contrary to all law, reason, and conscience; which said bill I restrained at that [time], promising to see a reformation in the same; I will therefore, inasmuch as ye partly know the very circumstances hereof, that accordingly ye do farther so ensearch the verity herein, that thereby, against such time as I shall have the examination thereof, ye may make me ready and ripe in that behalf; and that herein you do your endeavour with all speed and celerity. First day of May. [1534.]

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CXV. TO A PREACHER AT PAUL'S CROSS.

Harl. MSS.  
6148. fol.  
45. b.

I commend me unto you. Signifying to the same, that I do not a little marvel why you should leave a note with John Blag my grocer in writing, to preach at Paul's Cross on the <sup>iii</sup>de Sunday after Trinity Sunday; when, contrary to the same, at your own request to me made, you desired that ye might be there the first Sunday after Trinity Sunday, whereunto ye were accordingly appointed and named. And therefore I will, that ye in any condition fail not to be at the Cross on the said first Sunday, whatsoever other appointment or determination ye have made with yourself to the contrary, according to such expectation, trust, and confidence as I have in you for the accomplishment of the same. And of your mind in this behalf I will that you send me word by this bearer, to the intent I may thereby be in full surety hereof. At Croydon, the vi. day of May.

To one that was appointed to preach  
at Paul's Cross.

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CXVI. TO CRUMWELL.

Chapter  
House,  
Westmin.

Right Worshipful Master Cromwell, I desire you, at this my instance, to be good master to Sir Edward Mowl

priest, bearer hereof, and favourably to tender his suit which he shall make unto you. He was chaplain to Dr. Benet<sup>x</sup> at the time of his decease, and continued with him in service as long as he was the King's ambassador in Italy. The said chaplain hath lain sick at Pyemount, at Susa, by the space of six months; by reason whereof he is so far in debt, that he is like all his life to be in danger of his creditors, and to live in great poverty, unless some provision, by mean of spiritual promotion or otherwise by your good industry and counsel, be made for him, whereby he may be relieved and in process of time able to satisfy his creditors. Wherefore, inasmuch as the man hath incurred many adversities, partly by sickness and chiefly by the loss of his special good master, Dr. Benet, and is also a very honest man and worthy of better fortune, I do heartily require you, at this my instance, to be as good master to him as you may conveniently, and you shall bind me for this and other your manifold kindness exhibit unto me, to do you such pleasure as shall lie in my power. Written at my house at Croydon the seventh day of May. [1534.]

Your assured ever,

Thomas Cantuar.

To the Right Worshipful Master Cromwell be this letter delivered.

CXVII. To ———

My Lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto you, &c. So it is, that I am credibly informed and certified by this bearer, Sir Thomas Donkester, Subprior of Newesham<sup>y</sup>, that my suffragan, late Abbot of the same house, is departed out of this miserable world, of whose soul Jesus have mercy; and forasmuch as the said late suffra-

<sup>x</sup> [See Letter LIX.]

<sup>y</sup> [A monastery of Premonstratensians in Lincolnshire, the first of that order established in England. At the dissolution it maintained an abbot and eleven canons. Tanner, *Not. Monast.*]



gan in his life so favour[ed] this bearer, and oftentimes so commended him unto me, that he (as I perceived) intended to have preferred him to be his successor in that room and office in the said house, (as ye, I suppose, do know right well) ; and because likewise I of mine own knowledge and experience can record and testify of his good life, providence, and other right commendable qualities meet for an head and ruler of that house, in whom heretofore the chief order, administration, provision, and husbandry of the same have only consist: I therefore right heartily pray you to be good lord unto him for my sake, and accepting these my letters in like stead and effect as though I had written the same unto you for myself in such a like matter: and to bear towards him your favour and assistance for his preferment to the said abbacy and office, as I may, for your goodness therein, be in your danger, which I would right thankfully requite, whensoever it shall lie in me to show to you pleasure for yourself or for your friend ; trusting now, at this mine attemptation, ye will do that you may for the acceleration of the election, under such both expedition and condition that this my friend shall obtain thereby the benefit thereof accordingly.

And albeit I may, if I would, obtain the King's Grace's favourable letters, and the Queen's Grace's also, for the furtherances and accomplishment of this request ; yet forasmuch as I do well know that it consisteth in you to show me this pleasure, without further suit, I therefore do make this request only to you, praying the same to be as good and favourable herein for this man my friend, as ye promised me to have been to my said suffragan in the other matter. And think [not], my lord, but that I (if God grant me life) will so thankfully remember and recompense your favour and gratuity herein, (if it shall please you the same to show unto me) as ye shall have good cause to rejoice thus to have done for me: which thing, if ye intend to satisfy my request, must be speedily done with all celerity, lest, by delay taken therein, ye may be stayed and restrained from that pleasure and liberty to do for your friend, which

you may do in case ye so will; eftsoons praying you to have the premises in your good remembrance, and no less to esteem the same, than ye would in case I had so spoken the same unto you in my own personage. From my manor at, &c.

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**CXVIII. TO THE CONVENT OF NEWESHAM<sup>a</sup>.**

In my right hearty wise I commend me unto you, and likewise to everich of you. And where it hath pleased Almighty God to call your father and Abbot, which was my suffragan, to his mercy, by whose decease ye be now destitute of a governor and ruler: I therefore pray you, and every one of you, to bear your favours and good minds to my friend of old acquaintance Sir Thomas Donkester, your brother and Prior, that he, by your favourable means and assistance, may be preferred to that vacant room for my sake afore any other; which thing, if you can be contented to do at this mine instance, ye shall be well assured to have me to be hereafter not alonely a right special friend to you and your house, to the most of my power, at such time as I may show any gratuity and pleasure again for his sake, but also shall have such succour and comfort of him at all times hereafter, as ye shall have cause to be glad to have preferred him for my sake. Thus fare you well. From my manor at Lametheth, the xviii. day of May.

To the Convent.

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**CXIX. To ———<sup>a</sup>**

<sup>b</sup> My Lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto your good lordship. And whereas I am credibly inform-

<sup>2</sup> [See Letter cxvii.]

<sup>a</sup> [Strype, in his manuscript copy of this Letter (Lansd. MSS. 1045.) supposes it to have been addressed to Crumwell. But the questions respecting the oath of succession prove its date to be 1534, when Crumwell had attained no higher rank than that of Secretary of State. It is not unlikely that it was written to the Lord Chancellor Audeley, who was one of the Commissioners appointed to tender the oath. See Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 26.]

<sup>b</sup> [The former part of this Letter is printed in the *Christian Remembrancer* for Nov. 1820.]

ed, that at your commandment, one Sir Thomas Mownteforde<sup>c</sup>, priest, is committed to the Fleet for certain words (as is reported) by him spoken against me, which now he utterly refuseth, and thereto offereth himself to prove the contrary in that behalf by divers that were there present when the said words should have been spoken of me: I most heartily desire your lordship, at this mine instance and request, ye will discharge him for [the] time of this his trouble and vexation: for surely of all sorts of men I am daily informed that priests report the worst of me, and therefore so to be reported of a priest it should very little grieve me, although he had confessed it, much less now would I then this his trouble for the same, he himself reporting the contrary. Wherefore eftsoons I require you to be good lord unto him herein, and that the rather at this mine instance.

Furthermore touching my commission to take oaths of the King's subjects for his Highness' succession<sup>d</sup>, I am by your last letters well instructed, saving that I know not how I shall order them that cannot subscribe by writing: hitherto I have caused one of my secretaries to subscr[ib]e for such persons, and made them to write their shepe mark, or some other mark, as they can . . . . scribble. Now would I know, whether I shall, instead of subscription, take their seals.

Also where you have sent forth commissions to justices of peace to take the same oath, I pray you send me word, whether you have given them commission to take oaths as well of priests as of other. And if so, then I trust my labours be abbreviate, for in short time the oaths (hereby) shall be take[n] through all England; which seemeth to me very expedient so to be; trusting this expedition shall discharge your lordship, me, and other of much travail in this

<sup>c</sup> [Strype seems to have believed, that Sir Thomas Mounteforde was the north country priest committed to the Fleet by the Lord Crumwell, of whose insolence and ignorance such an admirable story is told by Morice. But the cases appear to be different, and, as has been observed in note (a) p. 111, Crumwell was not yet entitled to be called "the Lord Crumwell." See Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 437.]

<sup>d</sup> [See Letter cvi. Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 36.]

behalf: but yet I would gladly know who shall take the oaths at the religious of Syon<sup>c</sup>, which is specially to be observed, and also the Charter Houses, and Observants, and other religious exempt. I beseech your good lordship that I may have answers herein by writing, with all celerity.

CXX. TO ARCHDEACON THIRLBY<sup>f</sup>.

Master Archdeacon, I commend me unto you: signifying Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 45. to you, that I have received your letters with a billets from the King's Highness in them inclosed, whereby amonges Christ. Remembrancer, Nov. 1820. other things I perceive your ambitious mind in seeking your own glory and advancement of your name, and that unjustly

<sup>c</sup> [The Nuns and Friars of Sion, the Carthusian Monks, and the Observants, were considered to be determined opposers of the King's proceedings; and some of them had professed to believe in the revelations of the Holy Maid of Kent. See Letters LXXXII. CXLV; Burnet, vol. i. pp. 306. 366. 704; Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 194. &c.; *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 422. The last named authority is a long and interesting letter from Bedyll to Crumwell, dated the 28th of August 1534; in which he laments "the foolishness and obstinacy of divers religious men, so addict to the Bishop of Rome and his usurped power, that they contemn all counsel, and likewise the jeopardy of their bodies and souls, and the suppression of their houses." Nine of the Friars of Sion, he says, as soon as the preacher began to declare the King's title of Supreme Head, "departed from the sermon, contrary to the rule of their religion, to the great slander of all the audience. . . . And it is doubted that some of them will attempt to escape out of their cloister; and if they so did, so men should never hear tidings of them, neither know where they became, it were no great loss." He states however, "that the Confessor there, and some other of the wisest of his brethren, the Abbess and all her religious sisters, like good, wise, and faithful ladies to our Sovereign Lord, be well contented with the King's Grace's said title;" and that there was good likelihood that the Carthusians of London "would be brought to good conformity according to their duty." But these hopes, at least in part, were disappointed. See Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i. pp. 195. 277.

<sup>f</sup> [Thirlby succeeded Hawkyns in the Archdeaconry of Ely, 1534. Le Neve, *Fasti*.]

<sup>g</sup> [This may perhaps have been the "order for preaching and bidding of the beads in all sermons," issued, according to Strype, in June 1534. See Appendix. Mr. Todd applies the expression to the Articles of 1536, and supposes the Letter to have been written in that year. But the copy-book from which it is taken seems to contain none of so late a date; and in that case also, Shaxton, who was consecrated the 11th of April 1535, would probably have been styled "my lord of Sarum."

without your deserts, in that you desire to have me confess by writing your diligence, laying to my charge, that heretofore I have been a testimony of your negligence. If you have hitherto been accounted negligent, there is nothing as meseemeth as yet commenced and done on your behalf, whereby you do not declare yourself in deed the same man that I spake in word. Although ye have changed the kind of negligence, from a slow negligence to a rash negligence. For so negligently you have run of heed in this matter, that you have advertised me never a word of those things which I desire to know the King's pleasure in.

For there be three places specially noted in the said bill, one in the margin of the first leaf, another in the third, where be divers words to be inserted within the process, of the which I would you should know his gracious pleasure, whether he would allow those words there or no. The third place is on the second side in the fourteenth line, whereof I would have known likewise if the King's Grace would have left out "miracles," which all the bishops do think good to be left out. And for the same purpose the self-same place in the book of parchment is void.

Of the King's Grace's advertisement in these three points I would you had declared your diligence. But for to obtain the said bill of his Grace, the premises never the more declared, was rather after mine opinion a rash negligence, than worthy to be reputed and taken for any manner of diligence. And therefore according to your deserts, where you were in time past esteemed but negligent in delaying, now you shall obtain a more ample name, and be called also negligent by imprudency and precipitation in your most expedition. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as you would fain obtain some other better name, to prove again your diligence I have sent the said billet again to you, to the intent, when ye shall know [the] King's pleasure in the premises, ye may advertise me thereof, after such manner as in that behalf ye may deserve to have your name changed and not augmented, as it is now. And where I wrote not to you before so amply as I do now, is not to be imputed to my negligence, but

to yours, by cause you did not consult with Doctor Shaxton<sup>h</sup>, or Doctor Buttes<sup>i</sup>, fully in this matter. Nor yet I have not instructed you by these letters all things, but some you must learn by mouth of Doctor Shaxton, who knoweth all my whole mind herein.

And where you write, that the King's Grace supposeth that I have these articles in parchment, subscribed with hands of the Council; surely at what time I was last at Lambeth, Master Crumwell sent to me for it in the King's name, and since as yet I hear nothing thereof. Wherefore I think it convenient that you inquire thereof, by cause it may be forthcoming, and not required of me, where it is not as it is thought to be.

Furthermore, ye may show Master Vice-Chancellor<sup>k</sup> of Cambridge, that I have lost his bill of Paul's Cross, and therefore I look for him these holydays to bring me another, not doubting but that you will bear him company; at which your resort we shall commune of the preferment of your diligence; and if you lack horse, you shall have of me, at such time as you shall appoint by this bearer. Thus fare you well. From Croydon, the xxiv. day of May.

To Doctor Thrylby, Archdeacon of Ely.

### CXXI. TO THE RECORDER OF LONDON.

Master Recorder, in my right hearty wise I commend me <sup>Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 44.</sup> unto you. And where heretofore I wrote unto my Lord Mayor of London, in the favour and preferment of one Mistress Pachtette, widow, for a house belonging unto the chamber of London, which gladly she desireth to hold and occupy for her commodity and ease, in case she might the same at-

<sup>h</sup> [At this time chaplain and almoner to Queen Anne Boleyn. See Letter cxxx1.; and a memoir of him in Strype, *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 353.]

<sup>i</sup> [The King's physician, a constant and powerful friend to Cranmer and the Reformation. Strype and Burnet, *passim*.]

<sup>k</sup> [John Craiford, "gladiator melior quam Procancellarius." Fuller, *Hist. of Cambridge*.]

tain with favour of my said lord and his brethren; and forasmuch as I am credibly informed, that by reason of such your good testimony, discretion, and wisdom, wherein ye be in credit with my said lord and his brethren, in such matters and affairs as passeth from them by their grants: I most heartily require you therefore, the rather at this mine instance and request, ye will bear towards the said Mistress Pachete such your favour and assistance for her preferment towards the said house, as I may for your benevolence herein be in your danger for the same, in the accomplishing your like requests of me, either for yourself or for your friends. Thus fare you well. From Croydon, the xxv. day of May.

To Master Baker, Recorder of London.

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CXXII. TO THE DUCHESS OF NORFOLK.

Harl. MSS.  
6148. fol.  
44. b.

My most singular good lady, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto your ladyship. And where your servant and mine ally Thomas Cade, hath obtained a certain office in Calice to the value of vid<sup>a</sup> a day, which would be both for his preferment and commodity, in case he might enjoy the same without check, and that he is contented to supply and discharge all manner usages and customs to the said office belonging, by his sufficient deputy, as herein divers and many doth likewise use the same manner there; in consideration hereof, the said Thomas intending to sue unto the King's Highness for a licence to be had in that behalf, hath made a supplication unto his said Grace for the obtaining of the same, the which I myself would gladly have promoted for him, unless of late I had not been very importune unto his Highness for sundry matters concerning myself, whereby even now I am the more unapt to sue in this behalf: I most heartily desire your good ladyship, therefore, for this time, at this mine instance and request, you will cause some of your special friends nigh about the King's Highness to promote this his said suit, according to the supplication made in that behalf; wherein your good

ladyship shall deserve of me such pleasure as I may : and bind him both to owe unto you such his fidelity and service as he can, and also to be your daily beadsman for the same. Thus our Lord long preserve your good ladyship, to his most pleasure and your heart's ease.

To the Right Honourable and mine  
especial good lady, my Lady  
Duchess of Northfolke.

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CXXIII. To CRUMWELL.

Right Worshipful Master Crumwell, in my right hearty MSS.  
wise I commend me to you. So it is, that upon Tuesday Chapter  
next ensuing I intend, God willing, to be at Rochester, in House,  
my Visitation, where (if ye have any special matters to be Westmin-  
inquired of) I will be glad to do my endeavour in the same, ster; Crum-  
in case it may please you to advertise me thereof at this well's Cor-  
side Sunday next ensuing. Furthermore, I heartily thank respond-  
you for your favours and goodness showed to my secretary, ence. Ori-  
Jamys Barnarde, this bearer, in such his suits as he hath ginal.  
lately had unto you, for the reformation of such persons as  
lately committed robbery upon his father ; and likewise pray  
you to continue the same unto him, and specially to take  
further pains to examine in your own personage the said  
misdoers and offenders ; whereby I trust (if it shall please  
you so to do) many things yet concealed and kept secret  
shall manifestly appear unto you by their own confession ;  
for if they once look you in the face, they shall have no  
power to conceal any thing from you. From Croidon, the  
third day of June.

Your own assured ever,  
Thomas Cantuar.

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CXXIV. To CRUMWELL.

Right Worshipful Master Crumwell, in my right hearty  
wise I commend me to you. So it is, that this bearer, MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-  
respond-  
ence. Ori-  
ginal.



which is master of my mint at Canterbury, hath divers times informed me, that the Provost of the King's Grace's mint in the Tower will not suffer him to have for his wages and money such coiners of the Tower as is lawful for him to have by the King's Grace's grant, under his Grace's Great Seal; because the same Provost, as I am informed, endeavoureth as much as in him lieth, to discourage the merchants to have any access or resort to my said mint, for lack of speedy coinage. And albeit the said master of my mint may, by the King's Grace's said grant, take in all places, as well exempt as not exempt, such workmen and as many of them as he would have, yet he would, if it may stand with your favour and pleasure, have none other but such as do belong unto the said Tower, because they be men of true dealing and of good honesty. Wherefore I pray you to be good master unto him, and for my sake to speak unto the said Provost, that he may have for his wages at all times such persons of the said Tower and as many of them to work with him, as he shall hereafter desire. For unless it may please you thus to do, my said mint<sup>1</sup> and master of the same shall be unoccupied; which thing the said Provost, as far as I can perceive, doth most covet and desire. From Croydon, the 6th day of June.

Your own ever assured,  
Thomas Cantuar.

To the Right Worshipful and my  
very loving friend Master Crum-  
well, of the King's Grace's most  
honourable Council.

<sup>1</sup> ["Amongst the places where King John in his letters makes mention of mints kept in England, Canterbury is one, and had been so, " I suppose, for many ages. King Athelstane appointing out the places " for mints, and the number of minters throughout the kingdom, begins " with Canterbury, to which he allowed seven minters: a greater number than to any other place in the kingdom, except London, which " was allowed to have eight. Of these seven, four were for the King, " two for the Archbishop, and the seventh for the Abbot of St. Augustin's. . . . When or how the Archbishop lost or left off his mintage " here, I do not where find." Somner, *Antiq. of Cant.* The Abbot lost his privilege in the reign of Stephen. *Ibid.*]

## CXXV. To CRUMWELL.

Right Worshipful Master Crumwell, in my right hearty MSS.  
 wise I commend me to you: likewise thanking you for <sup>Chapter</sup>  
 your favours borne to my cousin Molyneux, in his cause <sup>House,</sup>  
 which a long time hath depended in the Chancery; which <sup>Westmin-</sup>  
 your favour I pray you to continue likewise as you have <sup>ster; Crum-</sup>  
 begun; wherein in my opinion ye do take the just part, and <sup>well's Cor-</sup>  
 for so doing shall merit and deserve thanks of God. From <sup>respond-</sup>  
 Croydon, the viiith day of June. <sup>ence. Ori-</sup>  
<sup>ginal.</sup>

Your own ever assured,

Thomas Cantuar.

To the Right Worshipful and my  
 very loving friend Master Crum-  
 well, of the King's Grace most  
 honourable Council.

## CXXVI. To CRUMWELL.

Right Worshipful Master Crumwell, in my right hearty MSS.  
 wise I commend me to you. So it is, that the Provincial of <sup>Chapter</sup>  
 the Friars Austyns hath of late constituted and ordained one <sup>House,</sup>  
 Friar Olyver, Prior of the Black Friars in Cambridge, <sup>Westmin-</sup>  
 which is not only a man of very small learning, sinister be- <sup>ster; Crum-</sup>  
 haviour, ill qualities, and of suspected conversation of living, <sup>well's Cor-</sup>  
 (as by the letters of divers well learned personages of the <sup>respond-</sup>  
 said University, whereof I have sent you one, I have been <sup>ence. Ori-</sup>  
 credibly informed;) but is also the very same man which of <sup>ginal.</sup>  
 all other most indiscreetly preached against the King's  
 Grace's great cause, and most defended the authority of the  
 Bishop of Rome, and of all men most unapt to bear any  
 rule in so noble a University, by whom also a great number  
 of the best learned in the same is much offended: wherefore  
 I pray you to be a mean, that he may be amoved from that  
 office, and that Dr. Hilsey <sup>m</sup>, or some other worshipful man

<sup>m</sup> [John Hilsey, a Black or Dominican Friar, first of Bristol, afterwards of Oxford. It does not appear that he obtained the appoint-

may have it. There be in the same house of the Black Friars men of good study, living, learning, and judgment; and pity it were but that they should have such a head and ruler as is of like qualities. And I delivered unto you about Easter last passed, or else afore, a certain billet containing such matter as the same Friar Olyver preached in the last Lent; which bill, if ye had remembered, I doubt not but that ye would have provided for the same Friar afore this time; albeit (if it may please you now to remember him) there is no time yet lost, but that the same may be renewed again. From Croydon, the viith day of June.

Your own ever assured,

To the Right Worshipful and my  
very loving friend Master Crum-  
well, of the King's Grace's most  
honourable Council.

#### CXXVII. TO CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster;  
Crumwell's  
Corre-  
spondence.  
*Original.*

Right Worshipful Mr. Crumwell, in my right hearty wise I commend me to you. And where the County Palantyne<sup>n</sup> amongs all other pleasures doth much esteem the pastime of hunting with great greyhounds, and specially with great mastiffs, which in those parties be had in great price and value: these therefore be to pray you to advertise the King's Highness to send unto the said County a couple or two of great greyhounds, and as many of great mastiffs; the same shall be as well accepted to him as though it had pleased his Grace to have sent him a precious jewel or reward; which thing shall be no great charge to his Grace, and yet nevertheless shall be highly esteemed with the receiver of the same. And therefore I pray you to have this

ment to which he was now recommended; but he afterwards became Prior of the Dominicans in London, and in Oct. 1535 was preferred to the see of Rochester. He was a learned man, and a great assistant to Cranmer. He died in 1538. Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 37.]

<sup>n</sup> [Lewis the Pacific, Elector Palatine.]

thing in your special remembrance, when ye shall have convenient time. From Otford, the xth day of June.

Your own ever assured,

Thomas Cantuar.

To the Right Worshipful and my  
very loving friend Master Crum-  
well, of the King's Grace's most  
honourable Council.

### CXXVIII. TO LATYMER.

In my right hearty wise I commend me unto you. And Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 41. where that in April last past, upon certain urgent grounds and causes reasonably thereto moving, both I, and other the bishops within my province, caused an Inhibition<sup>o</sup> to be Christ. Re-  
membran-  
cer. Nov. 1820. had for preaching in every of our dioceses, specially to the intent that the malignity of divers preachers might not have place in the minds of the common people; which intending then as well to hinder the King's Grace's just cause of matrimony, as also to deprave the acts and statutes made by the Parliament<sup>p</sup>, it did appear that in their sermons they rather preached sedition than edification; whereupon it was amonges us concluded, that from thenceforward no bishop, ne bishop's officer, should licence any to preach without special injunction in that behalf first to them declared in such manner, that is to wit, that all such as shall take on them the office of preaching should neither preach any thing which might seem prejudicial to the said matrimony, whereby the King's issue might come into question and doubt amonges the vulgar people, nor likewise reprehend in their sermons any such ordinances, acts, or statutes, heretofore made, or by the said high Court of Parliament hereafter to

<sup>o</sup> [See Letter ci.]

<sup>p</sup> [Cranmer probably alludes to the Acts "For the submission of the clergy to the King's Majesty," "For restraining the payment of annates," "For the exoneration from exactions paid to the see of Rome," "For the establishment of the King's succession," all passed in the early part of 1534.]

be ordained: Therefore, inasmuch as at your instance and request I have licensed divers to preach within my province, to whom I have neither given such injunctions accordingly as is before specified; nor yet, though I minded so to do, conveniently I could not without their intolerable charges and expenses in resorting so far unto me for the same; I will that you for my discharge herein, in my name and for my behalf, do take upon you the administration of these said injunctions for all such as hath already had or hereafter shall have my said licence to preach at your said request and instance. Wherein I would ye were right circumspect that they may be well observed, or else to send me such my licences again, of whom ye doubt for the observation hereof. Thus fare you well. [1534.]

To Master Latymer, Parson of Weste  
Kynton, in Wilteshere.

#### CXXIX. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster;  
Crumwell's  
Corre-  
sponden ce.  
*Original.*

Right Worshipful Master Secretary, in my right hearty wise I commend me to you. So it is, I intend to prefer my servant John Brice, this bearer, to the King's Grace's service, if I may the same obtain for him; but I being discouraged thus to do, because of late I heard you reprove him very sore, for causes you then moving and yet unknown unto me; being also very loth to do or attempt any thing concerning his said preferment, unless it may first please you to stand good master unto him; I am moved of very charity and pity, to desire you to be good master unto him, and for my sake remitting all old matters and occasions of displeasure, to bear towards him your favour and good will, the rather at this my instance; without which, he recognizeth neither to be able to enjoy the said preferment quietly in case it were granted, neither yet by any other promotion to joy of himself. Wherefore I heartily pray you, good Master Secretary, to be good unto him, and in this matter to make unto me or to him such comfortable

answer, as may satisfy my expectation, and quiet his mind: assuring you, that I have many times noted such pensiveness in him, conceived by your said reproving words, as I do think him very penitent and sorrowful for your displeasure towards him. And therefore I pray you to forgive and pardon him, as he may be your daily beadsman. From Knoll, the 26. day of December.

Your own ever assured,  
Thomas Cantuar.

To the Right Worshipful and my  
very loving friend Master Secretary to the King's Highness.

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CXXX. TO LATYMER<sup>9</sup>.

I commend me unto you, &c. These be to certify you of the King's pleasure, how that his Grace is contented that ye shall be admitted to preach on all the Wednesdays of this next Lent before him. Whereupon I thought it very expedient, for divers considerations reasonably me moving thereto, to admonish you of certain things in no wise to be neglect and omitted on your behalf, in time of your preaching; which to observe and follow according to mine advice hereafter to you prescribed, shall at the length redound to your no little laud and praise.

First, therefore, take this order, (if ye will) reading over the book ye take for your purpose some processes of Scripture, the Gospel, Pistill, or any other part of Scripture in the Bible, and the same to expound and declare according to the pure sense and meaning thereof; wherein, above all things it will be most convenient, that ye do not at all persuade for the defence of your own causes and matters lately in controversy<sup>r</sup>; but that ye rather do seem utterly [to pass

<sup>9</sup> [There is no direction to this Letter in the manuscript, but it is clear from Letter cxxxi. that it was addressed to Latymer.]

<sup>r</sup> ["During this Parliament [1534], every Sunday at Paul's Cross "preached a bishop, declaring the Pope not to be Supreme Head of

Harl. MSS.  
6148.  
fol. 41.  
*Christ.  
Remem-  
brancer,  
Nov. 1820.*

over] those your accusations, than now in that place any sparkle or suspicion of grudge should appear to remain in you for the same. This done, that likewise ye be very circumspect to overpass and omit all manner speech, either apertly or suspiciously sounding against any special man's facts, acts, manners, or sayings, to the intent your audience have none occasion thereby, namely to slander your adversaries; which would seem to many that you were void of charity, and so much the more unworthy to occupy that room. Nevertheless, if such occasion be given by the word of God, let none offence or superstition be unreprehended, specially if it be generally spoken, without affection.

Furthermore, I would ye should so study to comprehend your matters, that in any condition you stand no longer in the pulpit than an hour, or an hour and an half at the most, for by long expense of time the King and the Queen shall peradventure wax so weary at the beginning, that they shall have small delight to continue throughout with you to the end. Therefore let the effect of the premises take no place in your mind, specially before this circumspect audience, to the intent that you in so doing need not to have any other declaration hereafter against the misreports of your adversaries. And for your further instruction in this behalf, I would ye should the sooner come up to London, here to prepare all things in a readiness, according to such expectation as is had in you.

"the Church. Also in other places of the realm great troubles were raised about preaching, namely, at Bristow, where Master Latimer preached, and there preached against him one Hobberton and Dr. Powell, so that there was great part takings on both sides: insomuch that divers priests and other set up bills against the Mayor, and against Master Latimer; but the Mayor (permitting laymen to preach) caused divers priests to be apprehended and cast into Newgate, with bolts upon them, and divers other ran away and lost their livings, rather than come to the Mayor's handling." Stow, *Annals*. For a more detailed account of these troubles, see Strype, who places them under 1533; (*Memorials*, vol. i. p. 159, &c.) and Foxe, vol. iii. p. 463; where are some letters respecting them by Latymer himself. See also Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 700, for Stokesley's inhibition of Master Hugh Latymer from preaching within the diocese of London, dated the 2nd of October, 1533.]

## CXXXI. TO THE DEAN OF THE CHAPEL ROYAL.

Master Dean, in my right hearty wise I commend me unto <sup>Harl. MSS.</sup> you. And whereas Master Latymer, a man of singular <sup>6148. f. 41. b.</sup> learning, virtuous example of living, and sincere preaching <sup>Christ.</sup> the word of God, hath lately been endangered, and suf- <sup>Remem-</sup> fered great obloquy<sup>s</sup>; and also I myself, for justly licensing <sup>brancer,</sup> him to preach within the precincts and limits of my pro- <sup>Nov. 1820.</sup> vince, have been likewise misreported; I intending evermore the furtherance of the truth and the pure dispensation of the word of God, in consideration of my discharge, declaration of Master Latymer, and satisfaction of such misreporters, have most humbly desired and sued unto the King's Highness, to grant unto the said Master Latymer license to preach before his Grace all the Wednesdays of this next Lent ensuing. Therefore these shall be to desire and require you, upon the King's pleasure thus known, for to discharge the assignment already appointed, or hereafter to be, to any person in that behalf, and require him (if any such be) to be contented with the same; for I upon the King's pleasure thus willing, have already admonished the said Master Latymer to provide therefore.

Furthermore, these shall be heartily to desire you also, that my old acquainted friend, Master Shaxton<sup>t</sup>, the Queen's Grace's almoner, may be assigned likewise to preach the third Sunday in Lent before the King's Grace; and that you will forthwith, upon the sight hereof, ascertain me in your letters by this bearer, accordingly to the King's Grace's said pleasure and my request. For thus doing you shall have me ready to accomplish condignly your requests, and show unto you like pleasure from time to time. At Otteford, the ixth day of July<sup>u</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> [See Letter cxxx.]

<sup>t</sup> [See Letter cxx. p. 115. Shaxton was elected Bishop of Salisbury the 22nd of Feb. 1535; Latymer was consecrated Bishop of Worcester in Sept. of the same year. Nicolas, *Synopsis of the Peerage*.]

<sup>u</sup> [This seems to be a clerical error for January. In arranging this and the preceding Letter, Stow's date of the controversy at Bristol has



## CXXXII. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster;  
Crumwell's  
Corre-  
spondence.  
*Original.*

Right Worshipful Master Secretary, I commend me heartily to you. And these be to desire you to be good master unto my servant Nevell, this bearer, which hath been a suitor long time, to his great loss, hinderance, and utter undoing, in the matter of Wilton Abbey, unless your charitable favour may be to him showed. And as far as I can perceive, the matter again him surmised, was done of malice and of no just cause; wherefore I am the more desirous to write unto you in his favour, trusting that you will be the better unto him at this my desire; and that he may have your favourable letters unto the Abbess<sup>v</sup> there, whereby he may be restored unto his office according to his patent, without any further suit in the law. And he shall be at all times ready to stand to all such order as shall please you to take therein. From Knoll, 15th day of January.

Your own ever assured,  
Thomas Cantuar.

To the Worshipful and my very  
loving friend Master Secretary  
to the King's Grace.

## CXXXIII. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster;  
Crumwell's  
Corre-  
spondence.  
*Original.*

Right Worshipful Master Secretary, I commend me heartily to you: likewise praying you to have in your good remembrance the contents of such my letters, as I of late sent unto you, for the King's Grace's letters to be obtained and directed to the Lord Deputy of Calise, and other his Grace's Counsellors there, in the favour of two such chaplains of mine, as I intend to send thither with all speed, to preach the word of God; whom I would have sent thither before

been preferred to Strype's; but the point is exceedingly doubtful. If Strype is correct, these two Letters were probably written in January 1584.]

\* [Cecil Bodenham. See Letter L.]

this time, if I might have had the said letters, for which this bearer doth only repair unto you for expedition therein, whom I pray you to dispatch as soon as ye may. From Knoll, the 22. day of January.

Your own assured ever,  
Thomas Cantuar.

To the Worshipful and my very  
loving friend Master Crumwell,  
Secretary to the King's most  
noble Grace.

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CXXXIV. To ———

In my right hearty wise I commend me unto you. And Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 41. b. whereas I understand, that the Prior of the Charter House within the Isle of Axholme<sup>y</sup> hath a certain suit unto you, I heartily desire you, ye will, the rather at this my request, show unto him your convenient favour in all such his affairs and suits as he now hath with you. And for to recompense the same, I will be ready at all times to show unto you like pleasure accordingly.

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CXXXV. To ———

In my right hearty manner I commend me unto you. Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 47. b. And whereas you have always heretofore exhibited and showed favourable and special friend[ship] unto your poor tenant Jackson, and now of late, for that the said Jackson being oppressed with poverty and by divers casualties fallen into decay, is grown much in your debt, ye have distrained the goods of the said Jackson, and made reenter again into your farm, which is not alonely to the utter destruction and undoing of the said poor man, but also great lett and hinderance to you in the obtaining a full satisfaction and payment of your duty: This shall be heartily to desire and pray you, that at the contemplation of these my letters, ye

✓ [See Letter cxi.]

will be contented not alonely to give and grant unto the said Jackeson, (finding you sufficient sureties, as well for the payment of your yearly rent, as also for the payment of five pounds yearly over and above the said yearly rent, until the arrearages be fully satisfied and paid,) according to the tenor of the old lease, the occupying of his farm for the terms of xxiii. years, but also permit and suffer him to have now at Candlemas the sale of his corn, and other profits which be risen of the said farm; and thus shall you not alonely do for me a right singular pleasure and gratuity, which I would be glad to requite hereafter at all times accordingly, but also bind the poor man, his wife, and children to pray for you during their lives. And thus fare you well.

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CXXXVI. To ———

Harl. MSS. Wellbeloved, I commend me heartily unto you all. Like-  
 6148. fol. wise praying you to be good masters unto John Jackeson  
 47. b. your farmer, that he may have a new lease of your farm for  
 xxiii. years, to him and his assigns, according to the tenor  
 of your former lease in all points and clauses. And for  
 such debts as he oweth unto you, he shall and will find suf-  
 ficient sureties to pay you at days, after the rate of five  
 pounds a year, until the same whole debts be fully contented  
 and paid, over and above the yearly rent for the farm; if it  
 may please you thus to do for my sake, the poor man shall  
 not alonely pray for you, but find such surety as well for the  
 payment of the old debts as for the yearly farm, as shall be  
 a good mean to you for the recovery of all that which is  
 owing; and how ye shall be minded herein I pray you to  
 ascertain me by your letters. From Lambeth.

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CXXXVII. To A PRIOR.

Harl. MSS. Brother Prior, in my right hearty wise I commend me  
 6148. fol. unto you. And where this bearer Thomas Hogeson, my  
 fol. 49.

servant, hath certain business and affairs to be done in those your parties, I require you for my sake, that if he shall need of your favour herein, he may have recourse unto you for the same; for the which at all times I will be ready to requite it unto you.

—————  
CXXXVIII. To —————

In my right hearty wise I commend me unto you: like-  
wise desiring you for my sake, that you will bear such your  
favour unto this bearer, Tho. H. my servant, as thereby he  
may the rather bring to pass such his business and affairs,  
as at this time he hath to do in your parties; and for the  
same I will be ready at any time to show you like pleasure  
accordingly.

Harl. MSS.  
6148. fol.  
49.

—————  
CXXXIX. To —————

I commend me unto you. And where certain of your  
parochians were lately afore me at Knoll for certain  
crimes and causes, as ye do know, and to some of them  
I have enjoined certain penance, as by a book enclosed  
within these my letters you shall at large perceive; I there-  
fore will and require you, that upon Sunday, which shall be  
the last day of February<sup>\*</sup>, ye see that the said persons do  
their penance penitently, according to the purport of the  
said book, and that you certify me duly thereof by this  
bearer my servant, of whom ye shall receive a monition for  
all such persons as can and will gainsay to the purgation of  
John Manyng, assigned to be made according to the con-  
tents of the said monition. Wherein [and] in all other the  
premises, I will that you do your diligent endeavour as shall  
beseem you. [1535.]

Harl. MSS.  
6148. fol.  
49. b.  
Christ.  
Remem-  
brancer.  
Nov. 1820.

<sup>\*</sup> [Sunday fell on the last day of February in 1535, which may there-  
fore be assumed to be the year in which this Letter was written. Nico-  
las, *Notitia Historica*.]

## CXL. To CRUMWELL.

MSS. Chapter House, Westminster; Crumwell's Correspondence. *Original.*  
 Harl. MSS. 6148. fol. 49. b.  
 Right Worshipful Master Secretary, I commend me heartily to you. And where for the honesty and good service of my servant Thomas Barthelet <sup>y</sup>, I do tender his preferment, and cannot, as I would gladly, do for him unless he were disposed to be a secular, which, as I perceive, he intendeth not; I therefore minding to do for him otherwise by my friends as I may, being also now, as often times heretofore, bold upon you, to desire you to supply my necessities when I cannot compass the same myself, do by these my letters commend and present him unto you, with no less good heart and mind than ye presented him unto me, praying you heartily to accept him to your service at my hand, and for my sake to set him to such beneficial exercise as ye shall think meet for him, as he and his may pray for you: wherein I trust he shall do such service as shall always be acceptable and to the contentation of your mind. And how ye shall be minded herein, I pray you to declare to the bearer hereof. From Knoll, the first day of March.

Your own ever assured,  
 Thomas Cantuar.

To the Right Worshipful and my very  
 loving friend Master Secretary to the  
 King's Highness.

## CXLI. To CRUMWELL.

MSS. Chapter House, Westminster; Crumwell's Correspondence. *Original.*  
 Right Worshipful Master Secretary, in most hearty wise I commend me unto you. And as I understand ye have sent for Dr. Benger<sup>z</sup> of Wingham, so it is, that yesterday, the 13th day of March, I received a letter from my brother,

<sup>y</sup> [See Letter LXXIX.]

<sup>z</sup> [Probably the same person who was afterwards sent to the Tower under the Act of the Six Articles. Burnet, *Ref.* vol. iii. p. 289.]

the Archdeacon of Canterbury <sup>a</sup>, concerning the said Doctor Benger, which I thought expedient to send unto you with speed : the words of the letter were these :

“ Upon St. Matthew’s even last past, the said Doctor Benger being at my table, affirmed the authority of the Bishop of Rome ; and after many arguments and reasons he said, ‘ These new laws may be suffered for a season, ‘ but in time to come, it will cost broken heads, and set ‘ men together by the ears ;’ and then I said, ‘ Master ‘ Doctor, take heed what you say, for I am sworn to the ‘ King’s Grace, and neither may nor will conceal any thing ‘ contrary to his Majesty,’ who answered again, and said, ‘ I mean not here, but somewhere else out of this realm.’ ”

These words the Archdeacon writeth, but who was else present and heard the same he writeth not, wherefore I have sent unto him for the whole process of their communication to be sent in writing, with the seals of them that were present <sup>b</sup>.

This day my lord of Wilshire, my lord of Burgavenny, and my lord Cobham, were with me at Knoll, to counsel together of the King’s commissions concerning the subsidy <sup>c</sup>, directed unto us with many other, and we have appointed the Tuesday after Palm Sunday for all the commissioners to meet at Madeston, at 9 of the clock in the morning. And forasmuch as the same persons be in another commission, concerning the valuation of the tenth and first fruits of the clergy, except viii that be altered, I have therefore sent for those viii to be also at Maideston the same time appointed, that under one journey we may finish two

<sup>a</sup> [Edmund Cranmer, Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Provost of Wingham. See Letter LXXVI. note.]

<sup>b</sup> [The depositions of these persons are still preserved in the Chapter House. They confirm the Archdeacon’s statement, and moreover assert Dr. Benger to have declared, “ that by what authority we denied “ the Pope, by the same authority he would deny the Scripture, and say “ that Christ is not yet born : saying that he would abide by the same.”]

<sup>c</sup> [The Act for the subsidy, (26 Hen. VIII. c. 19,) and the Act for the valuation of the tenths, &c. (26 Hen. VIII. c. 3.) were both passed in the session which began the 3d of Nov. 1534. See *Statutes of the Realm*; Burn. *Ref.* vol. i. p. 320; Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 211.]

labours ; and because that ye be in both the commissions, I pray you that I may know your pleasure, whether ye will be there, as I suppose ye cannot, or else, if you have any thing to advertise us of, that you would have done there. Thus our Lord preserve you. At Knoll, the 14th day of March. [1535.]

Your own assured ever,  
Thomas Cantuar.

To the Right Worshipful and my very  
special friend Master Secretary.

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CXLII. To ———

Harl. MSS. 6148. f. 50. Sister, in my right hearty wise I commend me unto you : signifying to you, that I have appointed one Mistress Creke<sup>d</sup> to come to you within these iii or iiii days, late wife unto one of my servants deceased. And forasmuch as she was left very bare, and in great necessity and need, void now of all aid, succour, and friendship, and also hitherto brought up both wealthily and after an honest sort and manner, and so the rather unmeet either to serve or labour for her living, I am minded to see her to have both an honest living, and honestly bestowed ; wherefore I require you, that with all favour you will entreat and entertain her when she shall resort unto you, and I myself will see you contented for her board. Over this, you must be content to forbear your chaplain Mr. Rix. My lord of Wilteshere, notwithstanding my many persuasions to the contrary, is so importunate for him, that he will not have no nay ; inso-much that his mind is, that he come tomorrow sennight, which is Tuesday, unto Maideston, and so thence to depart with him home for altogethers. I pray you therefore that you will discharge him against the same day, so that he shall not need to rejourney again to you.

<sup>d</sup> [Probably the widow of Cranmer's servant John Creke. See Letters xviii. xxxvii. lxxvi. lxxx.]

## CXLIH. To MR. Rix.

I commend me to you. These be to signify to you, that <sup>Harl. MSS.</sup> my lord of Wilteshere is fully determined, notwithstanding <sup>6148.</sup> any manner suit or insinuation to the contrary, to have <sup>fol. 50. b.</sup> you abide with him in his household; insomuch, that he willed me on Passion Sunday last to send you word, that you fail not to meet with him at Madstone on Tuesday come sennight, from whence you must depart with him; and therefore against that time see that you be in such a readiness, as you need not to rejourney again, but to accomplish his mind and pleasure with all your endeavour accordingly.

## CXLIV. To CRUMWELL.

Right Worshipful, in my most hearty wise I commend <sup>MSS.</sup> me to you. And whereas I am informed, that upon suit <sup>Chapter House,</sup> to you made, you have of late directed your letters to the <sup>Westmin-</sup> Master and Fellows of Jesus College<sup>c</sup> of Cambridge, mov- <sup>ster; Crum-</sup> ing them, forasmuch as you were informed that certain se- <sup>well's Cor-</sup> ditious persons should trouble the quiet possession of a <sup>respond-</sup> farmer of theirs, lately having interest in a certain farm be- <sup>ence. Ori-</sup> longing to the said College, to signify to you their names, to the intent you might see a reformation in that behalf; I most heartily require you, that in this matter you will suspend your judgment, and repel all manner information and suit made to you herein, until such time that I myself shall farther commune with you for the same; which, God willing, I intend shall be shortly, as well to have communication with you of St. Stephen's, as also to do my duty to the King's Highness and the Queen, whom of long I have not seen. Thus our Lord long preserve you in health. At Otteforde, the 6th day of April.

Your own ever assured,  
Thomas Cantuar.

To my singular and especial good  
friend Master Secretary.

<sup>c</sup> [See Letter xvi.]



## CXLV. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-  
respond-  
ence. *Or-  
iginal.*

Right Worshipful, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto you. And whereas I understand, that amongst other persons attainted of high treason, the<sup>f</sup> Prior of Axholme, named Webster, and Master Raynold of Syon, be judged according to the law, for offending against the late Act<sup>s</sup> of Parliament made for the suppressing of the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome; surely I do much marvel of them both, specially of Mr. Raynold, having such sight in Scriptures and Doctors, and also of the other, which promised me that he would never meddle for the defence of that opinion; much pitying me that such men should suffer with so ignorant judgments, and if there be none other offence laid against them than this one, it will be much more for the conversion of all the fauters hereof, after mine opinion, that their consciences may be clearly averted from the same by communication of sincere doctrine, and so they to publish it likewise to the world, than by the justice of the law to suffer in such ignorance. And if it would please

<sup>f</sup> [Augustine Webster, Prior of the Charter House in the Isle of Axholme, Richard Raynold, a monk of Sion, John Houghton, Prior of the Charter House London, Robert Lawrence, Prior of Beauvale, and John Haile, Vicar of Thistleworth, were all condemned for treason on the 29th of April 1535. The jury, it is said, were unwilling to bring in such holy persons guilty as malefactors, and at last did not give their verdict, till they were overawed by the threats of Crumwell in person. After this interference it is not to be wondered at, that the intercession of Cranmer was disregarded. All the five were executed at Tyburn on the 4th of May. Houghton and Raynold in particular, "were of celebrated fame for their piety: of the former, Crumwell "himself in the Chapter house of his Convent said before a great "many, that he was a just and holy man." Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 197, who gives an affecting account of their sufferings from *Hist. Mart. Angl.* See also Stow, *Annals*; Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. p. 704.]

\* [The Statute 28 Hen. VIII. c. 10. for "the extirpation of the Bishop of Rome's authority" was not passed till 1536. The Act therefore to which Cranmer here alludes must be 26 Hen. VIII. c. 13, "For the expositions of certain treasons;" by which it was made treason to "practise to deprive the King of the dignity, title, "or name of his royal estate." As one of his titles by a former Statute, 26 Hen. VIII. c. 1, was "Supreme Head," all who denied his supremacy were indictable for treason. See *Statutes of the Realm*. The ordinary report among the common people was, that these men had combined together to kill the King. Strype, *Memorials*.]

the King's Highness to send them unto me, I suppose I could do very much with them in this behalf. Now whether this mine advertisement shall make as well for our Sovereign Lord the King's safeguard, and the weal of this his realm, as this justice, I remit it to your discretion and wisdom. Thus our Lord preserve you in health. At Otteforde, the xxx. day of April. [1535.]

Your own ever assured,  
Thomas Cantuar.

To my very singular and especial  
friend Master Secretary.

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CXLVI. To CRUMWELL.

Right Worshipful, in my most hearty wise I commend MSS. me unto you. And whereas I understand by this bearer, Chapter House that you hitherto hath borne unto the same your favour; it Westminister; Crumwell's Correspondence. Original. will like you now, the rather for my sake, both to continue the same, and also to show him your more ample favour in such things as now he hath to do with you, for I suppose the man intendeth well; and in so doing I will be always ready to accomplish your like requests. Thus our Lord preserve you in health. At Otteforde, the 6th day of Maye.

Your own ever assured,  
Thomas Cantuar.

To the Right Worshipful and my  
very singular good friend Master  
Secretary.

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CXLVII. To CRUMWELL.

Right Worshipful, in my most hearty wise I commend Cott. MSS. me unto you: most heartily thanking you, for that you have Cleop. F. 1. fol. 260. signified unto me, by my chaplain Master Champion, the Original. complaint of the Bishop of Winchester unto the King's Highness, in two things concerning my Visitation<sup>b</sup>. The one Burn. Ref. App. vol. iii. b. iii. No. 37.

<sup>b</sup> [See Burnet, *Ref.* vol. iii. p. 200; Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 33.]

Strype,  
*Cronm.*  
App. No.  
xiv.

Lord  
Somers'  
*Tracts*,  
vol. xiv. p.  
352.

is, that in my style I am written, "Totius Angliæ Primas," to the derogation and prejudice of the King's high power and authority, being Supreme Head of the Church. The other is, that his diocese (not past five years ago) was visited by my predecessor, and must from henceforth pay the tenth part of the spiritualties, according to the Act granted in the last session of this Parliament<sup>i</sup>; wherefore he thinketh, that his diocese should not be charged with my Visitation at this time.

First, as concerning my style, wherein I am named "Totius Angliæ Primas," I suppose, that to make his cause good, (which else in deed were naught,) he doth mix it with the King's cause, (as ye know the man lacketh neither learning in the law, neither witty invention, ne craft to set forth his matters to the best) that he might appear not to maintain his own cause, but the King's; against whose Highness, he knoweth right well, that I will maintain no cause, but give place, and lay both my cause and myself at my prince's feet. But to be plain what I think of the Bishop of Winchester, I cannot persuade with my self that he so much tendereth the King's cause as he doth his own, that I should not visit him: and that appeareth by the very time. For if he cast no farther but the defence of the King's Grace's authority, or if he intended that at all, why moved he not the matter, before he received my monition for my Visitation; which was within four miles of Winchester delivered unto him the 24th day of April last, as he came up to the Court? Moreover, I do not a little marvel, why he should now find fault, rather than he did before<sup>k</sup>, when he took the Bishop of Rome as chief head: for though the Bishop of Rome was taken for Supreme Head, notwithstanding that, he had a great number of primates under him; and by having his primates under him, his supreme autho-

<sup>i</sup> [Stat. 26 Hen. VIII. c. 3. See Letter cxli.]

<sup>k</sup> ["The Archbishop of Canterbury's title was in Convocation ordered to be altered: instead of the title of 'legate of the apostolic see,' he was to be designed 'metropolitan, and primate.' This last was one of his ancient titles." Burnet, *Ref.* vol. iii. p. 199. See Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 769, for the proceedings of the Convocation.]

riety was not less esteemed, but much the more. Why then may not the King's Highness, being Supreme Head, have primates under him, without any diminishing, but with the augmenting of his said supreme authority? And of this I doubt not at all, but that the Bishop of Winchester knoweth as well as any man living, that in case this said style or title, had been in any point impediment or hinderance to the Bishop of Rome's usurped authority, it would not have so long been unreformed as it hath been. For I doubt not but all the bishops of England would ever gladly have had the Archbishop's both authority and title taken away, that they might have been equal together; (which well appeareth by the many contentions against the Archbishops for jurisdiction, in the Court of Rome;) which had been easily brought to pass, if the Bishops of Rome had thought the Archbishop's titles and styles to be any derogation to their supreme authority.

All this notwithstanding, if the bishops of this realm pass no more of their names, styles, and titles, than I do of mine, the King's Highness shall soon order the matter between us all. And if I saw that my style were against the King's authority, (whereunto I am specially sworn,) I would sue myself unto his Grace, that I might leave it; and so would have done before this time. For I pray God never be merciful unto me at the general judgment, if I perceive in my heart that I set more by any title, name, or style that I write, than I do by the paring of an apple, farther than it shall be to the setting forth of God's word and will. Yet I will not utterly excuse me herein; for God must be judge, who knoweth the bottom of my heart, and so do not I myself: but I speak forsomuch as I do feel in my heart, for many evil affections lie lurking there, and will not lightly be espied. But yet I would not gladly leave any just thing at the pleasure and suit of the Bishop of Winchester, he being none otherwise affectionate unto me than he is. Even at the beginning first of Christ's profession, Diotrephes desired *gerere primatum in ecclesia*, as saith St. John in his last Epistle: and since, he hath had more successors

than all the Apostles had, of whom have come all these glorious titles, styles, and pomps into the Church. But I would, that I, and all my brethren the bishops, would leave all our styles, and write the style of our offices, calling ourselves "apostolos Jesu Christi:" so that we took not upon us the name vainly, but were so even in deed; so that we might order our diocese in such sort, that neither paper, parchment, lead, nor wax, but the very Christian conversation of the people might be the letters and seals of our offices, as the Corinthians were unto Paul, to whom he said, *Litteræ nostræ et signa apostolatûs nostri vos estis.*

Now for the second. Where the Bishop of Winchester allegeth the visitation of my predecessor, and the tenth part now to be paid to the King; truth it is, that my predecessor visited the diocese of Winchester after the decease of my lord Cardinal, as he did all other dioceses (*sede vacante*); but else I think it was not visited by none of my predecessors this forty years. And notwithstanding that, he himself, not considering their charges at that time, charged them with a new visitation within less than half a year after; and that against all right, as Doctor Incent hath reported to my Chancellor; the clergy at that time<sup>1</sup> paying to the King half of their benefices in five years, which is the tenth part every year, as they paid before, and have paid since, and shall pay still for ever by the last Act. But I am very glad that he hath now some compassion of his diocese, although at that time he had very small, when he did visit them the same year that my predecessor did visit. And also other bishops, whose course is to visit this year, keep their visitation, (where I did visit the last year,) notwithstanding the tenth part to be paid to the King's Grace. Howbeit I do not so in Wynchester diocese; for it is now the third year since that diocese was visited by any man, so that he hath the least cause to com-

<sup>1</sup> [The Convocation of 1533 granted to the King, *mediam partem "valoris omnium fructuum, &c. . . . intra quinque annos levandam."* But the Act contained a protestation, that this grant was new and unusual, occasioned by their special regard for his Majesty, and not to be drawn into a precedent. Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 699.]

plain of any bishop, for it is longer since his diocese was visited than the other. Therefore where he layeth to aggravate the matter, the charges of the late Act granted, it is no more against me, than against all other bishops that do visit this year, nor maketh no more against me this year, than it made against me the last year, and shall do every year hereafter. For if they were true men, in accompting and paying the King's subsidy, they are no more charged by this new Act than they were for the space of ten years past, and shall be charged ever hereafter. And thus to conclude; if my said Lord of Wynchester's objections should be allowed this year, he might by such arguments both disallow all manner visitations that hath be done these ten years past, and that ever shall be done hereafter. Now I pray you, good Master Secretary, of your advice, whether I shall need to write unto the King's Highness herein. And thus our Lord have you ever in his preservation. At Otterforde, the xii. day of May. [1535.]

Your own ever assured,

Thomas Cantuar.

#### CXLVIII. To CRUMWELL.

Master Secretary, in most hearty wise I commend me unto you: and so send unto you here enclosed such thing as were noticed unto me this present Tuesday<sup>m</sup>, which I cannot, observing my fidelity, keep undisclosed. Wherefore I require you to open the same unto the King's Highness, to the intent his Grace's pleasure may be known herein. And as touching Sir John<sup>n</sup>, the parish priest of Wytesham, he is in prison at Maidston, until such time as I shall hear word from you what shall be done in this behalf. Thus our Lord

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-  
respond-  
ence. *Original.*

<sup>m</sup> [The 25th of May 1535, fell on a Tuesday, and thus determines the date of this Letter.]

<sup>n</sup> [John Hastings was Parson of Wyttrisham near Tenterden in 1535. *Valor. Eccles.*]

preserve you in prosperity. At Otteforde, the xxv. day of May. [1535.]

Your assured ever,  
Thomas Cantuar.

To the Right Worshipful and my  
singular good friend Master Se-  
cretary.

### CXLIX. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster ;  
Crumwell's  
Corres-  
pondence.  
*Original.*

Right Worshipful, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto you. And whereas this bearer, Mr. Roode of Grayes Inn, hath a certain suit for title of land depending in the Chancery<sup>o</sup>, wherein he hath divers that beareth against him, I desire you to be so good and favourable unto him at this my request and instance, that he may have right with expedition ; wherein you shall do a right good deed, and have my hearty thanks for the same. Thus our Lord preserve [you]. At Otteforde, the xxvii. day of May.

Your own assured ever,  
Thomas Cantuar.

To my singular and especial friend  
Mr. Secretary.

### CL. To CRUMWELL.

Cott. MSS.  
Cleop.  
E. vi.  
fol. 233. b.  
*Original.*

Right Worshipful Master Secretary, in my right hearty wise I commend me to you. These shall be to advertise you, that this fourth day of June I have received the King's Grace's most honourable letters, bearing date from Grenewiche, the third of the same, concerning such effects as be

<sup>o</sup> [If this Letter is rightly placed in 1535, Crumwell was now Master of the Rolls, having succeeded Dr. Taylor in that office in Oct. 1534. He resigned it on being appointed Lord Privy Seal, the 2nd of July 1536.]

<sup>p</sup> [This appears to be the Letter referred to by Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 186.]

therein expressed, touching the speedy and diligent declaration and setting forth of the King's Grace's title and style of Supreme Head in earth, immediately under God, of the Church of England, at such times and in all such places, as be in the same the King's most honourable letters at length limited and assigned. Wherein I intend (God willing) to satisfy the King's Grace's express commandment in every point to the most of my power, according to my bounden duty, as speedily as I may, praying you to advertise me by this bearer, or otherwise as you shall think good, of your mind and resolution touching such doubts, as the same shall open unto you on my behalf, concerning some of the contents of the King's Grace's said letters. Thus our Lord have you in his tuition. At Lambeth, the ivth day of June. [1535.]

Your assured ever,  
Thomas Cantuarien.

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CLI. TO CRUMWELL.

Right Worshipful, in my right hearty wise I commend MSS. me to you. And so here send unto you as well the priest, Chapter House, Westminster; which in reading of the Act<sup>9</sup> concerning the tenth part of Crumwell's the spirituality, bid vengeance on the King and all those Correspondence. that assented to the making of that Act; as also the woman Original. which said, that since this new Queen was made, there was never so much pilling and polling in this realm, asking vengeance also upon her. Thus fare you well. At Lambeth, the 7th day of June.

Your own assured ever,  
Thomas Cantuar.

To the Right Worshipful and my very  
singular and especial friend Master Secretary.

<sup>9</sup> [The Act meant seems to be Stat. 26. Hen. VIII. c. 3. for giving the first fruits and tenths to the King, which was passed in the Session beginning the 3rd of Nov. 1534. If so, this Letter must have been written in 1535, and not as Mr. Todd places it, in 1534. Todd, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 109.]



## CLII. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster;  
Crumwell's  
Corres-  
pondence.  
*Original.*

Right Worshipful Master Secretary, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto you. And where I have sued unto the King's Highness, and obtained of the same his Grace's letters unto the Mayor of London, in the favour of a servant of mine named James Arnold, for his preferment unto the room of the swordbearership of London, when it shall happen next to be vacant; I most heartily desire you, (insomuch as my said servant hath in the parties beyond the seas, taken great pains, both with me, Mr. Aliote<sup>r</sup>, and with Master Hethe<sup>s</sup> in the King's service) that you will not alonely be good master unto him, in the despatching of the King's Grace's said letters, but also at this my request and instance, to write your favourable letters unto my said Lord Mayor of London<sup>t</sup>, for the better furtherance of his suit. Wherein ye shall not alonely show unto me singular pleasure, but also bind my said servant thereby, to be both at your commandment, and also to pray for your long prosperity. Thus our Lord have you in his preservation. At Otteforde, the last day of June. [1535.]

Your own assured,  
Thomas Cantuar.

To the Right Worshipful and my  
singular good friend Master Se-  
cretary.

<sup>r</sup> [Probably the excellent and learned Sir Thomas Elyot, who was one of the ambassadors to the Pope in 1532. See Letter CLXXV; Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 222, &c.]

<sup>s</sup> [See Letter LXXXIX.]

<sup>t</sup> [See Letter CLXXV; from which it appears that the person applied to was Sir John Champneis, Lord Mayor A. D. 1534. Nothing seems to be recorded of him, excepting that "he builded in his house an high tower of brick, the first that ever I heard of in any private man's house, to overlook his neighbours in this city. But this delight of his eye was punished with blindness some years before his death." Stow, *Survey of London*, pp. 137. 581.]

## CLIII. To CRUMWELL.

Right Worshipful, in most hearty wise I commend me MSS.  
unto you. And forasmuch as at my late request you Chapter  
were content to accept Mr. Newman<sup>u</sup> into your service; I House,  
here send him unto you now, for his further advertisement Westmin-  
of your pleasure in that behalf, not doubting but that you ster;  
shall be sure both to have of him a right honest and faithful Crumwell's  
servant, and also no less diligent service. And therefore I Corres-  
beseech you, and that the rather at this mine instance, to be pence.  
his special good master. Thus heartily fare you well. At Original.  
Lambeth, the 12th day of July.

Your own assured ever,

T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Worshipful and my  
singular good friend Master Secre-  
tary.

## CLIV. To CRUMWELL.

Right Worshipful Master Secretary, most heartily I have MSS.  
me commended unto you: and by this bearer I have sent Chapter  
you herewith enclosed two letters, one superscribed unto my House,  
lord of Wylshire, and the other unto me; which letters I Westmin-  
have sent with expedition unto you, because they concern ster;  
as well you as words of treason unto the King, which trea- Crumwell's  
son I pray you to detect unto the King's Highness, which Corres-  
I am most sure you would do, although I required you to pence.  
the contrary. Moreover I understand the Priory of Wor- Original,  
cester shall be shortly void; which if it so be, I pray you be Holograph.  
good master unto Mr. Holbech<sup>x</sup>, Doctor of Divinity, of the

<sup>u</sup> [See Letters IV. v. LXIV. LXXVIII. It would seem that Crumwell, not having procured for Newman the preferment which he desired, took him into his own service.]

<sup>x</sup> [Henry Holbech, alias Rands, is said by Willis to have been Prior of the Black Canons at Cambridge, and to have succeeded to the Priory of Worcester on the resignation of More, the 13th of March 1536. He became Bishop Suffragan of Bristol, the 24th of March 1538; Dean of

house of Crowlande, or else to Dane Richard Gorton, Bachelor of Divinity, of the house of Burton-upon-Trent. And if the Priorship of Worcester shall not be vacant, yet I pray you be good master unto these two, when you shall find places meet for them; for I know no religious men in Englande of that habit that be of better learning, judgment, conversation, and all qualities meet for an head and master of an house. Thus our Lord have you ever in his preservation. From Oteforth, upon the day of the Assumption of our Lady. [15 Aug. 1535.]

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To mine especial good friend Master  
Secretary unto the King's High-  
ness.

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CLV. TO CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-  
respond-  
ence. *Original.*  
Todd, *Life*  
*of Cran-*  
*mer*, vol. i.  
p. 137.

Right Worshipful, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto you. And whereas among other of the King's dominions, within this his realm, there is no part (in my opinion) that more needeth good instruction of the word of God, or aid of learned curates to be resident, than doth the town and marches of Calice, considering specially, not alonely the great ignorance and blindness as well of the heads now resident there, as of the common and vulgar people, in the doctrine and knowledge of Scripture, but also having respect unto the universal concourse of aliens and strangers, which daily diverteth and resorteth thither, I think that it will no less be a charitable and godly deed than a singular commodity for this realm, to have in those parties at the least two learned persons planted and settled there by the King's authority in some honest living, whose sincerity in conversation of living and teaching, shall shortly

Worcester, the 18th of Jan. 1540; Bishop of Rochester, the 3rd of May 1544; and Bishop of Lincoln, the 9th of August 1547. He was a "true" "favourer of the Gospel, and made much use of in the reforming and "settling of the Church." Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 462.]

(no doubt) clearly extinct and extirpate all manner of hypocrisy, false faith, and blindness of God and his word, wherein now the inhabitants there be altogether wrapt, to the no little slander (I fear me) of this realm, and prejudice of the good and laudable Acts<sup>1</sup> lately conceived by the King's Grace and his high Court of Parliament; which thing to reform lieth much in you, in case you will but move the King's Highness, (forasmuch as the collations of the benefices there belongeth unto his Grace,) to give them as they fall, unto such men as be both able and willing to do God and his Grace acceptable service in discharging of their cures.

In consideration hereof, and inasmuch as I am advertised that the parsonage of St. Peter's besides Calice, is like shortly to be void, and in the King's Grace's disposition, I beseech you either to obtain the same for Master Garret<sup>2</sup>, whose learning and conversation is known to be right good and honest, or else for some other as is so able and willing to discharge the same as he is. Wherein I assure you that you shall accomplish a right meritorious deed before God, and deserve condign thanks hereafter of your prince for promoting of so great a commodity for his realm.

And whereas I am informed, that the Curate of St. Mary's within Calice, intendeth to make suit unto you for the said benefice; I pray you not to regard his suit, for I know that he is nothing meet for that room, specially in this world of reformation.

Over this I beseech you to be good master unto this bearer, Henry Turney, for, as I perceive, his matters be so grievously taken and borne against him, that without your only aid and help he is like to lose his living. Surely I do much marvel of his uncharitable handling, if it be none

<sup>1</sup> [Namely, the various Acts against the authority of the Pope, passed in the Sessions of January and of November 1534. See Letters CXXVIII. CXLV. CL. CLI. Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. p. 291. 318.]

<sup>2</sup> [Thomas Garret or Gerrard, "a forward and busy Lutheran," suffered with Barnes and Jerom under the Act of the Six Articles, at the same time that three papists were executed for denying the King's supremacy. For an interesting account of his troubles in Oxford in 1526, by his friend Anthony Dalaber, see Foxe, *Acts, &c.* vol. ii. p. 522.]

other than it is reported. Wherefore if you can try out the truth, and find him not so culpable as it is pretended, you shall do a right good deed for many considerations to restore him to his room and living again. Thus our Lord have you in his blessed tuition. At Otteforde, the viiith day of October.

<sup>a</sup> I have written to the Queen's Grace to obtain the gift of two the first benefices that shall fall within the marches of Cales. I pray you commune with the Queen's Grace therein, and help thereunto.

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Worshipful and my  
singular good friend Mr. Secretary.

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CLVI. TO CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-  
respond-  
ence. *Original.*

Right Worshipful, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto you. And whereas this bearer informeth me, that you are advertised how that I should complain of him unto the King's Council for his preaching: surely I do not a little marvel that you will think in me such lightness to complain of him, by whom I know no fault. This is true, that when I was at the Court, there were some persons which complained unto me of him, to whom I gave less credence, by cause that afore time I heard good report of him by many honest, sober, and discreet men; which thing made me say these words unto the complainers, 'That for so much as I 'heard divers times so many of both parties, some laud 'and some dispraise him, I could not tell to whom to give 'credence.' And now again, since I came unto Kent, I have had complaints of him by divers, and of them that should seem honest and credible; and nevertheless divers other very honest men and of good judgments, which both heard

<sup>a</sup> [This postscript is in Cranmer's own handwriting.]

and understood him, doth report contrary, testifying that he is nothing culpable of the things laid against him; wherefore the matter standing in this controversy, I am enforced rather to believe them which report well by him than the other; for in mine opinion the other commonly be such persons as little regard the promoting of the Gospel, but be rather papistical and superstitious. I therefore require you, for nothing that either hath been reported unto me of him, or for any thing that the uncertain fame hath conceived without due proof of him, you will thereby withdraw your favour from him: for if you should so do, it should be a great discourage for learned men which favour-eth the truth, to take any pains on them in setting forth the same; whose labours and endeavours were never more need to be had and esteemed than now at this season. Thus our Lord have you in his tuition. At Wyngham, 12. day of October.

Your assured ever,  
T. Cantuarien.

To mine especial and singular friend  
Master Secretary.

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CLVII. To CRUMWELL.

Right Worshipful, in my most hearty wise I commend MSS.  
me unto you. And whereas the priors of Davyngton did Chapter  
hold of the bishops of Canterbury for the time being, House,  
thirty-five acres of wood, parcel of Okenfold wood, and nine- Westmin-  
teen acres of land in Davyngton aforesaid, and eight acres ster; Crum-  
in Tenam, within the County of Kent, which by reason that well's Cor-  
respond-  
ence. Ori-  
ginal.  
the said house is dissolved<sup>a</sup>, ought of right to escheat to  
me, as in the right of the see of Canterbury, as this bearer  
shall declare unto you more at large: I therefore right  
heartily desire you, that the said parcels may not be put ne  
specified within the office to be found for the King, so that  
by your lawful favour in this behalf I may the better come

<sup>b</sup> [See Letter CLX.]

to the trial of my right; wherein you shall bind me to show unto you such pleasure as lieth in me to do accordingly. Thus our Lord have you in his tuition. At Forde, the 17. day of October. [1535.]

Your assured ever,  
T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Worshipful and my  
singular good friend Master Secretary.

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CLVIII. TO CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-  
respond-  
ence. *Ori-  
ginal.*

Right Worshipful Master Secretary, in my right hearty wise I commend me unto you: even so praying you to be good master for my sake unto Doctor Thornidon<sup>c</sup>, Warden of the manors of Christ Church in Canterbury, and to the Cellerar of the same. And first, as touching my suit for the said Warden of the manors; I beseech you heartily that he may continue in the said office, like as you have granted unto the Warden of the manors of St. Swythine in Winchester.

And as concerning the said Cellerar, which I assure you is a right honest man, and of such dexterity and wisdom, as none is like unto him in that house, to whom at your request I gave the office of Cellerarship; I beseech you therefore, at my request, to grant him some liberty<sup>d</sup> to be taken at some times in the said office for continuance of his health; for surely he is corpulent, full of gross humours, and much sickly; and if he should still continue within the house, where is no manner walk at all or good air, his life should not only be abridged, but the said monastery should also lack many commodities, which daily do grow and increase by his policy and wisdom by his provision abroad;

<sup>c</sup> [See Letter cckxiii.]

<sup>d</sup> [It was one of Crumwell's Injunctions given in 1535, "that no monk or brother of the monastery by any means go forth of the precinct of the same." Burn. *Ref. App.* vol. i. b. iii. No. 2.]

for he is the only jewel and housewife of that house<sup>c</sup>. Wherefore, good Mr. Secretary, I beseech you to tender my suit, as well concerning the Doctor as the said Cellerar, as I may deserve it unto you. And thus fare ye heartily well. At Forde, the 26th day of October.

Your own assured ever,

T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Worshipful and my singular friend Master Crumwell.

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CLIX. To CRUMWELL.

Right Worshipful, in my right hearty wise I commend MSS. me unto you. These shall be to desire you to be good <sup>Chapter</sup> master unto this bearer, Henry Turney<sup>f</sup>. For notwithstanding your other two favourable letters in his behalf, he <sup>House,</sup> is never the better regarded; wherefore if you be not other- <sup>Westmin-</sup> wise his only aid and help, so that he may by your means <sup>ster; Crum-</sup> obtain the King's Grace's letters according to the tenor <sup>well's Cor-</sup> herein enclosed, or in such like manner, he is like to be ut- <sup>respond-</sup> terly cast away; which for many considerations in mine opi- <sup>ence. Ori-</sup>

<sup>c</sup> ["Of the Hall and the provision for the same, and the ordering thereof, the chief care and oversight was entrusted to the Cellerar, "one of the four great Obedientiarii or officers of the monastery; the "Sacrista, Camerarius, and Thesaurarius being the other three. . . . . "The Cellerar, no doubt, was a great man in the college. . . . . The "office was indeed so exceeding great and troublesome, that, like as the "Prior had his Sub-prior, . . . . so had the Cellerar his Sub-cellera- "rius to assist him and bear a share with him, (and surely need "enough,) in the managing of this burthensome office and weighty pro- "vince. He had a large part of principal housing allotted him, all "contiguous to the Convent-hall and kitchen, (the sphere wherein "he chiefly moved,) namely, his hall and lodgings as they were called. "His hall, that which is now the Archbishop's for the keeping of his "temporal courts. His lodgings lay on the west side of the cloister, "into which it had a double door, having in the windows the name, "coat of arms, and Rebus or name device of Rich. Dering the Monk, "one of them that conspired with the Holy Maid of Kent in Henry "VIII's days, and saluted Tyburn for his pains, who in his time was "Cellerar to the Church." Somner, *Antiq. of Canterbury*. John Cross was Cellerar at the dissolution.]

<sup>f</sup> [See Letter c.l.v. p. 145.]



nion would (specially in this corrupt world) be no good precedent in setting forth of the truth. I therefore pray you to continue good master unto him as you have hitherto done, wherein you shall do a charitable deed worthy to be rewarded of God; who preserve you in long health. At Dover, the 27 day of October.

Your assured ever,

T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Worshipful and my singular good friend Mr. Secretary.

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CLX. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-  
respond-  
ence. *Original.*

After most hearty commendations: this shall be to advertise you, that lately I received a letter from you, whereby I understand that you have been advertised, that I, pretending title to certain woods in Okenfold and to certain lands in Denham lately belonging to the house of  $\S$  Davyngton, and my  $^h$  brother in like manner to the benefice sometime impropriated to the same, have lately by our friends and servants stayed the verdict that should have been given by the inquest charged for the King upon the same.

First as touching my brother; of whomsoever you had the same information, it is utterly untrue; for he stayed no verdict that should<sup>i</sup> [have been] given for the King by the inquest, nor yet made [claim] unto any tithes to the inquest; but he said to Antony Ager your servant privately, that he thought it was his right to have the tithes, and desired him to inform you of the truth. Never-

$\S$  [Davyngton or Daunton, a Benedictine nunnery near Feversham, was deserted from the poverty of the house, and escheated to the crown "tanquam locus profanus et dissolutus," 27 Hen. VIII. i. e. between April 1535 and April 1536. This Letter therefore was written in Nov. 1535. The priory with its property was granted 35 Hen. VIII. to Sir Thomas Cheney. Hasted, *History of Kent*, vol. ii. p. 726. See Letter CLVII.]

$^h$  [Edmund Cranmer, Archdeacon of Canterbury and Provost of Wingham. Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 24.]

<sup>i</sup> [This and some other parts of the Letter are torn.]

theless, Antony Ager carried the tithes away, without any let or interruption on my brother's behalf. Notwithstanding, my brother trusteth that you will be so good unto him as to suffer him to have the tithes, if it be his right, according to the tenor of your letter.

And as touching mine own self, I never went about to stay the verdict, but would have been as glad that the quest should have passed according to their consciences, as they would themselves. Only, being informed by every man that I heard speak, which were of learning and experience, that I had a just title, I made my claim, and caused the quest to be informed of my title, neither staying the true verdict, (as you were informed,) nor by any means procuring that the quest should otherwise do than their consciences should judge right. And where you do write unto me very friendly, that you would be sorry it should come to the King's Highness's knowledge that I should weigh in any matter against him, I would you saw the very bottom of my heart herein; for I trust that I have so conceived justice into my heart, that I shall not for so small a matter, nor yet for any other worldly thing, be it never so great, weigh in any wise contrary to right against the poorest subject within the King's Highness's realm. And I am assured the King's Grace's mind is, not to do wrong unto any subject he hath; and if I knew that it were his Grace's pleasure to have my title in the said lands, I would be more desirous to give it unto his Highness, than he can be to have it. But for so much as I know not but his Grace would that I should have it, if my title be good, I must needs make my claim and declare my title; else I must lose it, be it never so just.

The <sup>j</sup>Bishop of Worcester lately wrote unto me in your name, that I looked upon the King's business through my fingers, doing nothing in that matter wherefore we were sent for unto <sup>k</sup>Winchester; and I marvel not that you do so

<sup>j</sup> [Hugh Latymer, consecrated in Sept. 1535.]

<sup>k</sup> ["The King resolving to vindicate his own right of supremacy against the encroachments of popes in his dominions, (especially now

think, which knoweth not what I have done. For first, the day before we took our leave of the King's Highness to depart home, I drew certain articles touching the Bishop of Rome, to give only occasion unto preachers that had no great exercise in that matter, what they might say, and what titles they might study for to declare. They that have excellent learning cannot lack matter abundant of their own inventions; but such as be of mean learning, have need of some matter to be ministered unto them, whereof they may take occasion to search their books. There is not one article of those which I have drawn [but would supp]editate sufficient occasion for a whole sermon, and some of them . . . will minister matter sufficient for four or five sermons, if that [they] be searched to the bottom. Moreover at the same day I wrote certain doubts to be moved in the Council; and because the Council sat no more before our departure, my labour therein came to none effect, saving that I delivered a copy of my articles to certain of the bishops that were then present, thinking it good that they should procure them to be preached within their dioceses; which I, with all my chaplains, be doing here in my diocese with all diligence: a copy of the which, as well articles as doubts, I have herewith sent unto you, to the intent that if you think it good, you may add other and take away what you please, or else make other articles all new, so that when they shall be devised exactly and with all diligence, you may cause them to be sent into every diocese, to be preached throughout all the whole realm. And when the articles shall be with all deliberation absolved, if they were then read once or more every quarter in every parish church throughout the realm by the bishop's authority, I think it should do as much good to persuade the people as many sermons.

"the Parliament had restored it to him,) being at Winchester, sent for "his bishops thither about Michaelmas, ordering them to go down to "their respective dioceses, and there in their own persons to preach "up the regal authority, and to explain to the people the reason of excluding the Pope from all jurisdiction in these realms." Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 30. Cranmer gives an account of his own preaching on this subject, in Letter CLXXI.]

Thus fare you well, good Mr. Secretary ; and where at our last being together you willed me to prove your friendship towards me, which I never doubted of, yet I heartily pray you to declare part of it in my friend Hutton, for whom whatsoever you shall do, I shall impute it done unto myself. I would no more desire, but that he were so well acquainted with you as he is with me, and that you knew him as I do. Again fare you well, and Almighty God long preserve you to his gospel, and the wealth of our prince and his realm. At Ford, the 2d day of November. [1535.]

Your own ever assured,

T. Cantuarien.

Read further.

<sup>m</sup> I thank you heartily for that you be so good master unto <sup>n</sup> Dr. Peter, as I am informed that you be. I was fully minded that he should have been the Dean of mine Arches, which yet he shall have, if you think it good, and that he may therewith serve you in that room whereunto you have appointed him. Herein I pray you that I may be advertised of your mind by this bearer ; for if it be your pleasure, I shall make him Dean before the next term. I know no man so meet for it.

To the Right Worshipful and my  
singular friend Master Secretary.

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### CLXI. To CRUMWELL.

Right Worshipful, in my most hearty wise I commend <sup>MSS.</sup> me unto you. And albeit, that many times heretofore I <sup>Chapter</sup> have been fully purposed and minded, most effectually and <sup>House,</sup> earnestly to write unto you in the favour of this bearer, my <sup>Westmin-</sup>

<sup>m</sup> [This postscript is in Cranmer's own handwriting.]

<sup>n</sup> [Dr. afterwards Sir William Petre, who managed to continue in power under Henry VIII, Edward VI, Lady Jane Grey, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, was appointed by Crumwell one of the visitors of monasteries in Oct. 1535. Strype, *Cranmer* ; Holinshed. See Letter ccli.]

ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-  
respond-  
ence. Ori-  
ginal.

friend Sir John Markeham, touching his business and suits now depending before my Lord Chancellor; yet inasmuch as he hath always testified unto me that you were much better unto him than he could wish or desire, I have deferred the same hitherto, right heartily desiring and praying you, as you have always been his special good master and friend, so you will, the rather at this my request, continue, and specially now touching this his suit before my Lord Chancellor, so that by your favourable word he may be the more indifferently heard, and have the sooner an end in the same; for I assure you he is the gentleman, whom, amongs all other, I never knew none that hath ordered himself so uprightly in quietness amongs his neighbours within his country, as he hath ever done, or that is universally better beloved, saving that he is only hated of him whom no man can favour or love. I therefore eftsoons beseech you to help that he be discharged of this his unquiet vexation and trouble, none other ways but as it shall seem to you just so to do; wherein you shall not alonely show unto me no small pleasure, but also be sure to do for a right honest gentleman. Thus our Lord preserve you. At Forde, the iii. day of November.

° I have known the good conversation and indifferency of Sir John Markam in his country above 30 years, and that causeth me the bolder to write in his favour, for else I love not to intermeddle myself in other men's causes. Also Sir William Merynge hath desired me to write unto you in his favour, whose letter<sup>p</sup> I have sent unto you, commending his

° [This postscript was written by Cranmer himself.]

<sup>p</sup> [Sir W. Merynge's letter is subjoined.

“Most Reverend and Honourable Father in God and my most singular good Lord, in my most humble and lowliest manner I recommend me unto your good lordship: most humbly beseeching your Grace to be good and gracious lord to me now; for so it is, that my lord the Bishop of Lincoln [John Longland] and his ungracious servant Foster, his bailly of Newarke, hath delivered me a subpœna, to appear in the Chancery quindena Michelis next coming, upon pain of an cl<sup>l</sup>.; and God knoweth, if I should lose all the land and goods that I have in the world, I may neither ride nor go but with two staves like two crutches; and farther do I not labour, but in my poor house

cause also unto you, for I know his impotency this five or six years. Meseemeth it is a strange thing that the King's justices of peace should be handled as the adversaries of these men pretend, unless some manifest and evident cause were against them. I am informed that the baily of Newarke boasteth, that Sir John Markam shall be committed unto ward before he make his answer.

Your assured ever,  
T. Cantuarien.

To mine especial good friend Master  
Secretary this be delivered.

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CLXII. To CRUMWELL.

Right Worshipful, in my most hearty wise I commend me <sup>MSS.</sup> unto you. These shall be to signify unto you, that at my <sup>Chapter House,</sup> being at Christ's Church in Canterbury this last week, I <sup>Westminster;</sup> was at Crumwell's  
 "to my chapel and to my garden; and when I go in my waggon to Crumwell's  
 "Newarke to do my duty in serving the King's Most Noble Grace at Corres-  
 "his Sessions there; and God He knoweth what pain that is to me. I <sup>pendence.</sup>  
 "suppose, of my conscience, no poor wretch in this world doth labour <sup>Original.</sup>  
 "with such pain as I do; and now to have a subpoena, to answer unto  
 "such matters as I never offended in, nor never gave cause unto the  
 "Bishop of Lincoln, nor unto Foster his baily, nor never did them any  
 "manner of displeasure, but that I did my duty in serving the King's  
 "Most Noble Grace at his Sessions, without that ever I did or caused  
 "thing to be done there contrary to the King's laws; and that if I  
 "should die this hour, I would take it death as I would answer before  
 "God. Thus my own most singular good lord, I beseech your lord-  
 "ship to be good and gracious lord to me, and to show my Lord Chan-  
 "cellor and Master Secretary what case I am in, and to require them to  
 "be good lord and master to me, and to the poor town of Newarke,  
 "which without your and their good lordships and mastership the  
 "poor town of Newarke is and shall be utterly destroyed and undone  
 "for ever; for such bribery and such polling as is there, is not within any  
 "town in England this day. And if they can prove that ever I did to  
 "Foster, or caused to be done, contrary to the King's laws, then let me  
 "be punished to the example of all others. Thus I can no more, but  
 "to my little power I am and ever shall be during my life natural your  
 "true beadman, as knoweth the Holy Trinity, who ever preserve your  
 "good lordship: From Morynge, the 6th day of October, by the hand  
 "of your old beadman, William Morynge.  
 "To his most Reverend and Honourable Father  
 "in God, and my most singular good lord,  
 "my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's good  
 "Grace."]

was desired to interpretate one article of the late Injunctions, giving in the King's Grace's Visitation, which concerneth the dimission, as well of such as were professed under twenty years of age, as also other that be now under twenty-four. And although the words be so plain, that in mine opinion there needeth no interpretation, yet forasmuch as doubts be made therein, I will not take upon me to make any exposition herein but such as you shall make, by whose authority the Injunctions were given.

The article is this<sup>9</sup>: “Item, quod nullus deinceps permittatur profiteri regularem observantiam, aut vestem suscipere religionis per confratres hujus domus gestari solitam, nisi vicesimum suæ ætatis annum compleverit. Et si qui jam sub vicesimo anno completo in veste hujusmodi infra hanc domum jam inducti sunt, et si qui alii sub vicesimo quarto anno existentes discedere velint, illam quam primum se exuant. Et magister hujus domus suo sumptu vestibus secularibus et honestis ad præsens ornet, et ad amicos suos chariores cum viaticis competentibus transmitendos curet.”

The first doubt is this, whether such persons only shall be dismissed of their religion as were professed under twenty years of age, and be now under twenty-four, or else both they that be now under twenty-four, though they were professed after twenty, and also they that were professed under twenty, though they be now above twenty-four. The second doubt is, where the Prior is commanded to apparel those that shall be dismissed in secular habits, and to send them unto their chief friends upon his proper costs and charges; whether he shall take from them their wages, and such money and stuff as they have given them by their

<sup>9</sup> [This article does not appear in the Injunctions to Monasteries printed by Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. b. iii. No. 2, from the Cotton Library. The following is the only direction which is there given on this point. “Also, that no man be suffered to profess, or to wear the habit of religion in this house, ere he be twenty-four years of age complete; and that they entice nor allure no man with suasions and blandishments to take the religion upon him.” But there is a provision at the end of the document, for adding “other spiritual injunctions, as the place and nature of the comperts shall require.”]

friends, or spared of their wages, or that he shall take all manner of things from them, and send them to their friends with only their apparel and necessary expenses. Whatsoever interpretation you shall give hereunto, I shall see it put in execution, desiring you that I may be certified of your mind by this bearer. Thus our Lord preserve you in health. At Canterbury, the 18th day of November. [1535.]

Your assured ever,  
T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Worshipful and my  
special friend Master Secretary.

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CLXIII. To CRUMWELL.

After most hearty commendations: this shall be to signify MSS.  
unto you, that my servant Kylligrew showed me that your <sup>Chapter</sup>  
mind was, I should send unto you one of my servants whom <sup>House,</sup>  
I trusted as myself, by whom you might communicate unto <sup>Westmin-</sup>  
me your mind in certain things which you have to say unto <sup>ster;</sup>  
me. And to satisfy your mind herein I have sent unto you <sup>Crumwell's</sup>  
my chaplain Master Champion<sup>r</sup>, who hath a head able to <sup>Corres-</sup>  
receive all that you put into it, and he is of that trust, that <sup>poudence.</sup>  
whatsoever you shall say unto him, you may impute it said <sup>Original,</sup>  
only unto myself. By him also I have sent letters to be <sup>Holo-</sup>  
delivered unto the King's Highness by you or by him, as you <sup>graph.</sup>  
shall think good. Thus Almighty God have you alway in  
his preservation. From Forde, the 22nd day of November.

Your assured ever,  
T. Cantuarien.

To mine especial good friend Master  
Crumwell, chief Secretary unto  
the King's Highness.

\* [See respecting Champion, Letters cXLVII. CLXVII. CCXXVIII, note. CCXXXIX. But nothing can prove the high place which he held in the Archbishop's esteem more thoroughly than the expressions here applied to him. On the foundation of the new Chapter at Canterbury, in April 1542, he became one of the first prebendaries, but died shortly afterwards. At his burial, "Rafe, the bell-ringer of Christ Church, poured hot coals on him in his grave, to the great slander of the said Dr. Champion, as though he had been an heretic worthy burning." Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 102. *Le Neve, Fasti.*]



## CLXIV. TO CRUMWELL.

Cott. MSS.  
Vespasian,  
F. xliii.  
fol. 79. b.

Right Worshipful, in my right hearty manner I commend me unto you: likewise thanking you for the good favour which ye bear to this bearer Doctor Mallet<sup>s</sup>, my chaplain, declaring your benevolence to him in his preferment unto the Mastership of Mychel House<sup>t</sup> in Cambridge, for the which your goodness, as I well perceive, he is right sorry that he is not of ability payrtly to recompense the same; howbeit I beseech you therein to accept his good mind and heart, which I know he beareth to you unfeignedly, reknowledging thankfully your favourable mind declared effectuously to his preferment.

And where it is appointed by the King's Grace's Visitation<sup>u</sup>, that he should bring up to you or yours all manner statutes, muniments, and writings, that appertaineth unto his College and to the foundation thereof, before Candlemas next, I pray you, inasmuch as I have occupied him here in preaching within my diocese all this quarter last past, and have appointed him to preach at Paul's Cross the Sunday immediately before Candlemas, that you will give him liberty

<sup>s</sup> [Francis Mallet succeeded Nicholas Wilson as Master of Michael House in 1533. He was Vice Chancellor in 1536 and 1540. He is said by Fuller to be the same Dr. Mallet, who as chaplain to the Princess Mary was imprisoned for saying mass under Edward VI, and was afterwards preferred by her to the Deanery of Lincoln. Respecting his subscription to the Articles of 1562, see Strype, *Annals*, vol. i; and Lamb, *Historical Account of the XXXIX. Articles*, p. 21.]

<sup>t</sup> [In 1546, Hen. VIII. "seized Michael House into his hands; and "King's Hall, the best landed foundation in the University; also he "took Fistewick's Hostle, an house unendowed. Of these three he "compounded one fair college, dedicating it to the holy and undivided "Trinity, and endowing it with plentiful revenues." Fuller, *History of Cambridge*.]

<sup>u</sup> [Dr. Legh, as deputy to Crumwell, visited Cambridge the 22nd of Oct. 1535. "In obedience to his injunctions, the whole University before Candlemas Day next ensuing, surrendered to the King all their "charters, donations, statutes, popes' bulls, and papistical muniments, "with an exact rental of their lands, and inventory of their goods. The "Vice Chancellor and Senior Proctor went up to London and delivered them to Secretary Crumwell, Chancellor of the University." In his custody "they slept well nigh a whole year," when "it was thought "fit to restore them again, without the loss of a shoe-latchet." Fuller, *Hist. of Cambridge*.]

till a fortnight after Candlemas day. And by that time he shall be ready to accomplish his injunction in that behalf. Over this, I heartily desire you to be so good unto him, as to hear him and favour his reasonable request, in a matter concerning not only his College but also the quietness of the whole University; which thing if you stay not, he fears shall turn both to the hinderance of that good order which he hath already set in his own House, and also to the disquietness of the University. Thus heartily fare ye well. At Knolle, the xviiiith day of Januarii. [1536.]

Your own assured ever,  
T. Cantuarien.

#### CLXV. TO KING HENRY VIII.

Please it your most noble Grace to be advertised, that upon *MSS.* Friday last passed, one called John Millis of Chevenyng, *Chapter House,* opened a book in the church, wherein he found this schedule *Westminster.* which I send now unto your Grace herein enclosed, in the *Original.* which is written “Rex tanquam tyrannus opprimit populum suum.” Then the said John Milles called two or three of his neighbours unto him, and consulted whose hand the said writing should be of, but they could not divine who did write it; howbeit they suspect one Sir Thomas Baschurch<sup>x</sup>, priest, sometime secretary unto the Bishop of Canterbury my predecessor, whom I suppose your Grace doth know. This same day in the morning, the said Sir Thomas of his own mind came unto the foresaid John Myles, and confessed the same schedule to be of his making and writing.

Here I have showed unto your Grace the said Sir Thomas' fact and his confession, according as by mine allegiance and oath I am bounden. If it please the same to hear also some of his qualities, I shall inform your Grace, partly as I know, and partly as I am informed.

At April next coming it shall be three years since the said Sir Thomas fell into despair, and thereby into a sick-

<sup>x</sup> [See Letter xxxvii.]

ness, so that he was in peril of death. Of his sickness within a quarter of a year after he recovered, but of his despair he never yet recovered, but saith he is assured that he shall be perpetually damned. My chaplains and divers other learned men have reasoned with him, but no man can bring him in other opinion, but that he, like unto Esau, was created unto damnation; and hath divers times and sundry ways attempted to kill himself, but by diligent looking unto he hath hitherto been preserved<sup>y</sup>. A little before Christmas last, as I am credibly informed by honest men of the same parish, a priest deceived him of twenty nobles, and ever since he hath been much worse than ever he was before; so that upon St. Thomas' Day in Christmas he had almost hanged himself with his own tippet, and said to certain persons the same day, as soon as high mass was done he would proclaim your Grace a traitor, which nevertheless he did not. And within this ten or twelve days he had almost slain himself with a pen knife. And this same day in the morning when he confessed the foresaid schedule to be made and written by him, John Mylles said unto him, that he supposed your Grace would pardon his offence considering what case he was in. Then he in a rage said, 'If I cannot be rid this way, I shall be rid another way.'

Now have I declared unto your Grace as well the fact, as the state and condition of the said Sir Thomas Baschurch, that your Grace may order him after your most gracious pleasure, whereof I beseech your Grace that I may be ascertained by this bearer my chaplain.

I was purposed this week according to my duties to have waited upon your Grace, but I am so vexed with a catarrh and a rheum in my head, that not only it should be dangerous unto me, but also noisome unto your Grace, by reason of extreme coughing and excretions which I cannot eschew. As soon as I shall be delivered hereof, I shall attend upon your Highness, by the grace of Almighty God;

<sup>y</sup> [Thus far this Letter has been printed by Mr. Todd, *Life of Cranm.* vol. i. p. 200.]

who ever have your most noble Grace in his most blessed tuition and government. From Knoll, the xviith day of January.

Your Grace's most humble  
beadsman and chaplain,  
T. Cantuarien.

CLXVI. To CRUMWELL.

Right Worshipful, in my most hearty wise I commend MSS.  
me unto you. And (as one that is bold many times to trouble Chapter-  
you with suits both for myself and my friends, which natu- House,  
rally, yea and by the law of God, I am bound to do) in my Westmin-  
right heartiest wise desire you to be so good master unto ster; Crum-  
this bearer my brother-in-law<sup>z</sup>, (who is now the clerk of well's Cor-  
my kitchen, and for whom I spake unto you yesterday at the respond-  
Court,) as to get him the farm or lease of the Priory of Shel- ence. Ori-  
forde, or of some other house of religion in Nottinghame- ginal.  
shire, where his native country is, which now are by the  
Act of Parliament suppressed<sup>a</sup>; and he shall find the King's  
Grace sufficient sureties for the payment of the rents and  
revenues thereunto belonging. Thus right heartily fare  
you well. At Lambeth, the 25 day of March. [1536.]

<sup>b</sup> I pray you let not this suit be prejudicial to my servant  
Frauncis Basset, who would gladly be your servant, but  
that I may also continue a suitor unto you for him.

Your own assured ever,  
T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Worshipful Master Se-  
cretary unto the King's Highness.

<sup>z</sup> [Perhaps Harold Rosell, of Radcliffe on Trent, See Letter xli.]

<sup>a</sup> [The Act of Parliament for the suppression of religious houses  
spending two hundred pounds per annum or under, was passed in Fe-  
bruary 1536, (Burn. Ref. vol. i. p. 388.) and was applicable to the Au-  
gustine Priory of Shelford, which possessed property, according to  
Speed, of the annual value of 151 pounds 14 shillings. The site and  
the greatest part of its possessions were granted to Michael Stanhope,  
29 and 31 Hen. VIII. Tanner, *Notitia Monast.*]

<sup>b</sup> [This postscript is in Cranmer's handwriting.]

## CLXVII. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-  
respond-  
ence. *Original.*

Right Worshipful, in my right hearty wise I commend me unto you. These shall be to desire you to give credence unto this bearer Mr. Champion<sup>c</sup>, my chaplain, touching such things as he shall open and declare unto you; and that you will signify unto me by him part of your mind in that behalf. Thus heartily fare you well. At Lambeth, the 29 day of March.

Your own ever assured,

T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable and my  
singular good friend Master Secre-  
tary.

## CLXVIII. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster;  
Crumwell's  
Corres-  
pondence.  
*Original.*  
*Holograph.*

Alas, Master Secretary, you forget Master Smyth<sup>d</sup> of the Exchequer, who is near consumed with thought and pensiveness: even pity moveth me to rue the man (if I could) for his son's sake chiefly, and also for his own. I would give a great part of that I have to help him; and where I cannot myself, I make all my friends for him: so importune I am upon my friends from my friend his cause, I suppose more than I would be for mine own, or ever was: ruth and importunity of my friend maketh me so vehement against mine own nature. I have sent this bearer only to wait upon you until you have an answer of the King, and to put you in continual remembrance, for much business maketh you to forget many things, and yet I wonder that you remember so many things as you do. I was ever hitherto cold, but now I am in a heat with the cause of religion, which goeth all contrary to mine expectation, if it be as the fame goeth; wherein I would wonder fain break my mind unto you,

<sup>c</sup> [See Letter CLXIII.]

<sup>d</sup> [This may perhaps have been John Smith, father of the celebrated Sir Thomas Smith who about this time was distinguishing himself by his lectures on Greek at Cambridge. See Strype, *Life of Smith*.]

and if you please, I will come to such place as you shall appoint for the same purpose. Thus He that made you, ever keep you. From Knol, the 22 day of April.

Your own assured ever,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my very loving friend, Mr. Secretary.

### CLXIX. To KING HENRY VIII<sup>e</sup>.

Pleaseth it your most noble Grace to be advertised, that at your Grace's commandment by Mr. Secretary his letters written in your Grace's name, I came to Lamehith yesterday, and do there remain to know your Grace's further pleasure. And forsomuch as without your Grace's commandment I dare not, contrary to the contents of the said letters, presume to come unto your Grace's presence; nevertheless, of my most bounden duty, I can do no less than most humbly to desire your Grace, by your great wisdom and by the assistance of God's help, somewhat to suppress the deep sorrows of your Grace's heart, and to take all adversities of God's hands both patiently and thankfully.

Cott. MSS.  
Otho. C. x.  
fol. 226.  
*Original.*  
*Holograph.*  
Burnet,  
*Ref.* vol. i.  
p. 402.  
Todd, *Life*  
*of Cran-*  
*mer*, vol. i.  
p. 154.

I cannot deny but your Grace hath great causes many ways of lamentable heaviness; and also, that in the wrongful estimation of the world your Grace's honour of every part is so highly touched, (whether the things that commonly be spoken of be true, or not,) that I remember not that ever Almighty God sent unto your Grace any like occasion to try your Grace's constancy throughout, whether your Highness can be content to take of God's hand as well things displeasing as pleasant. And if He find in your most noble heart such an obedience unto his will, that your

<sup>e</sup> [For the circumstances under which this Letter was written, and for some of the discordant judgments which have been passed on it, see Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. p. 402; Lingard, *Hist. of Engl.* vol. vi. p. 319. 8vo; Turner, *Modern Hist. of Engl.* vol. ii. pp. 436. 442. 8vo; Mackintosh, *Hist. of Engl.* in Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia, vol. ii. p. 194.]

Grace, without murmuration and overmuch heaviness, do accept all adversities, not less thanking Him than when all things succeeded after your Grace's will and pleasure, nor less procuring his glory and honour ; then I suppose your Grace did never thing more acceptable unto Him, since your first governance of this your realm. And moreover, your Grace shall give unto Him occasion to multiply and increase his graces and benefits unto your Highness, as He did unto his most faithful servant Job ; unto whom, after his great calamities and heaviness, for his obedient heart and willing acceptation of God's scourge and rod, *addidit ei Dominus cuncta duplicia*.

And if it be true that is openly reported of the Queen's Grace, if men had a right estimation of things, they should not esteem any part of your Grace's honour to be touched thereby, but her honour only to be clearly disparaged. And I am in such a perplexity, that my mind is clean amazed ; for I never had better opinion in woman, than I had in her ; which maketh me to think, that she should not be culpable. And again, I think your Highness would not have gone so far, except she had surely been culpable. Now I think that your Grace best knoweth, that next unto your Grace I was most bound unto her of all creatures living. Wherefore I most humbly beseech your Grace to suffer me in that, which both God's law, nature, and also her kindness bindeth me unto ; that is, that I may with your Grace's favour wish and pray for her, that she may declare herself inculpable and innocent. And if she be found culpable, considering your Grace's goodness towards her, and from what condition your Grace of your only mere goodness took her and set the crown upon her head ; I repute him not your Grace's faithful servant and subject, nor true unto the realm, that would not desire the offence without mercy to be punished to the example of all other. And as I loved her not a little for the love which I judged her to bear towards God and his Gospel ; so, if she be proved culpable, there is not one that loveth God and his Gospel that ever will favour her, but must hate her above all

other; and the more they favour the Gospel, the more they will hate her; for then there was never creature in our time that so much slandered the Gospel. And God hath sent her this punishment, for that she feignedly hath professed his Gospel in her mouth, and not in heart and deed.

And though she have offended so, that she hath deserved never to be reconciled unto your Grace's favour; yet Almighty God hath manifoldly declared his goodness towards your Grace, and never offended you. But your Grace, I am sure, knowledgeth, that you have offended Him. Wherefore I trust that your Grace will bear no less entire favour unto the truth of the Gospel, than you did before: for so much as your Grace's favour to the Gospel was not led by affection unto her, but by zeal unto the truth. And thus I beseech Almighty God, whose Gospel he hath ordained your Grace to be defender of, ever to preserve your Grace from all evil, and give you at the end the promise of his Gospel. From Lambeth, the third day of May. [1536.]

After I had written this letter unto your Grace, my Lord Chancellor, my Lord of Oxford, my Lord of Sussex, and my Lord Chamberlain of your Grace's house, sent for me to come unto the star-chamber; and there declared unto me such things as your Grace's pleasure was they should make me privy unto. For the which I am most bounden unto your Grace. And what communication we had together, I doubt not but they will make the true report thereof unto your Grace. I am exceeding sorry that such faults can be proved by the Queen, as I heard of their relation. But I am and ever shall be your faithful subject.

Your Grace's most humble subject  
and chaplain,  
T. Cantuariensis.



## CLXX. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.

Chapter  
House,Westmin-  
ster;

Crumwell's

Corres-  
pondence.

Original.

Todd, *Life**of Cran-*  
*mer*, vol. i.

p. 150.

My very singular good Lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto your lordship. And whereas the bearer hereof, Mr. Hambleton<sup>f</sup>, upon no consideration else, as I understand, is put from his lands and possession in Scotland, but for that he favoureth the truth of God's word; and is, besides his birth<sup>g</sup>, a man of right good living and honest conversation, and of gentill<sup>h</sup> behaviour, by whom the word of God in this his exile hath no slander, but is the rather to be had in price and esteemed of other, considering that he so willingly hath borne his adversity: these shall be to desire you, my lord, to be a mediator unto the King's Highness for him, that being of this good judgment, he may have of his Grace some competent living for his degree. Which, in mine opinion, shall not only be a good and an acceptable deed unto God, but also much redound to the King's Grace's honour, so to consider the necessity of a gentleman for God's quarrel; and besides this, your lordship for your part cannot be unrewarded of God for the same. Thus Al-

<sup>f</sup> [This was probably James Hamilton, brother of Patrick Hamilton the first martyr of the reformation in Scotland. Foxe, after giving a detailed account of the execution of Patrick Hamilton at St. Andrew's in 1528, relates farther, that some years afterwards his brother James Hamilton, and his sister Catharine the spouse of the Captain of Dunbar, with some others, "were called to the Abbey Church of "Holyrood House in Edinburgh, by James Hay Bishop of Rosse, in "the presence of King James the Fifth. . . . James Hamilton was "accused as one that maintained the opinion of Master Patrick his "brother. To whom the King gave counsel to depart, and not to "appear, for in case he appeared, he could not help him; because the "bishop had persuaded him that the cause of heresy did in no case "appertain unto him. And so James fled, and was condemned as an "heretic, and all his goods and lands confiscate, and disposed unto "others." Catharine his sister appeared on the scaffold, and supported a long argument with John Spens, a lawyer; but at last the King "called her unto him, and caused her to recant, because she was his "aunt, and she escaped." Foxe, *Acts, &c.* vol. ii. p. 238.]

<sup>g</sup> [This allusion to Mr. Hambleton's birth, agrees well with the supposition that he was the James Hamilton mentioned in the foregoing note, who, as it may be there seen, was nearly related to the King of Scotland.]

<sup>h</sup> [As the meaning of this word is not perfectly expressed either by gentle or genteel, the old orthography has been retained.]

mighty God have your good lordship in his blessed tuition. At Aldington<sup>i</sup> the 9th day of August.

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable and my  
singular good lord, my Lord  
Privy Seal.

### CLXXI. 'To KING HENRY VIII<sup>k</sup>.

Pleaseth it your Grace to be advertised, that where, as Cotton.  
well by your Grace's special letters, dated the third day of <sup>MSS.</sup>  
June<sup>l</sup> in the xxviii<sup>th</sup> year of your Grace's most noble reign, <sup>Cleop. E. vi. f. 232.</sup>  
as also by mouth in Wynchester at Michaelmas last past <sup>Original.</sup> <sup>Holograph.</sup>  
your Grace commanded all the prelates of your realm, that <sup>Strype,</sup>  
they with all acceleration and expedition should do their di- <sup>Cranmer,</sup>  
ligence every one in his diocese, fully to persuade your <sup>App. No. xiii.</sup>  
people of the Bishop of Rome his authority, that it is but a  
false and unjust usurpation, and that your Grace, of very  
right and by God's law, is the supreme head of this Church  
of England, next immediately unto God; I, to accomplish

<sup>i</sup> [Near Ashford in Kent, "where was a seat for the Archbishop, a park, and a chase for deer." Strype, *Cranm.* p. 282. It was included in the great exchange with the King, Nov. 3. 1537. See Letter cxciii. note.]

<sup>k</sup> [Some writers have named 1534 as the date of this letter. Strype (*Cranmer*, p. 32.) and Mr. Todd (*Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 110.) fix 1535. But the Michaelmas mentioned in the first sentence, as might be supposed from the context, and as is proved beyond question by Letter clx, was the Michaelmas of 1535; and the letter therefore must have been written in 1536. There can also be no doubt respecting the time, when the King sent his order to the bishops to preach against the papal supremacy; for this order is here positively stated to have been dated the third of June, 27 Hen. VIII. i. e. 1535. Yet both of the above-named writers, together with Wilkins, have supposed a proclamation of the 9th of June, which refers to it, to have been issued in 1534. Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 168. Todd, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 110. Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 772. This is the more extraordinary, as a document of the 25th of June, of a similar character, printed by Burnet, contains in itself evidence of its date in an allusion to the deaths of Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, who suffered on the 22d of June 1535. See Burnet, *Ref.* vol. iii. p. 188, and Append. book ii. No. 32.]

<sup>l</sup> [See Letter cl.]

<sup>m</sup> [See Letter clx. note (k).]

your Grace's commandment, incontinent upon my return from Wynchester, (knowing that all the country about Otford and Knol, where my most abode was, were sufficiently instructed in those matters already,) came up into these parts of East Kent, only by preaching to persuade the people in the said two articles: and in mine own church at Canterbury, because I was informed that that town in those two points was least persuaded of all my diocese, I preached there two sermons myself; and as it then chanced, Dr. Leighton was present at my first sermon, being then your Grace's visitor<sup>a</sup>. Of whom if it so please your Grace you may hear the report what I preached.

The scope and effect of both my sermons stood in three things. First, I declared that the Bishop of Rome was not God's vicar in earth, as he was taken. And although it is so taught these three or four hundred years, yet it is done by means of the Bishop of Rome, who compelled men by oaths so to teach, to the maintenance of his authority, contrary to God's word. And here I declared by what means and craft the Bishops of Rome obtained such usurped authority.

Second, Because the see of Rome was called " Sancta " Sedes Romana," and the Bishop was called " Sanctissimus Papa;" and men's consciences peradventure could not be quiet to be separated from so holy a place, and from God's most holy vicar; I showed the people, that this thing ought nothing to move them, for it was but a holiness in name; for indeed there was no such holiness at Rome. And hereupon I took occasion to declare his glory, and the pomp of Rome, the covetousness, the unchaste living, and the maintenance of all vices.

Third, I spake against the Bishop of Rome his laws; which he calleth " Divinas Leges" and " Sacros Canones," and makes them equal with God's law. And here I declared that many of the laws were very contrary; and some of

<sup>a</sup> [This again confirms the dates given above; for it was in Oct. 1535, that Leighton was first employed as visitor of monasteries. Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. p. 369.]

them which were good and laudable, yet they were not of such holiness as he would make them ; that is, to be taken as God's laws, or to have remission of sins by observing them. And here I said, that so many of his laws as were good, men ought not to condemn or despise them, and wilfully to break them ; for those that be good your Grace had received as laws of your realm, until such time as others should be made. And therefore as laws of your realm they must be observed, and not contemned.

And here I spake as well of the ceremonies of the Church as of the foresaid laws ; that they ought neither to be rejected or despised, nor yet to be observed with this opinion, that they of themselves make men holy, or that they remit sins. For seeing that our sins be remitted by the death of our Saviour Christ Jesus, I said it was too much injury to Christ, to impute the remission of our sins to any laws or ceremonies of man's making. Nor the laws and ceremonies of the Church at their first making were ordained for that intent. But as the common laws of your Grace's realm be not made to remit sins, nor no man doth observe them for that intent, but for a common commodity, and for a good order and quietness to be observed among your subjects ; even so were the laws and ceremonies first instituted in the Church for a good order, and for remembrances of many good things, but not for remission of our sins. And though it be good to observe them well for that intent they were first ordained ; yet it is not good, but a contumely unto Christ, to observe them with this opinion, that they remit sins ; or that the very bare observation of them in itself is a holiness before God : although they be remembrances of many holy things, or a disposition unto goodness. And even so do the laws of your Grace's realm dispose men unto justice, unto peace, and other true and perfect holiness. Wherefore I did conclude for a general rule, that the people ought to observe them, as they do the laws of your Grace's realm, and with no more opinion of holiness, or remission of sin, than the other common laws of your Grace's realm.

Though my two sermons were long, yet I have written

briefly unto your Highness the sum of them both. And I was informed by sundry reports, that the people were glad that they heard so much as they did ; until such time as the Prior of the Black Friars<sup>o</sup> at Canterbury preached a sermon, as it was thought and reported, clean contrary unto all the three things which I had preached before.

For as touching the first part, which I had preached against the erroneous doctrine of the Bishop of Rome his power ; which error was, that by God's law he should be God's vicar here in earth ; the Prior would not name the Bishop of Rome, but under colour spake generally, that the Church of Christ never erred.

And as touching the second part, where I spake of the vices of the Bishops of Rome ; and thereto the Prior said that he would not slander the Bishops of Rome. And he said openly to me in a good audience, that he knew no vices by none of the Bishops of Rome. And he said also openly, that I preached uncharitably, when I said that these many years I had daily prayed unto God that I might see the power of Rome destroyed ; and that I thanked God that I had now seen it in this realm. And yet in my sermon I declared the cause wherefore I so prayed. For I said, that I perceived the see of Rome work so many things contrary to God's honour and the wealth of this realm, and I saw no hope of amendment so long as that see reigned over us ; and for this cause only I had prayed unto God continually, that we might be separated from that see ; and for no private malice or displeasure that I had either to the Bishop or see of Rome. But this seemed an uncharitable prayer to the Prior, that the power of Rome should be destroyed.

And as for the third part, where I preached against the laws of the Bishop of Rome ; that they ought not to be taken as God's laws, nor to be esteemed so highly as he

<sup>o</sup> [They were called "Dominican, Black, and Preaching Friars : " Preaching, because they were the only preachers of all the friars : " Black, because of their habit, which was a black cope and cowl " over a white coat : Dominican, because St. Dominic was their " founder." Somner, *Antiq. of Cant.*]

would have them ; the Prior, craftily leaving out the name of the Bishop of Rome, preached, that the laws of the Church be equal with God's laws. These things he preached, as it is proved both by sufficient witness and also by his own confession.

I leave the judgment hereof unto your Grace and to your Council, whether this were a defence of the Bishop of Rome, or not. And I only, according to my bounden duty, have reported the truth of the fact. But in mine opinion, if he had spoken nothing else, yet whosoever sayeth, that the Church never erred, maintaineth the Bishop of Rome his power. For if that were not erroneous that was taught of his power, That he is Christ's vicar in earth, and by God's law head of all the world, spiritual and temporal ; and that all people must believe that *de necessitate salutis* ; and that whosoever doeth any thing against the see of Rome is an heretic ; and that he hath authority also in purgatory ; with such other many false things, which were taught in times past to be articles of our faith : if these things were not erroneous, yea, and errors in the faith, then must needs your Grace's laws be erroneous, that pronounce the Bishop of Rome to be of no more power by God's law than other bishops ; and them to be traitors that defend the contrary. This is certain, that whosoever saith that the Church never erred, must either deny that the Church ever taught any such errors of the Bishop of Rome his power, and then they speak against that which all the world knoweth, and all books written of that matter these three or four hundred years do testify ; or else they must say, that the said errors be none errors, but truths. And then it is both treason and heresy.

At my first examination of him, which was before Christmas, he said, that he preached not against me, nor that I had preached any thing amiss. But now he saith, that I preached amiss in very many things, and that he purposely preached against me<sup>P</sup> ; and this he reporteth openly : by

<sup>P</sup> [This change may have arisen from the execution of Anne Boleyn in the preceding May, which tended greatly to raise the spirits of the

which words I am marvellously slandered in these parts. And for this cause I beseech your Grace, that I may not have the judgment of the cause, for so much as he taketh me for a party; but that your Grace would commit the hearing thereof unto my Lord Privy Seal<sup>9</sup>, or else to associate unto me some other persons at your Grace's pleasure, that we may hear the case jointly together.

If this man, who hath so highly offended your Grace, and preached against me openly, being Ordinary and Metropolitan of this province; and that in such matters as concern the misliving and the laws of the Bishop of Rome; and that also within mine own church; if he, I say, be not looked upon, I leave unto your Grace's prudence to expend what example this may be unto others with like colour to maintain the Bishop of Rome his authority; and also of what estimation I shall be reputed hereafter, and what credence shall be given unto my preaching, whatsoever I shall say hereafter.

I beseech your Grace to pardon me of my long and tedious writing; for I could not otherwise set the matter forth plain. And I most heartily thank your Grace for the stag which your Grace sent unto me from WyndSOR forest: which, if your Grace knew for how many causes it was welcome unto me, and how many ways it did me service, I am sure you would think it much the better bestowed. Thus our Lord have your Highness always in his preservation and governance. From Forde, the xxvi. day of August. [1536.]

Your Grace's most humble chaplain  
and beadsman,  
T. Cantuarien.

## CLXXII. To CRUMWELL.

Cotton  
MSS.  
Cleop.

E. v. p. 102.  
*Original.*

My very singular good Lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto your good lordship. And whereas your popish party. It would seem however from Letter CLXVIII. that they had been gaining ground before that event.]

<sup>9</sup> [Crumwell, appointed Lord Privy Seal the second of July, 1536.]

lordship writeth to me in the favour of this bearer, Massey, <sup>Strype,</sup> an old servant to the King's Highness, that being contract-<sup>Cranm.</sup> ed to his sister's daughter of his late wife deceased, he might <sup>p. 46.</sup> enjoy the benefit of a dispensation in that behalf; specially, considering it is none of the cases of prohibition contained in the statute<sup>r</sup>; surely, my lord, I would gladly accomplish your request herein, if the word of God would permit the same. And where you require me, that if I think this ~~license~~ may not be granted by the law of God, then I should write unto you the reasons and authorities that move me so to think; that upon the declaration unto the King's Highness, you may confer thereupon with some other learned men, and so advertise me of the King's farther resolution in the same accordingly: for shortness of time, I shall show you one reason, which is this: by the law of God many persons be prohibited, which be not expressed, but be understand by like prohibition in equal degree. As St. Ambrose saith, that the niece is forbid by the law of God, although it be not expressed in Leviticus that the uncle shall not marry his niece. But where the nephew is forbid there, that he shall not marry his aunt, by the same is understand that the niece shall not be married unto her uncle. Likewise, as the daughter is not there plainly expressed, yet where the son is forbid to marry his mother, it is understand that the daughter may not be married to her father, by cause they be of like degree. Even so it is in this case and many other; for where it is there expressed that the nephew shall not marry his uncle's wife, it must needs be understand that the niece shall not be married unto the aunt's husband, by cause that all is one equality of degree. And although I could allege many reasons and authorities mo for this purpose, yet I trust this one reason shall satisfy all that be learned and of judgment.

<sup>r</sup> [Stat. 28 Hen. VIII. cap. 7, "For the establishment of the succession of the imperial crown of this realm." It was passed a few months before, on the King's marriage to Jane Seymour. The prohibited degrees were expressed in it in nearly the same terms as in the former Act of succession, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 22, but were extended to cases of carnal knowledge.]



And as touching the Act of Parliament concerning the degrees prohibited by God's law, they be not so plainly set forth as I would they were. Wherein I somewhat spake my mind at the making of the said law, but it was not then accepted. I required then, that there must be expressed mother, and mother-in-law, daughter, and daughter-in-law; and so in further degrees directly upward and downward, *in linea recta*; also sister and sister-in-law, aunt and aunt-in-law, niece and niece-in-law. And this limitation, in my judgment, would have contained all degrees prohibited by God's law, expressed and not expressed<sup>s</sup>: and should have satisfied this man, and such other which would marry their nieces-in-law.

My lord, I have no news to send you from these parties, but I much long to hear such news as be occurrent with you. And therefore if you have any good news, I pray you to send me some. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Forde, the viith day of September.

Your Lordship's own,  
T. Cantuarien.

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### CLXXIII. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-  
respond-  
ence. Ori-  
ginal.

My singular good Lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto your lordship. And whereas I perceive that your lordship, not without urgent and godly considerations, hath suppressed already divers friars' houses, and bestowed them upon honest men as I am informed, which your godly proceeding I trust shall as well extend unto Canterbury as in other places, to the intent that the irreligious religion there may be extincted with other; and forasmuch as the Gray Friars<sup>t</sup> in Canterbury lieth very commodiously

<sup>s</sup> [The same opinion is expressed in his 36th Annotation on the King's Book. See vol. ii. p. 77.]

<sup>t</sup> [Hasted states that the House of the Gray Friars in Canterbury was suppressed in 1534; yet this Letter, being addressed to Crumwell as Lord Privy Seal, could not have been written earlier than 1536. Hasted probably may not have attended to the division of the Gray Friars or

for this bearer Thomas Cobham, brother unto my lord Cobham and my servant<sup>u</sup>, specially by cause the same is not only in his native country, but also nigh unto his friends; these shall be to beseech your lordship to be so good lord unto him as to help him unto the said house of the Gray Friars; for having already some land of his own, he shall be the more able to maintain the house in an honest state. And in thus doing, your lordship shall both do for the preferment of an honest man, and also make him more able to do the King's Grace service, and your lordship such pleasure as shall lie in him during his life. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Lambeth, the vth day of October.

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

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#### CLXXIV. TO KING HENRY VIII<sup>x</sup>.

Pleaseth it your Grace to be advertised, that I have re-<sup>Harl. MSS.</sup>  
ceived news out of Rome, from one named John Bianket,<sup>787. fol. 18.</sup>

Franciscans, into the Observants and Conventuals. The *Observants*, as Stow relates, were put down in August 1534, and Augustine friars set in their places for the time; but the *Conventuals* do not then appear to have been disturbed. On the contrary, Parkinson in his *Antiquities of English Franciscans* asserts, that "many of the Observants were sent into the houses of the Conventuals;" and in some instances perhaps the latter may have been substituted for the former. The Act 27 Hen. VIII. cap. 28, for the suppression of the smaller religious houses in general, was passed in the Parliament which met on the 4th of Feb. 1536; but it does not seem to have been carried into execution immediately, and 1539 is mentioned as the year, when "all the Franciscan convents in the nation were taken into the King's hands, and the friars turned out of doors to shift for themselves." See Hasted, *Hist. of Kent*, vol. iv. p. 446. Stow, *Annals*. Parkinson, *Collectan. Anglo-Minorit*. Wood, *Hist. Univ. Oxon.*]

<sup>u</sup> [He was also a connexion, having married the Archbishop's niece. See Genealogical Table in Todd, *Life of Cranmer*. This application in his favour appears to have failed, for the site of the Gray Friars was granted, 31 Hen. VIII. to Thomas Spilman. Hasted, *Hist. of Kent*, *ibid.*]

<sup>x</sup> [Mr. Todd has assigned this Letter to 1533; Mr. Ellis has given it

Lansdown MSS. 1045. p. 66. Ellis, *Original Letters*, 2nd Series, cxiii. Todd, *Life of Cranm.* vol. i. p. 96.

a Bononois born, some time my servant, and now servant unto the Cardinal<sup>y</sup> which was late bishop of Worcester, and more privy with him of all secrets than any other about him. And among other things thus he writeth :

“ zThe Pope has called hither many prelates for matters concerning the Council, among whom is Mr. Raynold Pole made much of and much set by, and received of the Pope himself very gladly. And because the saying is, that the King had sent for him home into England, and desired him, and promised him also great things if he would come, or at the least if that he would not go to Rome<sup>a</sup>; he now is come hither, not regarding the King’s desire, promise, nor threats. And here men do esteem and think surely that the Pope will make him cardinal, and now he hath given him lodgings for himself within the palace, and will have him near him.

“ And among those great men that be here for this matter, the selfsame Raynold Pole is here truly most esteemed and most set by of all. And doubtless they be all<sup>b</sup>

no date, but has placed it among papers of 1535. The historical events which it mentions, sufficiently prove it to have been written in 1536. See the following notes.]

<sup>y</sup> [Jerome de Ghinucci, deprived, together with Campegio, by Act of Parliament in 1534. He had been employed by Hen. VIII. in many embassies, and had the reputation of having served him faithfully. Burnet, *Reform.* vol. i. p. 301.]

<sup>z</sup> [Pope Paul III. by a bull issued the 2nd of June 1536, summoned a Council to meet at Mantua on the 23rd of May 1537. As a previous measure, he assembled at Rome “ persons of known abilities to concert means of facilitating a happy issue to so necessary and arduous an undertaking.” Mosheim, Cent. xvi. Sect. 1. §. 9. Phillips, *Life of Pole*, p. 135.]

<sup>a</sup> [“ Reginald, in obedience to Paul’s III’s orders, was now set out from Venice in his way to Rome, when a courier from England overtook him at Verona. The news of his journey had already reached the King’s ears, and the courier came furnished with every argument to disconcert it. Lord Cromwell expressed himself by nothing but threats and inventions: Tunstall renewed his objections to the papal authority: but the other letters were eloquent indeed, being from the Countess of Salisbury his mother, and his brother Lord Montague; in which they entreated him, by all the ties of duty and affection, to desist from a step which was so displeasing to the King.” Phillips, *Life of Pole*, p. 137.]

<sup>b</sup> [These were doubtless the same distinguished men, who, on the pro rogation of the Council, were directed by the Pope to digest a plan of

“singular fellows, and such as ever absented themselves  
 “from the Court, desiring to live holily: as the Bishop of  
 “Verona, the Bishop of Chiete, the Archbishop of Salerne,  
 “the Bishop of Carpentras, otherwise called Sadoletus, and  
 “many other that now be here, for . . . to consult these mat-  
 “ters of the Council; the which I cannot see how it can go  
 “forward, as long as the matters of war kindled between the  
 “princes are unquenched, without whom it is like that it  
 “cannot go forward. Nevertheless there be sent messen-  
 “gers to intimate the Council through Christendom, leav-  
 “ing you apart, to whom they will intimate it there in  
 “writing and in citations. Friar Denis, which wrote on  
 “the King’s side, being now General of the religion, cometh  
 “as ambassador from the Pope towards the King of Scots.

“The Emperor<sup>c</sup> is now in Genoa, and many princes,  
 “specially the Duke of Florence<sup>d</sup> go to see him, and to  
 “show themselves glad that he is arrived there safe and in  
 “good health; which chanced but to a few gentlemen, which  
 “be almost all sick<sup>e</sup>.

“There is entreaty made for peace all that may be, and  
 “it seemeth that the Frenchmen have good hope therein;  
 “for they have left off war, and have no more men in Italy  
 “now but Guido Rangone his men, and those of Turin;  
 “which as yet they hold, with certain other castles. And  
 “the Pope is fervent and hot in entreating of this peace<sup>f</sup>.”

reformation. They were nine in number. “Pole was in the thirty-sixth  
 “year of his age, and the youngest of all his associates: and though  
 “they were men of the first character for learning and probity, yet he  
 “was the directing mind that governed the whole, and alone drew up  
 “the plan of reformation, the substance of which had been the joint  
 “labours of them all; and when it was printed some years after, it ap-  
 “peared in his name, without any mention of his colleagues.” Phillips,  
*Life of Pole*. The names of the Commissioners and an abstract of their  
 plan may be seen in Sleidan, *De Statu Religionis*, lib. xii.]

<sup>c</sup> [Charles V. went to Genoa on his return from his disastrous cam-  
 paign in Provence. “As he could not bear to expose himself to the  
 “scorn of the Italians after such a sad reverse of fortune, he embarked  
 “directly for Spain,” in Nov. 1536. Robertson, *Hist. of Charles V.* b. vi.]

<sup>d</sup> [Alexander de Medici, who was assassinated in the beginning of  
 1537 by his nearest kinsman, Lorenzo. Robertson, *ibid.*]

<sup>e</sup> [Charles V. had lost one half of his troops by disease or famine.  
 Robertson, *ibid.*]

<sup>f</sup> [“The Pope made it his business to procure a cessation of arms in

Here have I written the very words of the letter, as I did translate them out of Italian into English, as near as I could word for word, which I can do no less than signify unto your Highness, forsomuch as there be some things concerning the General Council and Mr. Raynold Pole, whereof I thought it my duty to give notice unto your Grace. And thus I beseech the mighty Lord of lords to strengthen and preserve your Grace ever, and to resist and suppress all your Highness's adversaries with your rebel and untrue subjects<sup>1</sup>. At Knoll, the 18th day of November. [1536.]

Your Grace's most humble  
chaplain and beadsman,  
T. Cantuarien.

To the King's Highness.

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CLXXV. TO CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-  
respond-  
ence. *Ori-  
ginal.*

My very singular good Lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto your lordship. And whereas your lordship was so good lord unto James Arnold my servant, this bearer, as to direct (besides the King's gracious letters) your favourable letters unto Sir John Champenes, knight, then Lord Mayor of London, and to his brethren, in the preferment of my said servant to the room and office of the swordbearer of London<sup>k</sup>, when it should chance next to be void; by means whereof there was a record in writing made of their grant unto my said servant: and forsomuch as I now understand that the swordbearer is in danger of

"Italy and other places. First therefore the truce was agreed upon for  
"a certain time; when that was expired, it was continued for another;  
"till at last a peace was made. Now the Pope's design in reconciling  
"these princes, was to persuade them to join their forces against his  
"mortal enemy the King of England, and against the Lutherans."  
Sleidan, b. xi. This peace, or rather truce for ten years between  
Charles and Francis, was concluded in June 1538. Sleidan, b. xii.]

<sup>1</sup> [The rising in Lincolnshire had been put down, but the formidable rebellion in Yorkshire under Aske, was still raging in Nov. 1536. See Lord Herbert, *Life of Hen. VIII*, and *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 511, &c.]

<sup>k</sup> [See Letter CLII.]

death, and not like to escape: these shall be to beseech your lordship, in case need so require, to direct your favourable letters unto the mayor and aldermen that now be, putting them in remembrance of their former grant made by reason of the King's Grace's letters and your lordship's unto my said servant; so that he may, without further molestation or suit, enjoy that room, if it chance to be now void. And surely, my lord, I am more desirous to seek his preferment, because he hath sustained no small pains in journeys beyond the seas with me<sup>l</sup>, with the Bishop of Harforth<sup>m</sup>, Mr. Eliot<sup>n</sup>, and with Mr. Hethe<sup>o</sup>, in the King's affairs; beseeching your lordship therefore the rather to be his good lord in this behalf. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Forde, the ivth day of January.

Your own ever assured,  
Thomas Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable and my  
singular good lord, my Lord Privy  
Seal.

# CLXXVI. TO CRUMWELL.

My very especial and singular good Lord, these shall be MSS.  
to signify unto your good lordship, that I have sent unto Chapter  
you by Richard Nevell my servant, the bringer hereof, xx<sup>li</sup>. House,  
for your fee<sup>p</sup> of this year, desiring your good lordship, in all Westminster;  
Crumwell's  
Correspondence.  
Original.

<sup>l</sup> [Cranmer had been associated with the Earl of Wiltshire and others in an embassy to the Pope in 1530, when he presented to his Holiness his book on the King's divorce. In 1532 he was ambassador in Germany to the Emperor Charles V. See Letters I. II. III.]

<sup>m</sup> [Edward Fox, Bishop of Hereford, was one of the chief diplomats of this reign. He was employed at Rome on the divorce cause as early as 1527, and in December, 1535, he was at the head of the embassy to the protestant princes at Smalcald. On the latter occasion he incurred the suspicion of duplicity, being charged with representing Henry VIII.'s inclination to Lutheranism to be greater than was the fact. Seckendorf, *Comment. de Luth.* lib. iii. §. xxxix. Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 89. 226. 230. Letter LXXXIX.]

<sup>n</sup> [See Letter CLII.]

<sup>o</sup> [See Letters LXXXIX. CLII.]

<sup>p</sup> [Crumwell afterwards held office under Cranmer, and seems in

such affairs and business as I have to you at this time, as well for Mortlake<sup>9</sup> as other things, that you give credence unto him, which knoweth my whole mind herein. And so Almighty God preserve your good lordship. From Forde, the xvth day of January.

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my especial and singular good  
lord, my Lord Privy Seal.

CLXXVII. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster;  
Crumwell's  
Corre-  
spondence.  
*Original.*

My very singular good Lord, in my most hearty manner I commend me unto your lordship. And whereas I received a letter from you, wherein you will me to send Sir Hugh Payne<sup>r</sup> unto you after his appearance, whom ye are informed that I acited to appear before me, your lordship shall understand, that the said Sir Hugh Payne was Curate of Hadley in the county of Suffolke, of my peculiar jurisdiction; and for his erroneous and seditious preaching there he was detected to me: upon which detection I sent for him; and in the mean space, while he stood in examination, I commanded him, before Doctor Revet, Parson of Hadley, that he should not preach within my diocese or peculiars; which my commandment he disobediendly contemning, did both preach at Hadley and also at London in my peculiars there. And in his examination had before me concerning those things wherein he was detected, he was proved openly perjured. And that he there erroneously preached, a taste of his teaching your lordship shall perceive. He taught openly in the

consequence to have been entitled to a fee. See Letters ccklvi. ccklv. cclvii. But there are great objections to the supposition, that the fee here mentioned was due on that account.]

<sup>9</sup> [The Archiepiscopal possessions at Mortlake were assured to Crumwell by an Act of Parliament passed in 1536, entitled "An Act concerning an exchange of lands between the King's Highness, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Crumwell, Esq. the King's chief Secretary." Stat. 28. Hen. VIII. cap. 50. A still more extensive exchange was effected in Nov. 1537. See Letters clxxxiv. xciii.]

<sup>r</sup> [See Letter ccviii.]

pulpit there, that one Paternoster, said by the injunction of a priest, was worth a million Paternosters said of a man's mere voluntary mind: by this you may soon savour what judgment this man is of, and how sincerely he would instruct the people. At the last, he seeing these things proved against him, submitted himself to my correction. And whereas I might by justice have pronounced him perjured, and farther have proceeded against him for his erroneous preaching, I enjoined to him but certain penance, and not so much as he deserved; which he did receive, and swear by the holy Evangelists to accomplish the same. And therein again he was forsworn and did it not, but fled into the said county of Suffolk again, and became a parish priest and a preacher at Stoke Nayland, where he is (as I am informed) as well liked as he was at Hadley. I hearing that he was there, caused him to be cited to appear before me; which thing he did not; whereupon I did excommunicate him, and so now for his contumacy he standeth excommunicate. And if he come unto me, I will send him unto your lordship; but in the mean space these my letters are to desire your lordship that you will put with me your helping hand to see him punished; for although many of the Observants<sup>s</sup> were wolves in sheep's skins, yet in my opinion he ought to give place to none of them in dissimulation, hypocrisy, flattery, and all other qualities of the wolfish pharisees.

Furthermore I send unto your lordship herewithal a letter directed to me by a monk of Christ's Church in Canterbury, named Dan John Walkeham, concerning certain detections. Upon which letter this day I have examined Dan Stephen Gyles and Dan John Stone, monks; and I have sent for Dan Thomas Becket to examine him to-morrow. And as for John Stone, I have committed him to ward: beseeching your lordship that I may know with expedition the King's Grace's pleasure concerning the ordering of these persons<sup>t</sup>.

Over this I have received letters directed both unto your

<sup>s</sup> [See Letters *CXIX. CXLV. CLXXIII.*]

<sup>t</sup> [See Letter *CLXXVIII.*]



lordship and to me from Turney<sup>u</sup> of Calice; and because our letters concern divers matters, I have sent you mine also, thinking it good that your lordship know the contents thereof. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Forde, the 28th day of January. [1537.]

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable and my  
singular good lord, my Lord Privy  
Seal.

### CLXXVIII. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster;  
Crumwell's  
Corre-  
spondence.  
*Original.*  
Todd, *Life*  
*of Cran-*  
*mer*, vol. i.  
p. 172.

My very singular good Lord, in my most hearty manner I commend me unto your lordship. And where you require me to advertise you what farther knowledge I have concerning the misdemeanour of such monks of Christ's Church as of late were detected unto you<sup>x</sup>, as yet I know no more than I wrote to you of, saving that the observation of the King's Injunctions is not regarded; for when any of the Convent will move to have any of the said Injunctions observed, by and by the Prior saith that he hath a dispensation for it; insomuch that, amongst other things, on St. Blase day<sup>y</sup> last past, the Prior commanded that the relics should be set forth as they were wont to be, and thereof sent word to the Convent unto the Chapter House, that it was the King's pleasure so to be done, which is contrary to the Injunctions<sup>z</sup> given. But forasmuch as I was uncertain

<sup>u</sup> [Henry Turney was involved in the troubles at Calais which followed Damplic's preaching, and, together with several others, was sent to England on a charge of heresy. They were in prison at the death of Crumwell in July 1540, when they were dismissed by the Lord Chancellor Audley, by virtue of the King's general pardon. See Letters clv, clix, ccxxv, &c; Foxe, vol. ii. p. 562; Stat. 32 Hen. VIII. cap. 49.]

<sup>x</sup> [See Letter clxxvii.]

<sup>y</sup> [The 3rd of February.]

<sup>z</sup> [Item, That they shall not show no relics or feigned miracles for increase of lucre, but that they exhort pilgrims and strangers to give that to the poor, that they thought to offer to their images or relics. *Injunctions to Monasteries*, Burn. Ref. vol. i. b. iii. N<sup>o</sup>. 2. See also *Injunctions to the Clergy*, Ibid. N<sup>o</sup>. 7.]

whether he be thus dispensed withal for such things or no, I thought it good to advertise your lordship thereof. Besides this you shall understand, that there is one named Dan Robert Antoney<sup>a</sup>, subcellerar of Christ's Church, for fear of examination is gone his ways, who left a letter to the Prior behind him, the tenor whereof you shall perceive by the copy of this letter herein inclosed.

Further you shall receive herewithal a letter sent to me from Calice, concerning an oath to be had there for the extirpation of the Bishop of Rome's power and authority according to the Act<sup>b</sup> of Parliament : by which said letter your lordship shall perceive more in that behalf.

Also I have in durance with me a French priest of Calice, of whom I wrote to your lordship, and with him I have received an English book, which my Commissary<sup>c</sup>, with other soldiers of the town, in reprehending such corrupt sayings as are therein contained, sustained much reproof and displeasure ; the notable places therein this bearer my servant can inform you. If your lordship be minded to have the priest, I will send him unto you. He is surely a simple man, without all knowledge of learning, and therefore I think that he hath spoken nothing of malice or purpose, but of ignorance. And forasmuch as he is the French King's subject, and served there for no purpose else but to be a gardener, in mine opinion it will be well done that he be sent unto Calice again, and so banished the town, and sent home unto his natural country. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Forde, the xvi. day of February.

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

<sup>a</sup> [See Letters ccxxvi. ccxxviii.]

<sup>b</sup> [Stat. 28. Hen. VIII. cap. 10.]

<sup>c</sup> [John Butler. See Letter ccxxv.]

## CLXXIX. To CRUMWELL.

MSS. My very singular good Lord, in most hearty wise I com-  
 Chapter mend me unto your lordship. And whereas this bearer,  
 House, Mr. Hambleton<sup>d</sup>, showed unto your lordship certain letters  
 Westmin-ster ; which he received from Rome, and your lordship willed  
 Crumwell's him that he should in no wise agree unto them, promising  
 Corre- spondence. him to move the King's Highness to give him some living  
 Original. here in Englonde ; these shall be therefore to desire your  
 lordship to be so beneficial unto him, and, the rather at this  
 my instant request, to move the King's Highness to give  
 him somewhat to live on here in Englonde, until it please  
 God to send the true light of his gospel into his country,  
 and unto such time as he may more quietly enjoy his own.  
 And in so doing your lordship shall do a very good deed  
 to further him, being a right honest man and destitute of  
 friends, and bind him during his life to owe unto your lord-  
 ship his service and prayer. Furthermore I desire your  
 lordship, as shortly as you can conveniently, to give unto  
 the said Mr. Hambleton an answer of the King's pleasure in  
 the same, so that he may know whereunto to trust. Thus  
 I pray God long to preserve your lordship in health to his  
 pleasure. From Fourde, the 28th day of February.

Your own ever assured,  
 T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
 Lord Privy Seal.

## CLXXX. To CRUMWELL.

MSS. After most hearty commendations unto your lordship ;  
 Chapter these be to advertise the same, that this bearer moveth me of  
 House, the weight of certain plate, wherein should be much profit  
 Westmin-ster ; unto the King's Highness, as he saith ; which matter neither  
 Crumwell's I do well understand, nor it appertaineth unto mine office ;  
 Corre- spondence. wherefore I have sent him unto your good lordship ; unto  
 Original.

<sup>d</sup> [See Letter CLXX.]

whom, if you please, he will show the whole effect of his mind; which known, you may do as you shall think good. Thus our Lord have you in his most blessed preservation. From my manor of Lamehyth, the xiii. day of March.

Your lordship's assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my singular good lord, my Lord  
Privy Seal.

### CLXXXI. To CRUMWELL.

My very singular good Lord, after most hearty recom-  
mendations unto your good lordship: this shall be to desire  
and heartily to pray you, that my Lord Cobham<sup>e</sup> may be  
put in the commission<sup>f</sup>, not concerning Canterbury but  
only for Rochester, because he lieth within three or four  
miles of Rochester. I know no benefit that can come to  
my lord thereby, but only that I think it should be a plea-  
sure for him, and to me surely your lordship shall do a  
very great pleasure therein; wherefore I entirely beseech  
your lordship to put him in the said commission. And  
thus Almighty God have your lordship ever in his preser-  
vation. From Croydon, this last day of March.

Your own assured ever,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my very good lord, my Lord  
Crumwel, Lord Privy Seal.

### CLXXXII. To CRUMWELL.

After most hearty commendations unto your lordship: Chapter  
Whereas within the diocese of Norwiche there is one named House,  
M. Gounthrop, Parson of Wretyng, whom of long time, Westmin-  
ster;  
Crumwell's  
Corre-  
spondence.  
Original.

<sup>e</sup> [George Brooke, Lord Cobham, afterwards Lord Deputy of Calais. His brother Thomas married Cranmer's niece. See Letters cclxiii.]

<sup>f</sup> [Probably the commission for the collection of the subsidy to the King. See above, Letter cxli; and below, Letter cxliii.]

above twenty years past, I have known not only for a great clerk, but also of such singular judgment, sobriety, and conversation of living, that in all those qualities I have known very few like unto him; and yet, this notwithstanding, as I am informed, he cannot in that diocese be accepted ne allowed, as he ought to be, by reason that one named Dale, (whom also I knew in Cambridge, without all learning and discretion, now chaplain unto the Bishop of Norwiche,) preacheth not only against the said Master Gounthorpe, but also, as it is reported, publisheth no good doctrine himself; and forasmuch as I know the said Mr. Gounthorpe to be a very meet personage to preach unto the people in this time, and of such soberness and discretion, that he is not like to be author of any discord or dissension; and forasmuch also that he the Bishop of Norwiche, doth approve none to preach in his diocese that be of right judgment, as I do hear reported of credible persons; these shall be to desire and pray you, my lord, to be so good unto the said Mr. Gunthorpe, at this my request, as to grant him as well the King's license to preach within this realm, as also that he may from time to time have recourse unto your lordship for your favourable aid and assistance in his right, in case the said Dale promote causes against him before the Bishop of Norwiche. I know also three or four grave men and substantially learned within Norwiche diocese, and of very good conversation, to whom, if your lordship would give the King's license, I doubt not but you should do a deed very acceptable unto God. For it were great pity that the diocese of Norwiche should not be continued in the

<sup>2</sup> [William Rugge, alias Reps, was elected Bishop of Norwich the 31st of May, 1536. He resigned the see in 1542, to make way for Thirlby. His support of the Act of the Six Articles, and his opposition to the measures of Edw. VI., furnish sufficient evidence of his being an enemy to the reformation. His predecessor, Richard Nix, was also at one time a zealous partisan on the same side; but a conviction in a *præmunire*, and a visitation by the Archbishop in 1534, seem to have cooled his ardour, and to have enabled "the right knowledge of God," as Cranmer expresses it, to make considerable progress in his diocese during the latter years of his life. See Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 29; Burnet, *Ref.* vol. ii. p. 309, and vol. iii. p. 272.]

right knowledge of God which is begun amongst them. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Lambeth, the 26th day of Maye.

Your lordship's own assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

### CLXXXIII. To CRUMWELL.

My very singular good Lord, in most hearty wise I com-  
mend me unto you. And whereas my suit hath been unto  
you for my friend Henry Stoketh to have a lease of the  
demesne lands of the Charter House in the Isle of Axholme,  
I have sent my servant, this bearer, to put your lordship in  
remembrance of the same, desiring you heartily to move the  
King's Highness in the said suit, so that he may have it  
either by lease, or else that he may purchase the said  
demesne lands, according as other have done; and in so  
doing your lordship shall do unto me a very singular  
pleasure; as knoweth Almighty God, who have your good  
lordship in his tuition. At Lambeth, the 20th of July.

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my singular good lord, my Lord  
Privy Seal.

### CLXXXIV. To CRUMWELL<sup>h</sup>.

After most hearty commendations unto your Lordship:  
these shall be to signify unto you, that I, with other bishops  
and learned men here assembled by the King's command-  
ment, have almost made an end of our determinations<sup>i</sup>; for

<sup>h</sup> [Styrie refers to this Letter, (*Cranmer*, p. 55;) but he has not printed it.]

<sup>i</sup> [These "determinations" were published shortly afterwards under the title of *The Institution of a Christian Man*. See *Preface* to the reprint of it at Oxford in 1825, and the works there referred to. See

MSS.  
Chapter  
House  
Westmin-  
ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-  
respond-  
ence. Ori-  
ginal.

Cotton.  
MSS.  
Cleop. E.  
v. fol. 52.  
Original.

we have already subscribed unto the declarations of the Paternoster and the Ave Maria, the Creed and the Ten

also in the *State Papers* some interesting letters respecting it, addressed to Crumwell by Bishops Fox and Latymer, two of the Commissioners employed in its compilation. It appears from these, that there was great difficulty in coming to an agreement. Latymer prays God, "that when it is done, it will be well and sufficiently done, so that we shall not need to have any more such doings; for verily for my part, I had lever be poor Parson of poor Kyn-ton again, than to continue thus Bishop of Worcester; not for any thing that I have had to do therein or can do, but yet forsooth it is a troublous thing to agree upon a doctrine in things of such controversy, with judgments of such diversity, every man, I trust, meaning well, and yet not all meaning one way. But I doubt not but now in the end we shall agree both one with another, and all with the truth, though some will then marvel." And Bishop Fox also says, with reference probably to the heat of their debates, that they "wanted much Crumwell's presence." Cranmer and Fox are represented to have taken the lead in the discussions; and the latter, when the book was completed, undertook to superintend the printing of it. "This day," says Latymer, "we had finished, I trow, the rest of our book, if my Lord of Hereford had not been diseased; to whom surely we owe great thanks for his great diligence in all our proceedings. Upon Monday I think it will be done altogether, and then my Lord of Canterbury will send it unto your Lordship with all speed: to whom also, if any thing be praiseworthy, bona pars laudis optimo jure debetur."

When their determinations were thus concluded, an important question arose respecting the authority by which they should be issued. And accordingly Fox beseeches Crumwell "to know the King's pleasure for the Prefaces which shall be put unto the said book, and whether his Highness will that the book shall go forth in his name, according to such device as I once moved unto your lordship, or in the name of the bishops." *State Papers*, vol. i. pp. 556. 562. 563.

Fox's "device" perhaps may have been, that the Commissioners should send a letter to the King, reporting their proceedings, and praying for his Majesty's sanction; that the King should return a gracious answer, complying with their request; and that both these documents should be printed by way of Introduction to the new book. Such a letter from the Commissioners was actually prefixed to *The Institution*; and a minute of an answer from the King is preserved in the Chapter House, Westminster, *Theological Tracts*, vol. ix. p. 73; though it does not seem to have been noticed by the historians. In this he informs the prelates, that although he had not had time to overlook their work, he trusted to them for its being according to Scripture; that he permitted it to be printed, and commanded all who had care of souls to read a portion of it every Sunday and holyday for three years, and to preach conformably thereto. But it would appear, that, cautiously as this reply was worded, Hen. VIII. did not choose to commit himself by its publication; for *The Institution* came out with no other Preface than the abovenamed letter of the prelate's, and with no farther claim to royal authority, than was implied by its issuing from the press of the King's printer. It rested therefore on very different grounds from the *Articles of Religion* which preceded, and the *Necessary Doctrine*

Commandments, and there remaineth no more but certain notes of the Creed, unto the which we be agreed to subscribe on Monday next; which all, when they shall be subscribed, I pray you that I may know your mind and pleasure, whether I shall send them incontinently unto you, or leave them in my Lord of Herteforde's<sup>k</sup> hands, to be delivered by him when he cometh next unto the Court: beseeching you, my lord, to be intercessor unto the King's Highness for us all, that we may have his Grace's license to depart for this time, until his Grace's further pleasure be known; for they die almost every where in London, Westminster, and in Lambeth they die at my gate even at the next house to me<sup>l</sup>. I would fain see the King's Highness at my departing, but I fear me that I shall not, by cause that I shall come from this smoky air; yet I would gladly know the King's pleasure herein.

Also, where you granted unto me license to visit my diocese this year, I beseech you that I may have your letters to Doctor Peter<sup>m</sup> to put that in my commission.

Moreover I beseech your lordship not to forget to be a suitor for me unto the King's Highness concerning mine exchange<sup>n</sup>, and specially for the remission of such debts as are yet behind unpaid, which I owe unto his Grace<sup>o</sup>. Thus,

which followed it. For both of those Formularies of Faith were first approved in Convocation, and were then provided with a Preface by the King, and declared in the title page to be set forth by his authority. Thus it was not a distinction without a difference, that *The Institution* was called the Bishops', and the *Necessary Doctrine* the King's Book. This statement has been given at some length, because if correct, it will solve some difficulties in the subsequent letters, and because there are several conflicting accounts of the matter in our ecclesiastical writers. See Preface.]

<sup>k</sup> [It is clear from the preceding note, that Cranmer is speaking of Fox, Bishop of Hereford.]

<sup>l</sup> [Latymer gives a similar account: "Sir, we be here not without all peril, for beside two [that] hath died of my keeper's folks out of my gate house, three be yet there with raw sores; and even now Master Nevell cometh and telleth me, that my under cook is fallen sick, and like to be of the plague."]

<sup>m</sup> [See Letter clx. Strype, *Cranm.* p. 55.]

<sup>n</sup> [The great exchange between Hen. VIII. and Cranmer, was concluded at the latter end of this year. See Letter cxciii. Strype, *Cranm.* p. 282.]

<sup>o</sup> [See Letters lxxix. cxciii.]



my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Lambeth, the xxi. day of July. [1537.]

Over this, I pray you show unto me your advice, how I shall order in my said Visitation such persons as hath transgressed the King's Grace's Injunctions<sup>P</sup>.

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

¶ I beseech your lordship to send me word, whether I shall examine the Vicar of Croyden<sup>r</sup> in this presence of the bishops and other learned men of our assembly, or otherwise how I shall order him.

<sup>P</sup> [See in Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 321, an account of the Injunctions issued in 1536; and in Wilkins' *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 813, or Burnet, *Reformat.* App. vol. i. book iii. No. 7, a copy of the Injunctions themselves.]

<sup>¶</sup> [The postscript is in Cranmer's own hand-writing.]

<sup>r</sup> [Among the loose papers in the Chapter House, Westminster, are some fragments of an examination of Roland Philipps, taken before the Archbishop on the 28th and 29th of July. As Roland Philipps was Vicar of Croydon in 1535, (see *Valor. Eccles.*) there can be little doubt of this being the examination to which Cranmer alludes. He seems to have been called to account for a sermon, in which he had indulged in reflections on the reformers. It may be collected, that he accused them of respersing their discourses with lies, detractions, and perverse judgments against other men, and of preaching themselves divers erroneous doctrines; such as the possibility of salvation without good works, and the consequent inutility of prayer, fasting, and alms. In most cases he declined naming individuals, but in others, as may be seen by the following extracts from his examination, he did not scruple to fix his charges on some very distinguished friends of the reformation.

“ *Examinatio D. Rolandi Philipps coram Domino Archiepiscopo Cantuarien. vicesimo octavo die mensis Julii anno supradicto.*

3. “ *Item, Interrogatur, Whom he knoweth fallen into this error, that they trust to be saved by faith and baptism, and have left all good works, and how long it is, since the people fell into that error. Respondet, That he knoweth no special person that is in that error, but that is about eleven years ago, since the people came into that error.*

“ *Item, What good works the people have left. Respondet, That they have left prayer, fasting, and alms. . . . .*

18. “ *Item, Whom he knoweth to be of this opinion, that faith which justifieth, of necessity bringeth forth good works. And whether he be of the same opinion or no. Respondet, That Barons, Crome, Champion, and many other so have preached, and he is not of that opinion himself.*

19. “ *Item, Whom he knoweth that doth exclude all bodily observance as frivol and vain, all ceremonies of religion, and all vocal*

## CLXXXV. To CRUMWELL.

After hearty commendations unto your Lordship; this is MSS. to advertise the same, that the bearer hereof, Mr. Tybbold, Chapter House, one that hath exercised his study in Almayn these two or three years past, brought from Capito<sup>s</sup> and Monsterus<sup>t</sup>, Westminister; both letters and books to the King's Highness; and if his Crumwell's Grace's pleasure be to reward them for their pains and good Correspondence. Original. hearts which they bear unto his said Grace, this man that brought the said letters, shall very conveniently do the King good service in that behalf: for he is going thitherward now again, and is a very honest man, and both loved and trusted of the learned men in those parties; with whom if it please your lordship to commune, he can well inform you of the state of that country. Wherefore not only in this, but also for his passport, I beseech you to be his good lord, so that he may have your favourable letters unto the ports for his passage and safe conduct. Thus our Lord have your lordship in his tuition. At Lambeth, the xxii. day of July. [1537.]

Your Lordship's assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

"prayer, calling it lip labour. *Respondet*, The Bishop of Wurcester, " [Latymer,] and Doctor Crome have so done, for it followeth of their " words, ' Adorabunt Patrem in spiritu.' "

20. " *Item*, Whom he knoweth that in mass do use to clap their finger " upon their lips and say never a word. *Respondet*, That he hath seen " many so do, but he can name none; but some great men in the Court " do so, as he hath heard reported." "

With regard to his own opinions, he maintained, that men had not been led into any error of faith by the erroneous instructions of the clergy; that the catholic Church shall never err in things necessary to salvation; and that all decisions of Councils were to be received and believed in things concerning our faith.]

\* [See Letter CLXXXVI.]

† [Sebastian Munster was so distinguished for his Hebrew and historical learning, that he was called the Ezra and the Strabo of the Germans. In 1529, he moved, at the invitation of Œcolampadius, from Heidelberg to Basle, where he lived in great repute till 1552. Gerdes, *Hist. Evang. Renov.* vol. ii. p. 380.]

CLXXXVI. To WOLFGANG CAPITO<sup>u</sup>.

Ex Archivis  
Eccles. Turicens. ex  
Autogr.  
Cranmerian  
MSS. Scri-  
nii Eccles.  
Argento-  
rat. vol. ii.  
p. 28.

Libellum tuum<sup>z</sup>, amice Capito, Regiæ Majestati, cui tu inscripseras, ipse manu mea porrexi. Accepit, ut mihi sane visus est, gratanter et libenter. Submonui quoque ut labores tuos respiceret. Annuit se visurum: nec multo post tempore Dominum Crumwellum, Privati Sigilli Custodem, qui ab intimis consiliis Regis est, quique in his conficiendis quæ hactenus circa religionis et cleri reformationem facta et transacta sunt, plus unus omnibus fecit, Harfordensis<sup>y</sup> et ego, cum apud illum una essemus, una eum rogavimus, ut Regiam Majestatem iterum tui admoneret. Fecit, et tibi pro munere centum coronati deputantur, quos jussit et harum latorem secum delaturum.

Scire adhuc desideras, ecquid munus tuum gratum fuerit? Age dicam, non quæ ipse scio vera esse, sed quæ ab aliis, qui in Aula nuperius quam ego fuerunt, accepi. Solet Rex, (ut est acerrimus et ad omnia vigilantissimus) libros hujusmodi sibi oblatos, præsertim quos ipse non sustinet legere, suorum alicui tradere legendos, a quo ipse postea discat, quid in illis contentum fuerit. Deinde resumptos eosdem alteri cuipiam, qui sit a priore diversissimi judicii obtrudit examinandos. Ita cum ab ipsis omnia expiscatus fuerit, et quid laudent, quidve vituperent, sciverit ac satis expenderit, tum demum et ipse suam de eisdem palam profert sententiam. Sic et cum libello tuo actum fuisse intelligo: quodque cum in illo multa valde approbaverit, fuerint etiam nonnulla, quæ nullo pacto concoquere neque comprobare potuerit. Suspicio ea esse, quæ de Missa adjunxeras. Habes quantum hactenus ego de libello illo potui vel præsens audire et cernere, vel absens ex aliorum relationibus excerpere atque colligere.

<sup>u</sup> [This Letter is printed from a copy of the Zurich manuscript by Mr. Salomon Hess.]

<sup>z</sup> Responsum de Missa, Matrimonio, et jure Magistratus in religione, 11 Martii 1537, Henrico VIII. inscriptum. A Capitone recognitum Rihelius excudit Argentorati 1540. V. Gesnerum in Biblioth. [Note of Mr. Salomon Hess.]

<sup>y</sup> Edvardus Foxus. [Sal. Hess.]

De me hoc tibi persuadeto, te amo ex animo venerorque, et dignum judico cui ob insignem eruditionem cum pari morum probitate conjunctam omnes boni bene faciant. Atque utinam voluntati meæ erga te propensæ facultas responderet ! Tunc profecto, mi Capito, sentires, quanti te facio. Interim te rogo, ut hoc munusculum a me boni consulas, parum quidem si ad merita tua respiciatur, sed profecto non contemnendum, si vel animus meus dantis, vel sumtus necessarii et multiplices, quibus propemodum vel supra facultates oneror, rite considerentur. Quod superest, oro, ut hunc amicum meum Thomam Tybaldum, qui hasce ad te perfert, mea causa, quantum potes, foveas et adjuves. Vale.

T. Cantuarien.

#### CLXXXVII. To JOACHIM VADIAN.

Tandem a negotiis consiliisque publicis missionem vel  
 verius respirationem nactus, et inter cæteros doctos viros, Archiv. Eccles. Tigurin.  
 quorum epistolis responsa jam diu debueram, tibi quoque, Dudithius, Oration. et Opuscul.  
 Vadiane, vir illustris doctissimeque, nunc demum vertente Colomesius, Epist. Claror. Virorum, No. 36.  
 anno respondere incipiens, (utpote cujus literas superiore Strype, Cranmer, App. No. 25.  
 hyeme acceperim, una cum munere literario; quod genus  
 quidem soleo vel inter pretiosissima numerare) illud impri-  
 mis mecum reputare pudibundus occœpi vererique, ne forte  
 suspicionem aut etiam opinionem mihi aliquam sinistram  
 apud animum tuum, silentio meo tam diuturno, contraxerim;  
 qui sciam apud vulgus hominum fieri plerumque solere,  
 cum hospes hospitem salutatur, ut in primo maxime aditu re-  
 sponsum solícite expectent. Quod si differatur, super-  
 biam aliquam vel neglectum sui, vel, ut minimum, obli-  
 vionem intervenire suspicantur, qualemque in primo illo  
 accessu invenere, talem in universam reliquam vitam erga se  
 fore præjudicant. Cum qui cito respondet, libenter et gra-  
 tanter id facere judicatur, eumque proinde humanum, faci-  
 lem, gratumque interpretantur. Contra, qui tarde, fastuosus,  
 difficilis, et incivilibus ac inamœnis moribus præditus existi-

matur. Usque adeo bis facit quod cito facit, quicquid quis cito facit. Verum ego de tua neutiquam vulgari prudentia et humanitate meliora mihi polliceor, confidoque te hanc meam non spontaneam tarditatem aut cessationem sed necessariam dilationem benigne accepturum, eamque non tam moribus quam negotiis meis imputaturum. Quæ qualia et quanta fuerint, puto rumores ad vos usque jampridem pertulisse, et ego de eisdem nonnihil ad Grynæum<sup>a</sup> meum, imo nostrum, scripsi; cum quo pro amicitiae jure omnia tibi communia futura esse non ambigo. Ad illum igitur te remitto, siquid hac re offenderis, qui me tibi reddat excusatorem.

Tuam erga me voluntatem et promptitudinem animi ad contrahendam mecum sanctiorem necessitudinem, in literis tuis perspicio, et libens amplector osculorque. Virum enim dignum te judico, quem ego propter eximiam eruditionem, qua me quoque adjutum profecisse neutiquam dissimulavero, et propter morum probitatem, multorum gravissimorum virorum testimoniis comprobata, omni amore, favore, ac veneratione prosequar. Veruntamen ut animi mei sensum (sicuti inter bonos viros fieri oportet) ingenue tibi profitear, argumentum quod tractas in sex illis libris<sup>b</sup>, quos mihi dono dederas, in totum mihi displicet, vellemque vigilias tuas tantas felicius collocasses, et mecum jucundæ amicitiae melioribus, aut certe minus improbatis auspiciis fuisses usus. Nam ego nisi certiora afferri video, quam hactenus videre potui, sententiæ illius vestræ nec patronus nec astipulator esse volo. Et plane mihi vel ex eo maxime persuasum est, causam esse non bonam, quod eam viri tam ingeniosi, tam disert, tamque omnibus artibus et disciplinis instructi, non videamini satis valide tueri ac sustinere. Vidi pleraque omnia, quæ vel ab Æcolampadio, vel a Zuinglio scripta sunt et edita,

<sup>a</sup> [Simon Grynæus was at this time settled at Basle. See Chalmers's *Biog. Dict.* The manner in which Cranmer speaks of him, does not countenance Anthony Wood's story of his having stolen some Greek books from the Oxford libraries, because, as he said, the owners were careless of them.]

<sup>b</sup> [*Aphorismorum Libri Sex de Consideratione Eucharistiæ*; which were intended to disprove the Corporal Presence. Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 66.]

didicique omnium hominum omnia cum delectu esse legenda. Et fortasse illud D. Hieronymi de Origene elogium in illos quoque non absurde aliquis detorserit, "Ubi bene, nemo melius," &c. Nosti enim quod sequitur. Quatenus quidem papisticos et sophisticos errores et abusus indicare, convincere, corrigereque sunt conati, laudo et approbo. Atque utinam intra fines illos constitissent, neque fruges una cum zizaniis conculcassent, hoc est, veterum doctorum primorumque in Ecclesia Christi scriptorum auctoritatem una violassent. Nam ut ingenia vestra quantumcunque versaveritis, mihi tamen certe nunquam approbaveritis, ne cuiquam, opinor, æquo lectori, veteres illos auctores in hac controversia pro vestra facere sententia. Fuistis nimirum in investigandis erroribus plus satis curiosi, et dum omnia purgare studetis, illic quoque errorem subesse putavistis, ubi nullus fuit. Quando hic certe, si error est, jam inde a primordio Ecclesiæ, ab ipsis patribus et viris apostolicis, nobis fuit propinatus. Quod quis pius sustinuerit vel audire, nedum credere? ut nequid interim dicam, quod bonus Dominus noster unice dilectam sponsam suam nunquam in tam pudenda cæcitate tamdiu dereliquisset. Quamobrem quum hæc, quam tenemus, catholica fides de vera presentia corporis tam apertis ac manifestis Scripturis fuerit Ecclesiæ ab initio promulgata, et eadem postea, per primos ecclesiasticos scriptores, fidelium auribus tam clare tamque studiose commendata, ne quæso, ne mihi pergatis eam tam bene radicatum et suffultam velle amplius convellere aut subruere. Satis jam satis tentatum est hactenus. Et nisi super firmam petram fuisset firmiter ædificata, jam dudum cum magnæ ruinæ fragore cecidisset. Dici non potest, quantum hæc tam cruenta controversia, cum per universum orbem Christianum, tum maxime apud nos, bene currenti verbo Evangelii obstiterit. Vobis ipsis affert ingens periculum, et cæteris omnibus præbet non dicendum offendiculum. Quocirca, si me audietis, hortor et suadeo, imo vos oro, obsecro, et visceribus Jesu Christi obtestor et adjuro, uti concordiam procedere et coire sinatis, in illam confirmandam totis viribus incumbatis, pacemque Dei tandem, quæ superat omnem sensum,

Ecclesiis permittatis, ut evangelicam doctrinam unam, sanam, puram, et cum primitivæ Ecclesiæ disciplina consonam, junctis viribus quam maxime propagemus. Facile vel Turcas ad Evangelii nostri obedientiam converterimus, modo intra nosmetipsos consentiamus, et pia quadam conjuratione conspiremus. At si ad hunc modum pergimus ad invicem contendere et commordere, timendum erit, ne (quod dicens abominor) juxta comminationem Apostolicam, ad invicem consumamur.

Habes, optime Vadiane, meam de tota controversia illa neutiquam fictam sententiam, una cum admonitione libera ac fideli. Cui si obtemperaveris, non modo inter amicos, sed etiam vel inter amicissimos mihi nomen tuum ascripsero. Bene vale. [1537.]

T. Cantuariens.

Illustri et erudito viro Joachimo  
Vadiano, Consuli apud Sanctum  
Gallum in Helvetia.

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CLXXXVIII. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster;  
Crumwell's  
Corres-  
pondence.  
*Original.*  
*State Pu-  
pers*, vol. i.  
pt. ii.  
No. xciv.  
Todd, *Life  
of Cran-  
mer*, vol. i.  
p. 211.

My especial good Lord, after most hearty commendations unto your lordship; these shall be to signify unto the same, that you shall receive by the bringer thereof a Bible<sup>c</sup> in English, both of a new translation and of a new print, dedicated unto the King's Majesty, as farther appeareth by a pistle unto his Grace in the beginning of the book, which in mine opinion is very well done, and therefore I pray your lordship to read the same. And as for the translation, so far as I have read thereof, I like it better than any other translation heretofore made; yet not doubting but that there may and will be found some fault therein, as you know no man ever did or can do so well, but it may be from time to

<sup>c</sup> [Commonly called Matthew's Bible, but in fact translated by Tyn-dale, Coverdale, and Rogers. It was printed by R. Grafton and E. Whitchurch in 1537. See Preface, and Letters cxcii. cxciii; Cotton, *List of Editions*, p. 412; Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 59.]

time amended. And forasmuch as the book is dedicated unto the King's Grace, and also great pains and labour taken in setting forth of the same, I pray you, my lord, that you will exhibit the book unto the King's Highness, and to obtain of his Grace, if you can, a license that the same may be sold and read of every person, without danger of any act, proclamation, or ordinance heretofore granted to the contrary, until such time that we the bishops shall set forth a better translation, which I think will not be till a day after doomsday<sup>d</sup>. And if you continue to take such pains for the setting forth of God's word, as you do, although in the mean season you suffer some snubs, and many slanders, lies, and reproaches for the same, yet one day He will requite altogether. And the same word (as St. John saith) which shall judge every man at the last day, must needs show favour to them that now do favour it. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Forde, the ivth day of August. [1537.]

Your assured ever,  
T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable and  
my especial good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

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CLXXXIX. To CRUMWELL.

After most hearty commendations unto your lordship : MSS. Chapter House, Westminster; Crumwell's Correspondence. Original.  
whereas the same writeth unto me to stay a suit which should be made unto me for the induction of a certain person in St. Quintunes in Spelake<sup>e</sup>, in the marches of Calais, upon an advowson granted of the same, surely, my lord, as yet

<sup>d</sup> [See an account of Stokesley's refusal to assist in this work, and of Lawney's jest on the occasion, in Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 34. The difficulties raised by the bishops on a subsequent occasion are described by Lewis, *Hist. of Translations*, &c. p. 145.]

<sup>e</sup> [See Letter cxcv.]



there is no such suit made unto me : howbeit if any suit be made, I shall, according to your mind, stay the same, and likewise incontinently send unto mine officers that they on their behalf do the same accordingly. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Canterbury, the vth day of August.

Your lordship's own,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

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CXC. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster;  
Crumwell's  
Corres-  
pondence.  
*Original.*

My singular good Lord, in my right hearty wise I commend me unto your lordship. These shall be to yield unto the same my most hearty thanks for your good advertisement unto the King's Majesty touching the tenor of my letters, which I sent to you by Sir Edward Ryngsley<sup>f</sup>, knight. And as concerning your commendation of the said Sir Edward, with your effectious request for my favour to be declared towards him in such things as he may have to do with me, I am right glad that you have conceived so good opinion of him ; and for my part, though my ability be but small, he shall have such commodity and pleasure as I may do for him. Howbeit I shall desire your lordship so to extend your goodness towards him, that thereby he may have some preferment now in the alteration of these religious houses ; wherein surely you shall not only much animate the man to do the King's Majesty his most faithful service, but also bind him to be at your commandment. Thus, my lord,

<sup>f</sup> [If this is the Sir Edw. Ringleis, or Kinslee, mentioned by Foxe, he does not seem to have been valued so highly by the martyrologist, as by Crumwell and Cranmer ; for he is spoken of in the *Acts and Monuments*, &c. vol. ii. p. 562, as " Controller of the town of Calais, an office " of no small charge, though he knew not a B from a battledore, nor " ever a letter of the book." ]

right heartily fare you well. At Forde, the viiith day of August.

Your assured ever,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

CXCI. To CRUMWELL.

My very singular good Lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto your lordship. And whereas I understand that your lordship, at my request, hath not only exhibited the Bible which I sent unto you, to the King's Majesty, but also hath obtained of his Grace, that the same shall be allowed by his authority to be bought and read within this realm; my lord, for this your pain, taken in this behalf, I give unto you my most hearty thanks: assuring your lordship, for the contentation of my mind, you have showed me more pleasure herein, than if you had given me a thousand pound; and I doubt not but that hereby such fruit of good knowledge shall ensue, that it shall well appear hereafter, what high and acceptable service you have done unto God and the King. Which shall so much redound to your honour, that besides God's reward, you shall obtain perpetual memory for the same within this realm. And as for me, you may reckon me your bondman for the same. And I dare be bold to say, so may ye do my Lord of Wurceiter<sup>h</sup>. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare ye well. At Forde, the xiiiith day of August. [1537.]

Your own boundman ever,  
T. Cantuarien.

CXCII. To CRUMWELL.

My very singular and especial good Lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me to your lordship. These shall

[<sup>s</sup> See Letter clxxxviii.]

<sup>h</sup> [Hugh Latymer.]

Cotton MSS.  
Cleop. E. v.  
f. 329. b.  
Original.  
Strype,  
Cranmer,  
p. 57.

Strye,  
Cranmer,  
p. 58.  
and App.  
No. 19.

be to give you most hearty thanks that any heart can think, and that in the name of them all which favoureth God's word, for your diligence at this time in procuring the King's Highness to set forth the said God's word, and his Gospel, by his Grace's authority<sup>1</sup>. For the which act, not only the King's Majesty, but also you shall have a perpetual laud and memory of all them that be now, or hereafter shall be God's faithful people, and the favourers of his

<sup>1</sup>[This authority was doubtless not obtained without much difficulty; for we learn from a letter addressed to Crumwell by Grafton the printer, on this same day, the 28th of August 1537, that even after it was granted, some persons were still incredulous. "Your lordship's moving our most gracious Prince to the allowance and licensing of such a work, hath wrought such an act worthy of praise, as never was mentioned in any chronicle in this realm: and as my Lord of Canterbury said, the tidings thereof did him more good than the gift of ten thousand pounds; yet certain there are, which believe not that it pleased the King's Grace to license it to go forth. Wherefore if your lordship's pleasure were such, that we might have it licensed under your privy seal, it would be a defence at this present and in time to come, for all enemies and adversaries of the same." Grafton to Crumwell, in Strye, *Cranm.* p. 59.]

The strong language which both Cranmer and Grafton use on this occasion, cannot well be reconciled with the supposition, that English translations of the Bible had been already placed within the reach of the people by order of the King's Vicegerent. Yet a paragraph is usually printed in Crumwell's Injunctions of the preceding year, 1536, which directs the whole Bible in Latin and English to be laid in every parish church "for every man to read and look therein." See Foxe, *Acts, &c.* vol. ii. p. 387; Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 129; Burnet, *Reformat.* vol. i. App. B. iii. No. 7. (Oxf. 1829.) But this paragraph is not found in the official copy in Cranmer's Register, nor indeed in Wilkins's *Concilia*, or the folio edition of Burnet; and the fact seems to be, that it is an interpolation, adopted incautiously from a draft which was afterwards altered.

It would appear then that no order was issued for placing the English Bible in churches before Crumwell's Injunctions of Sept. 1538; where it is expressed in the following terms. "*Item*; That ye shall provide on this side the feast of next coming, one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church that ye have cure of, whereas your parishioners may most commodiously resort to the same and read it." Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. App. B. iii. No. 11. And accordingly Stow relates, that "this month of September, [1538,] Thomas Crumwell, Lord Privy Seal, &c. sent forth Injunctions to all bishops and curates through the realm, charging them to see that in every parish church the Bible of the largest volume printed in English were placed for all men to read in." Stow, *Annals*. Wilkins, it may be observed, has placed Crumwell's *second* set of Injunctions which were issued in 1538, under the same year as the *first*, namely, 1536. *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 815.]

word. And this deed you shall hear of at the great day, when all things shall be opened and made manifest. For our Saviour Christ saith in the said Gospel, that whosoever shrinketh from him and his word, and is abashed to profess and set it forth before men in this world, He will refuse him at that day : and contrary, whosoever constantly doth profess Him and his word, and studieth to set that forward in this world, Christ will declare the same at the last day before his Father and all his angels, and take upon Him the defence of those men.

These shall be farther to advertise your lordship, that since my last coming from London into Kent <sup>k</sup>, I have found the people of my diocese very obstinately given to observe and keep with solemnity the holidays lately abrogated<sup>l</sup>. Whereupon I have punished divers of the offenders ; and to divers I have given gentle monitions to amend. But inasmuch as by examination I have perceived that the people were partly animated thereto by their curates, I have given straight commandment and injunction unto all the parsons and vicars within my diocese, upon pain of deprivation of their benefices, that they shall not only, on their behalf, cause the said holidays so abrogated from time to time, not to be observed within their cures ; but also shall from henceforth present to me such persons of their parishes, as will practise in word or deed contrary to that ordinance or any other, which is, or hereafter shall be set forth by the King's Grace's authority, for the redress or ordering of the doctrine or ceremonies of this Church of England. So that now I suppose, through this means, all disobedience and contempt of the King's Grace's said acts and ordinances in this behalf, shall be clearly avoided in my diocese hereafter :

<sup>k</sup> [He was now engaged in that Visitation, for which he requested a license from Crumwell in Letter CLXXXIV.]

<sup>l</sup> [See the Act of Convocation by which they were abrogated, and Hen. VIII.'s Letter to the bishops for enforcing its observance, in Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 823. See also, in the Appendix, a mandate issued by Cranmer, by the King's direction, on the 19th of April 1537, for celebrating the feast of St. Mark, notwithstanding the above named ordinance.]

not doubting also, but if every bishop in this realm had commandment to do the same in their dioceses, it would avoid both much disobedience and contention in this said realm. I would fain that all the enmity and grudge of the people in this matter should be put from the King and his Council; and that we, who be Ordinaries, should take it upon us: or else I fear lest a grudge against the Prince and his Council, in such causes of religion, should gender in many of the people's hearts a faint subjection and obedience.

<sup>m</sup> But, my lord, if in the Court you do keep such holidays and fasting days as be abrogated, when shall we persuade the people to cease from keeping of them? For the King's own house shall be an example unto all the realm to break his own ordinances.

Over this, whereas your lordship hath twice written for this poor man, William Gronnowe<sup>n</sup>, the bearer hereof, to my Lord Deputy of Calice, for him to be restored to his room; as far as I understand, it prevailed nothing at all; for so he can get none answer of my Lord Deputy: so that the poor man despaireth that your request shall do him any good. If your lordship would be so good to him, as to obtain a bill, signed by the King's Grace, to the treasurers and controllers of Calice for the time being, commanding them to pay to the said W. Gronnowe his accustomed wages yearly, and to none other, your lordship should not only not further trouble my Lord Deputy any more, but also do a right meritorious deed. For if the poor man be put thus from his living, he were but utterly undone. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Ford, the xxviii. day of August. [1537.]

Your Lordship's own ever,  
T. Cantuariens.

<sup>m</sup> [This paragraph is inserted by the Archbishop's own hand in the lower margin; the rest of the Letter being written by his secretary.]

<sup>n</sup> [See Letter cc.]

## CXCIII. To CRUMWELL.

My very special good Lord, in my right hearty wise I MSS.  
commend me unto you. Likewise thanking you for your Chapter  
loving and kind answer which you sent me by my servant House,  
Nevell, and especially for your good mind towards me con- Westmin-  
cerning my debts<sup>o</sup> to the King's Highness, which of all other ster;  
things lieth most nigh unto my stomach; trusting for the Crum-  
declaration of this your gentle heart towards me, not to be well's  
forgotten on my behalf hereafter, as it shall lie in my power. Corres-  
And as concerning such lands of mine as the King's High- pondence.  
ness is minded to have by exchange at Maydestone and Original.  
Otteforde<sup>p</sup>; forsomuch as I am the man that hath small  
experience in such causes, and have no mistrust at all in my  
prince in that behalf, I wholly commit unto you to do there-  
in for me as by you shall be thought expedient, not  
doubting but that you foresee as much for my commodity,  
as you would that I should do for you in such a like  
matter.

As touching the Prior of the Black Friars in Canterbury<sup>q</sup>,  
I have written nothing to you of him but that I will justify.  
And whereas I understand, that the *Custos Rotulorum* with-  
in Nottynghamshire is depart this miserable life, this shall

<sup>o</sup> See Letters LXXIX. CLXXXIV.

<sup>p</sup> [The indenture by which this exchange was made, is dated the 30th of Nov. 29 Hen. VIII. i. e. 1537. Hasted, *Hist. of Kent*, vol. i. p. 322. Morice, the Archbishop's secretary, who was present at the conversation, gives a curious account of the failure of Cranmer's attempt to preserve Knoll, which was included in the same exchange. "My lord, minded "to have retained Knole unto himself, said, 'That it was too small a "house for his Majesty.' 'Marry,' said the King, 'I had rather have it "than this house,' meaning Otford, 'for it standeth on a better soil. "'This house standeth low and is rheumatic, like unto Croydon, where "'I could never be without sickness. And as for Knole, it standeth "'on a sound, perfect, wholesome ground: and if I should make "'abode here, as I do surely mind to do now and then, I will live at "'Knole and most of my house shall live at Otford.' And so by this "means both those houses were delivered up to the King's hands." Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 436. For a history and description of the Archi-episcopal residences at these places and at Ford, see Hasted, *Hist. of Kent*, vol. i. pp. 323. 338. and vol. iii. p. 624.]

<sup>q</sup> [See Letter CLXXI.]

be to desire and pray you, that you will write your favourable letters unto my Lord Chancellor for the preferment of a friend of mine there, named Antony Nevell, who is a man of right good wisdom, experience, and discretion, and useth himself very indifferently in the country.

Over this you shall understand that I have received from the King's Highness three letters concerning the collection of the subsidy<sup>r</sup>; one for Canterbury, and one for the shire, and the third for Rochester; with the which I have received but one commission, which is alonely for Canterbury town. Wherefore I pray you that the other two commissions may be sent, or else to signify unto me to whom they are delivered. I have sent unto my Commissary<sup>s</sup> at Calice to withdraw his process against Mr. Chamberleyn, and therefore he not to doubt in that matter. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Forde, the xxxi. day of August. [1537.]

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord,  
my Lord Privy Seal.

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CXCIV. To POTKYNs.

Wilkins,  
*Concilia*,  
vol. iii.  
p. 827,  
from Hey-  
lyn, *Ex-  
cerpt.  
Actor.  
Convocat.*

I commend me unto you. And whereas I have received the King's most honourable letters<sup>t</sup> concerning the speedy declaration of his Grace's pleasure, for the abolishing of certain holidays named in the late Act of Convocation, whereof the transumpt I send you here withal; my mind is therefore, that you cause, with all expedition, the King's pleasure

<sup>r</sup> [See Letters cxli. clxxxi.]

<sup>s</sup> [John Butler.]

<sup>t</sup> [This Letter has been inserted here on the authority of Wilkins: but it seems rather to belong to the preceding year; for the King's letter, which gave occasion to it, is probably that of the 11th of August, 1536. See Letter cxcii. p. 201; Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 824.]

in this behalf to be published unto all the clergy within the deaneries of my peculiars, to the intent that the said Act of Convocation may from henceforth be put in due exercise, according to the purport and effect of the same. Thus fare you well. At Ford, the 16th day of September.

T. Cantuarien.

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CXCV. To CRUMWELL.

My very singular and especial good Lord, in my most MSS. hearty wise I commend me to your lordship. These shall be Chapter House, Westminster; to give to your lordship right hearty thanks for this bearer, Thomas Wakefeld my servant, for as I understand, you Crumwell's Correspondence. Original. have been many ways his special good lord, beseeching you of continuance towards him. And albeit your lordship wrote unto me of late to stay such suit as should be made to me concerning the institution of the parsonage of St. Quintyne of Spellacke<sup>u</sup> within the marches of Calice, which I have hitherto accomplished accordingly, yet I shall nevertheless beseech your lordship, forsomuch as I perceive that this my said servant is, by virtue of the King's advowson, presented thereunto, to be no less his good lord in this his suit than you have hitherto been, and that the rather at this mine instant request; so that having right thereunto, he may enjoy the same with your favour: and that upon your lordship's pleasure known in this behalf, he may have a token from you unto my Chancellor for his institution<sup>x</sup>; for the which you shall bind him to do unto your lordship his both daily prayer and service, and me to requite the same if it lie in my power. Thus, my lord,

<sup>u</sup> [See Letter *CLXXXIX.*]

<sup>x</sup> [The institution of Wakefeld seems not to have taken place, for on the 2nd of October 1537, the Archbishop admitted Robert Palmere to the church of the parish *Sti. Quintini de Spellache* within the marches of Calais, vacant by the death of John Hayburne. *Cranmer's Register*, fol. 362, b.]



right heartily fare you well. At Forde, the xx. day of September.

Your own assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable and my  
singular good lord, my Lord  
Privy Seal.

#### CXCVI. TO A JUSTICE Y.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westminster;  
*Theol.  
Tracts*,  
vol. xii.  
p. 86.

In my right hearty wise I commend me to you. And whereas divers times heretofore, of mere love and favour, which in my heart I bear to you unfeignedly, I have moved, exhorted, and inasmuch as in me was, allured you to alter your judgment, minding to bring you to favour the word of God and the knowledge thereof, to the intent that by your good ensample the King's subjects within my diocese might the rather be obedient and willing to conceive and apply themselves to the observation of such ordinances, as by the King's Majesty and his learned counsel in the laws of God, should from time to time be set forth and published, as well concerning the abolishment and extirpation of superstition, as also of the Bishop of Rome's erroneous doctrine, which in many points within this realm still sticketh in men's hearts; this notwithstanding, (as far as I many ways perceive) my said exhortation and good intent towards you taketh little effect; which thing I assure you is no little grief to me. But inasmuch as it is better for me in time, after a friendly

Y [The following correspondence between Cranmer and a Kentish justice is printed from copies in the handwriting of one of the Archbishop's secretaries, which may be conjectured, from the place where they are found, to have been prepared for the information of Crumwell. An endorsement by a later hand, expresses an opinion that Bishop Fisher was one of the parties in the dispute; but that prelate was executed more than two years before, on the 22nd of June 1535. It is however easier to object to the name of Fisher, than to substitute another in its place. But it may be observed, that Cranmer's secretary Morice, in a letter printed by Foze, mentions Sir John Baker, Sir Christopher Hales, and Sir Thomas Moile, as Kentish "Justices who favoured the cause and faction of the papists, and who were no small fools." Foze, *Acts, &c.* vol. iii. p. 645.]

fashion, to be plain with you, than so long to forbear, that both you and I may repent our dallying, if the King, or rather God, shall by opportunity see just cause to punish our overmuch untowardness; I will at this time open fully my mind to you, and eftsoons exhort you either to be in such opinion and faith as is by the word of God and the King's ordinances prescribed and set forth to his people without colour; or else I cannot see the contrary, but of necessity I must be constrained to complain to the King's Majesty of you in that behalf, which I were very loth to do, and it is contrary to my mind and usage hitherto; nevertheless, if you overmuch constrain me, I will not fail to do it.

For I am fully persuaded that it will little avail me, either by myself or by such as I shall substitute, to preach within my diocese the word of God or the King's ordinance, you and yours being reputed and known, both of the commons and gentlemen of the shire, of a contrary opinion to me. In some thing myself (besides the common fame that I hear of you) I have experience of your judgment, that you take not indifferently such things as of late years hath been set forth by the authority of the word of God; and besides this, it is known to many, that you let, inasmuch as in you is, the people in my diocese to exercise themselves in the knowledge of God's laws; but that from time to time you promote them to all trouble and vexation<sup>z</sup>, without any discerning good knowledge from manifest error, so that (as it is thought) you rather thereby intend to extinguish the whole knowledge of God, than to have Him by his word known and glorified. I pray you what other ways was there at any time invented better to maintain, continue, or uphold the Bishop of Rome's usurped authority, and other superstitiousness, than to banish and suppress the word of God and the knowledge thereof specially from the simple and common people, and to restrain the same to the knowledge of a certain few persons; yea this thing hath been universally the only decay of our faith. And why then may not men think [you] to

<sup>z</sup> [See Letter ccxvii.]

be a special favourer covertly of his authority, when you bear the people such a hatred for favouring of God's word, which word hath uttered unto all the world his crafty inventions.

Surely you so handle yourself in this thing, that it is not only known to the people that you hate God's word, but also that you cannot abide any reformation or alteration of abuses in the Church, or amongs the people; uttering your words and communication in such wise, that every thing that is set forth contrary to the late custom used by the authority of Rome, must seem to you and yours new learning and erroneous. And again, if any ceremony or ordinance of the Church be but brought to his first sense and meaning, and cut away from superstition, by and by it is blasted abroad under your authority and by such as appertaineth to you, that all old fashions are restored again, spite of this new doctrine and new preachers; and so declared and communed of, that the people daily conceiveth great murmuration both against the ordinances, against the King's Majesty, his Council, and against me and all other that by our preaching declareth such abuses and superstition as hath been hitherto brought from Rome, which would restore God his honour, obedience to the prince, and peace and tranquillity to the realm.

And to the intent that you shall perceive that these things be not feigned ne imagined without cause, you shall understand, that (besides the common and vulgar fame touching the premises) certain of your servants and family lately, since this new book of the clergy's determination came forth by the King's Grace's commandment<sup>a</sup>, hath not only misreported the said book in divers and many things, (as I [am] informed,) but also hath spoken such words or like in effect as hereafter ensueth, that is to say, to move divers by these words, 'I am sorry for you, and I can do no less than 'show unto you that thing that I know to be true, and 'that the King's book willeth; for of truth it alloweth all

<sup>a</sup> [Viz. *The Institution of a Christian Man*. See Letter CLXXXIV.]

‘ the old fashions, and putteth all the knaves of the new learning to silence, so that now they dare not speak one word,’ willing them to leave the teachers of the New Testament, for they be but knaves, cobblers, and such other abominable heretics; further saying, that ‘ my master and divers other could have favoured you much better, saying that you smelled of the new learning.’ If these, and such like words, be not both contentious and seditious, I know not what may be cause of sedition in this matter. For surely I think that those which begun the rebellion in Lincolnshire<sup>b</sup> had no better occasion to turn the people’s hearts against their prince, than such manner of communication as is used here by your maintenance, or at the least trusting to your defence. Which thing much grieveth me, yea it pitieth me not a little, to think that you, having so kind and loving a Sovereign Lord as the King’s Grace is to you, of whom you have received no small benefits, but over that of his great goodness hath called you to so high estimation as to be reputed of his Council, should thus slenderly regard his godly intent in the reformation of doctrine within this his realm, that by your comfort the vulgar people conceiveth hatred towards such things as by the prince’s commandment are set forth. It is every where within Kent spoken and murmured, that the people dare not apply themselves to read God’s word, for fear of your threats at Sizes and Sessions.

And whereas your servants report that all things are restored by this new book to their old use, both of ceremonies, pilgrimages, purgatory, and such other, calling those that of late hath preached of the abuses of them, false knaves and men worthy of no credence: truly you and your servants be so blinded, that you call old that is new, and new that is old<sup>c</sup>; and of malice, as it appeareth, you will not learn of them

<sup>b</sup> [See, for an account of this rebellion, Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. p. 456.]

<sup>c</sup> [Thus also Latymer, “ Ye say it is *new* learning. Now I tell you, “ it is the *old* learning. Yea, ye say, it is old *heresy* new scoured. Now “ I tell you it is old *truth*, long rusted with canker, and now new made “ bright and scoured.” Todd, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 220. See also Cranmer’s Letter to Queen Mary. (vol. i. Letter ccxcix.)]

that can tell you, what is new and what is old. But in very deed the people be restored by this book to their old good usages, although they be not restored to their late abused usages; for the old usage was in the primitive Church, and nigh thereunto when the Church was most purest, nothing less so to phantasy of ceremonies, pilgrimage, purgatory, saints, images, works, and such like, as hath these three or four hundred years been corruptly taught. And if men will indifferently read these late declarations, they shall well perceive, that purgatory, pilgrimages, praying to saints, images, holy bread, holy water, holy days, merits, works, ceremonies, and such other, be not restored to their late accustomed abuses, but shall evidently perceive that the word of God hath gotten the upper hand of them all, and hath set them in their right use and estimation; although it be otherwise reported by them that would fain have the people maintained in sedition, and continue in blindness and in disobedience.

Wherefore in mine opinion, if you mind and intend that the hearts of the people should be given to the law of God and their prince, it appertaineth as well to you as to me to open to the people, in time and place convenient, how much they are bound to give God eternal thanks, laud, and praise, that in their time it hath pleased his goodness thus manifestly to show Himself by his word to them, whereby they may perceive in what error, superstition, and blindness they were led in of late years: and that they have no less cause to give Him thanks, in that He hath sent us so good and virtuous a prince, as to cause these things to be made open to them both by his word, and otherwise by declaration of learned men; and not thus to bear in hand and glory that in all things the people must do as they did before, and whatsoever hath been preached by these new preachers are mere heresies: so that in thus reporting, bringeth in a grudge and hatred no small number of people one against another.

And surely if it were not for the favour I bear to you, I would call before me such of your servants and other that

appertain to you, and proceed against them as against heretics, (if they will maintain either pilgrimage, purgatory, images or saints, merits or works, as they have been heretofore by many both taught and used, by the space of two or three hundred years,) for all their brag; and therefore let them look more wisely upon this new book than so to report of it. Howbeit, I trust your wisdom and discretion is such, that you will see your family and retinue so ordered, that they may be agreeable to such things as are truly set forth for the preservation of the common opinion and religion within this realm. And trusting also, that both on your part and on theirs likewise, quietness amongst the people may be observed, and love towards our prince engendered; to the furtherance whereof every man in his state is bound both of duty and of conscience.

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CXCVII. A JUSTICE TO CRANMER.

In right humble manner I recommend me unto your lordship : MSS. ascertaining you, that yesterday I received your letters at Mynster <sup>Chapter</sup> in the Isle of Thanet, written at Forde the 2nd day of this month, <sup>House,</sup> thinking continually before my receipt thereof, that your lord- <sup>Westmin-</sup> ship had been much more my good lord than I may well now <sup>ster;</sup> perceive that ye be. And even as before your lordship knew me <sup>Theol.</sup> or any part of my conversation, ye judged me to be a man that <sup>Tracts,</sup> favoured not the word of God, so, notwithstanding your often fa- <sup>vol. ii.</sup> vourable acceptation of me into your presence heretofore, and hearing of mine answer thereunto directly made unto you, your lordship, without cause, persevereth in that opinion, in manner as if ye had so tried me; and for answer hereto I pray you, my lord, pardon me of my plainness ensuing.

I let you know reverently, that I love God and his most blessed word, believe in Him, dread Him, confess Him, and am as obedient to Him and to his laws as ye be, and as a true Christian oweth to be: wherefore as in that point your judgment doth me wrong. Also, my lord, I trust verily in God, and doubt it nothing, but that if ye do your duty to God as a good Christian prelate, (which I pray God give you grace to do,) and also your duty to the King's

Majesty on your behalf as appertaineth to your honour, as I have ever intended to do, have done, and will do continually to my feeble power, neither of us shall have cause to repent our dealing, neither rebukeful untowardness shall be seen to be in either of us. And, my lord, I have not used to colour or dissemble to advance or extol any thing which the King's Highness hath set forth to his people ; and if ye know that I have, do your duty by complaint, as ye threat me by your letters : and I trust that little honour shall ensue to you by your complaint, being grounded upon so little truth.

And as touching the preaching of your lordship and of your substitutes, ye cannot truly accuse me to have impugned against the same. And as for the experience which your lordship hath of my judgment, that I take not indifferently such things as of late hath been set forth by the authority of the word of God, I am ready to answer to your knowledge and experience therein, whensoever I shall be called. Also I say expressly, that neither ye nor any other knoweth, nor can prove, that I have let any people of your diocese to exercise themselves in the knowledge of God's laws, neither have promoted any such to trouble or vexation. And I dare well say, that none honest man thinketh, that I rather intend to extinguish the whole or any part of the knowledge of God, than to have Him by his word known and glorified. But your lordship, being prone to hear the tongues of false liars your explorators, thus listeth by their false reports to touch me with your letters.

And as to the false traitors in Lincolnshire, which ye ascribe to be adherents to the Bishop of Rome, and subsequently ye parify me unto them ; my lord, I think ye show thereby your good will and charity towards me to be but little ; for I let your lordship know, that I am as true a subject to the King as ye be, and no papist, nor set any more by the Bishop of Rome, or his traditions or usurpations, than I think he setteth by you. And untruly ye conclude thereupon, that I bear the people hatred for favouring of God's word, affirming that I so handle myself that it is not unknown to the people, that I hate God's word ; and also that I cannot abide any reformation or alteration of abuses in the Church or among the people : which inatter it seemeth, by your letters, that your Lordship hath gathered by my words and communications brought unto you by the false tongues before re-

hearsed ; and yet ye give faith and credit unto them as though ye had heard or seen me to show myself. I marvel much of that your light credence therein, not hearing me which am a party to be called thereunto ; which lightness of credence doth not well in so great a prelate as your lordship is. After this your lordship imputeth much default in me, that by mine authority and by such as appertain to me, ceremonies or ordinances of the Church cut away from superstition, is blasted to be restitution of all old fashions, spite of this new doctrine and new preachers ; whereupon your lordship, by your letters, doth express specially many great offences committed against the ordinances, to the King's Majesty, his Council, and yourself ; and for approbation thereof ye rehearse divers misdemeanours committed by certain of my servants, sythe that the book, which ye call the Clergy's determinations, hath come forth by the King's commandment. My lord, I have none authority but of the King's Majesty, and I trust I know how to use that according to his Grace's pleasure and laws, and will not let so to do, how many soever espies ye set to look upon me. And of the said book I have spoken openly in the last Sessions, at Canterbury and elsewhere, so that my words were manifest, and I will abide by them ; and let my servants answer to theirs : for, my lord, ye shall find me to be no seditious nor contentious person, nor ye can prove me to be a maintainer of communication sounding or extending to any such abominable effect as ye write of, nor that any person hath had or conceived any occasion to trust to any defence in such wicked matter. And it is not honourable to you so to write, unless that ye can prove it, as I am sure ye cannot.

And as touching the benefits by me received by the King's Highness, your lordship needeth not to put me in remembrance of them, for I should show too much ingrate and unnatural disposition in me, if I should not recognize, that I have received of his Grace's benignity and liberality an hundred fold more good and goodness, than ever I shall be able to deserve or recompense unto his Grace, as your lordship and many other have done semblably, which I perfectly and well knew, before that I knew your lordship ; and therefore have alway considered, that my duty is to pray to Almighty God daily for preservation of his most royal estate, and with my body and all that I have, to serve him unto my life's end.



And as for my threats at Assizes and Sessions, *Ego palam locutus sum* ; and am sure that I neither offended God, my Sovereign Lord, nor my own conscience therein, in such wise as ye write. And as to my blindness in reading the said new book, of truth I am so blind, that when I read in it, it seemeth to me that it is so full and perfect of itself, that there needeth none other doctor or clerk to be expositor thereof: wherefore I and all other the King's true and unlearned subjects be much bound to pray for his Grace, that hath set forth among us such a noble and comfortable work for the advancement of Christian faith and true doctrine.

And, my lord, if ye have matter or cause sufficient to convent before you any of my servants, or other that appertain to me, and to proceed against them as against heretics, I pray you let not the favour or love that ye pretend to bear to me be the let thereof; for your lordship giveth me now little cause to trust unto it; and therefore I may think mine own poor heart being set in affection toward you, next unto my Sovereign Lord, to have had a weary journey. God preserve your lordship. Written at Sandwicke this Wednesday morning, the 3d day of October. An<sup>o</sup>. 29. [1537.]

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### CXCVIII. TO A JUSTICE.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster;  
*Theol.*  
*Tracts*,  
vol. ii.

After hearty commendations; these shall be to signify unto you, that I have received your letters dated at Sandwicke the third day of this present month of October, answering to my late letters to you directed the second day of the said month, the contents and circumstances whereof I have thoroughly pondered and considered; by which I perceive that you cannot well bear the exhortation of your friend in such things as of duty appertaineth one to admonish another; as specially it becometh every man without respect to do, when the thing toucheth God's quarrel and the prince's; for you make an answer unto my said letters with such comparisons, and so clearly avoiding yourself from every conjecture and reason objected, that you would seem to be out of suspicion of all together: which thing, if you could persuade unto me to be true, I would gladly

abide both reproach for writing so unadvisedly, and also make you a large amends, so that the most part of my diocese could likewise believe the same as well as I. Howbeit I am twice sorry to find you in this taking; once, by cause you set so light by your friend's honest admonition; again, by cause you be of that courage, rather to be content to be evil spoken of by many that dare not once tell you a word to your face, but in murmuration all behind your back, than to abide your friend's plain, simple, and loving monition, which telleth you what other men heareth, talketh, and judgeth of you.

And now to come somewhat to touch your letter particularly, you shall right well understand that you are much deceived, to think that I withdraw my good mind, or that at any time either now or heretofore I have not loved you in my heart, but as it were dissembled all this while. And inasmuch as you say that I judged you, before I knew you, not to be a favourer of God's word, and so doth persist in that opinion, in manner as if I had so tried you; in that you may perceive that there was a fame of you in this behalf before I knew you; which declareth that neither I nor none of mine hath invented any such things against you of late; and therefore, the fame not yet quenched made me to write my mind so plainly to you as I did. As for the profession of your religion, that you love God and his most blessed word, believe in Him, dread Him, &c, I did never doubt in that behalf at all, but that you had a fervent zeal to Him, saving that it may be doubtful, whether that zeal were according to knowledge, or no: specially considering that in your Sessions and elsewhere, you be not so diligent nor circumspect to open and set forth things requisite of necessity to our salvation, (as the point of our justification by Christ's passion only, the difference between faith and works, works of mercy to be done before voluntary works, the obedience towards our prince by the authority of the word of God, and such other concerning the stiff opinion of the people in alteration of ordinances and laws in the Church, as holidays, fasting days, &c.,) as you be in the declaration

and setting forth of mere voluntary things, of the which we have no ground ne foundation of Scripture. The abuses of which voluntary things have been so nourished in the Church, that the estimation of them hath put out of place, or at the least greatly obscured and hindered the very articles of our faith, and such things as of necessity and upon pain of damnation we are bound both to believe and do; yet notwithstanding must they be at Sessions and elsewhere in

restored to their old use, without any mention made of the abuses, and without any word mentioned of things necessary for our salvation. Me think God and the King hath wrong, in thus declaring the worst, and speaking never a word of the best; God first, by cause his commandment is not preferred, and then the King, by cause [he] hath caused great labours and pains to be taken to discern the one from the other; the best to be worthiest esteemed, and the other to have their degree and right use, the abuses cut away. And yet the matter is so handled, and every thing restored to his old use by your declaration, as I am credibly informed, that no abuses is found, and that it seemeth that the King and his Council are worthy of no laud and praise at all for their great pains, expenses, and labours; and the people nevertheless led in blindness.

Surely therefore I do not impute this to you, as doing it of malice or of purpose, but rather for lack of some knowledge in not discerning sincerely things commanded by God and by his word, from things ordained by man and grounded upon mere devotion, without any foundation and ground of the word of God; which manner of discerning these two things, no doubt these many years hath not been greatly regarded, pondered, ne weighed, but rather wittingly let slip, by cause that without controlment of the word of God, men might build whatsoever they list for their own glory, commodity, advantage, and lucre. These things shall you evidently espy, if you advisedly ponder these late and last determinations of the Clergy<sup>d</sup>: and I marvel that you do

<sup>d</sup> [*The Institution of a Christian Man.* See Letters CLXXXIV. CXCVI.]

not perceive this in reading the same, seeing that, as you say, they be so plain they need no declaration.

As touching that you lay to my charge in sundry places of your letters, that I am light of credence and prone to hear false liars my explorators, thinking that I go about to set spies for you ; I trust in your conscience you do not think so as you have written, for hitherto I have not so handled myself, neither to you ne to none other ; at the least I dare say that I am out of common fame thereof. If you have of me no better estimation for my friendly admonition, I may think that you have borne little good mind to me hitherto, thus suddenly to lay to my charge that [of] which no man living (besides you) can accuse me of suspicion, much less of proof. And do you think that I am so ready, at the informations of light persons, to write so earnestly to such a one as you be, both of experience and wisdom in no small estimation, not having both manifest conjectures, proofs some, and vulgar fame sufficient, to inform me thereunto ? Surely, notwithstanding your imagination in this behalf, I may not wink at such things as be by common fame and great likelihood opened to me, specially when the matter tendeth to disquietness, murmur, or disobedience. For if I had intended so to undermine you, (as you pretend I do) you may trust me, surely, that I would never have opened so plainly to you my mind as I have done, but have declared and proved my grief so to the King's Grace and his Council, not doubting but that I should rather have thereby had laud and praise than any dishonour, mine intent thoroughly known to the King's Majesty in that behalf.

And where you say, that I parify you to the false traitors in Lincolnshire, thinking thereby to show my goodwill and charity towards you to be little, and so thereupon you declare your true obedience to the King's Majesty ; Sir, although you have uncharitably received my letter, and gathered upon me in this point more than can be proved justly, yet did I not intend herein to break charity with you, or to bear you any worse will, in declaring mine opinion, what I

thought your servants' words and such other might prove to, having for example that such like words was the ground and foundation of the rebellion lately conceived in Lincolnshire. And to be plain with you, I am sorry to perceive how ready you be to ascribe that to yourself, which was only laid to your servants, for such words as I suppose I can justly prove against them. And therefore when I write this purification, as you call it, of the rebels of Lincolnshire, I nothing thought less than to compare any man hereabout to them; only I showed what seditious words might do here, as it did there; for I think that if such monitions had been in time there sent to wise men, it would never have come to so great a ruffle as it did. And I do assure you (by cause the pacifying of seditiousness as much appertaineth to you as to me) I had thought when I wrote that my said letter to you, you would rather have required of me the names of your servants, the time and place, and to whom those words were spoken, than thus, by taking to yourself the defence of your said servants, impute that the matter was specially rehearsed against you.

As touching many other things at large in your letter, of your hatred towards the people for favouring of the word of God, of your interpreting new and old fashions, of your open speaking at Sessions, or elsewhere, both of the new book and of other things, and of your threats there; for so much as you allege this text, *Ego palam locutus sum*, I think in very deed that your open speaking hath engendered much grudge amongst the people, and also putteth your own servants in this courage and comfort, thus without discretion to babble and talk such slanderous and seditious words as they do.

And therefore, to make an end, I require you not to take my monition to the worst, but as you would accept the monition of him that loveth you better than he that dare not tell you his mind according to his conscience. And as for that that I have done hitherto by my letters, you have no cause why you should take it but after a charitable manner, considering that it is our private and secret communication.

And if you cannot thus take it, then I remit the judgment of my letters to the King and his Council, and to the report of such as shall be called before them for the same. And now where upon occasion of my other letter you wish me that God should give me grace to do my office, truly I can no less do than thank you therefore, requiring you, (as you shall from time to time see cause why) that you will both earnestly and plainly admonish me of such things as you shall think in your conscience worthy of reformation. And I trust I shall not only better accept your admonitions than you have done mine, but shall in my heart also yield unto you condign thanks for the same.

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CXCIX. A JUSTICE TO CRANMER.

After due reverence as appertaineth to your lordship remem-  
bered, it may please you to know that yesterday before noon I re-  
ceived your second letters, whereby I perceive that your lordship  
calleth your former letters to me directed, which I received at  
Mynster in Thanett, "a friendly exhortation." And ye allege  
that I cannot bear the same : which allegation it seemeth ye make  
because of certain comparisons comprised in mine answer to your  
lordship thereunto made. My lord, ye may be assured that your  
said former letters distempered not me in such wise, that I for-  
gat wherein I made my comparisons, for they be such as I may  
well make, and eftsoons hereby I affirm them. And as to your  
lordship's friendly exhortation, albeit that ye be an high prelate  
and percase deeply seen in divinity, and I a man but meanly  
learned in morality, I despair not so much in myself as to think,  
that I cannot discern between a friendly exhortation or admonition,  
and a captious impetition or dangerous commination. And  
where your lordship offereth to abide reproach, or to make me  
amends, in case that I could persuade unto you mine to be  
true, as I have heretofore written, I will not desire any of those to  
be had ; but I will make recompense to myself by being ware of  
your lordship hereafter. And, my lord, I know well that honest  
men of this shire be not in such fear of me, as to forbear to speak  
to me presently as they think, nor use to detract me, as ye write.

MSS.  
Chapter  
Honse,  
Westmin-  
ster ;  
*Theol.*  
*Tracts*,  
vol. ii.

And where your lordship, touching the particulars of mine answer to your said former letters, writeth, that your judgment conceived of me before ye knew me, in that I favoured not the word of God, and your perseverance in the same, argueth that there was a fame of me in that behalf before ye knew me ; it seemeth to be but a weak argument, and thereto I say and I think verily, that ye never knew nor heard of any such fame, but that ye invented that objection against me for another cause, which I well remember. For when I came first to your presence, which was at Otford, and moved you therein, ye justified not that your judgment by any fame thereof being upon me, but advised me to apply study of Scripture ; which hitherto I durst never enterprise, for doubt that I should, with little learning and less discretion, take upon me high knowledge, as I see many do nowadays.

And such things as ye impute default in me for matters not set forth in Sessions, which be requisite for our salvation ; those things be more pertinent to the office and part of a standing preacher in a pulpit, than to a sitting justiciar in a temporal session of peace<sup>c</sup> ; and what your lordship meaneth by voluntary things set forth in Sessions, which ye allege have greatly obscured our faith and such things as we be bound to believe and do upon pain of damnation, I know not ; and I never heard the King's Courts of Sessions so defamed as your lordship doth with your pen, writing that the worst been there declared, and of the best never a word spoken. Thus your lordship taketh mine opinion by the reports of the tongues of such false persons as I have written of to your lordship before ; and in the process of this matter it may be reasonably gathered upon the writing to me, that a session of the King's laws cannot be laudably kept, unless there be in manner a sermon of divinity clerkly made therein. Whereunto ye add great lack of discretion in men between things commanded by God and by his word, and things ordained by man

<sup>c</sup> [This plea, however conclusive it may now appear, was probably of little avail in the reign of Henry VIII ; for at that time points of divinity were not unfrequently handled on such occasions. For instance, when the King commanded the bishops and clergy to preach in favour of his supremacy, he also directed the justices of the peace " at their sitting in Sizes and Sessions, to persuade, show, and declare " unto the people the tenor, effect, and purpose of the premises in such " wise as the said Bishops and Clergy may the better execute their " said duties." See Burnet, *Ref.* vol. iii. App. B. ii. No. 32.]

and grounded of mere devotion, without any foundation or ground of the word of God. I suppose that few men have so little discretion as to think, that liberal things proceeding but of devotion be to be done or practised, and the commandment of God to be omitted ; albeit I doubt not but that Almighty God accepteth to his pleasure good things done which proceed of mere devotion, though that the thing be not expressly commanded to be done by the word of God ; or else all foundations of the ecclesiastical things and other like perpetuities be of little reputation.

Also your lordship marvelleth that I do not perceive things which ye write of, in reading the last determination of the Clergy, because I say they be so plain that they need no declaration ; and I marvel more that ye so marvel, ere that ye know or hear mine intelligence in them. And most heartily I beseech your lordship to let me know your manifest conjectures, proofs, and vulgar fame which ye write off ; whereupon ye have grounded, or reasonably may ground yourself to impeach me by your former letters as ye have done, for till your lordship so letteth me know by some reasonable mean, I cannot think but that ye have dealt hardly with me and uncharitably. And let the openers to you of those things and such other as ye may not wink at, be known ; and I doubt not but that they shall be seen to be such persons as I have written of, and thereby also ye shall know me better than ye do. And hitherto, I am sure, that I have been as vigilant to things tending to disquietness, murmur, or disobedience, as any poor man of my degree in this shire, and have detested them as much ; and because that it seemeth that divers of my servants offended your lordship in speaking of some words, I pray you send for them, and upon due proof thereof made, use them according to their demerits.

And where I have written, *Ego palam locutus sum*, let the hearers testify, and I am ready to make answer ; and beseech Almighty God to grant me grace never to have more dangerous matter to answer unto than that ; and I doubt not but that I have so borne myself hitherto, and trust in God to do hereafter, that I shall not need to dread the complaints of your lordship nor of any other ; and so finally I intend truly to serve God and the King during my poor life, as well as God will give me grace, and so to live in good tranquillity and little care of evil tongues, what ears or eyes so ever be bent against me. And so also I pray God your lord-



ship may do. Written at Raynham, the first Sunday of this month of October. [7 Oct. 1537.]

CC. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-  
respond-  
ence. Ori-  
ginal.

My very singular good Lord, after most hearty commendations unto your lordship; these shall be to signify unto the same, that you shall receive news by this bearer Mr. Hethe<sup>f</sup>, which of late I have received out of Germany from Osiander; requiring you, my lord, to give further credence unto this said bearer, touching such things as he shall declare unto you.

And albeit that I have written to your lordship so many times in the favour of that poor man, William Gronno<sup>5</sup>, to be restored unto his room at Calice, that I am at my wit's end farther how to behave myself to do him good by my suit, considering that your letters, three times already directed in his favour, prevaileth nothing at all; yet once again, having in respect both his importune suit, and also his extreme poverty, or rather undoing, I shall beseech your lordship, inasmuch as you have thus far attempted in his behalf, that you will not now leave off your good intent towards him; for if you do, surely I do not only count the man undone, but also take that this his extreme handling shall be a great hinderance to the advancement of God's word; and I beseech you procure, that there may be one of the Council of Caleis that earnestly favoureth the furtherance thereof. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Forde, the 9th day of October.

Your own assured ever,

T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable and my  
singular good lord, my Lord Privy  
Seal.

<sup>f</sup> [See Letter LXXXIX. CLII. For an account of the negotiations between Hen. VIII. and the German protestants, see Seckendorf, *Comment. de Lutheran.* lib. iii. §. xxxix. and lib. iii. §. lxvi. (b)]

<sup>5</sup> [See Letter CXCII.]

## CCI. To CRUMWELL.

My singular good Lord, I heartily commend me unto you. And whereas my trusty servant Master Towker, my physician, being a man of good learning and conversation, hath exercised the office of a physician of long continuance with the Prior and Convent of Christ's Church, in Canterbury, and had the fees, profits, and commodities belonging to the same; the which said office, by the custom of the house, hath always been esteemed a perpetuity, and the Prior promised me, at Christmas last, that my said servant should have a patent thereof during his life; the which his former promise the Prior nothing regarding sithen that time will now in no wise condescend that my said servant shall have any patent of the said office; wherefore, in consideration of the good service he hath done to the said Prior and Convent at all times, I beseech your good lordship to direct your letters to the said Prior and Convent, requiring them without further delay to seal and deliver the said letters patents, whereby ye shall not only do a very good deed, but also bind my said servant to be your daily beadman, and with his poor service to be at all times at your lordship's commandment. And thus heartily fare you well. From Lamehithe, the xith day of this month of November.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House  
Westmin-  
ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-  
respond-  
ence.  
*Original.*

Your own assured ever,

T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable and my  
singular good lord, my Lord Privy  
Seal.

## CCII. To CRUMWELL.

My very singular good Lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto your lordship. And where I have written unto the wardens of the goldsmiths, requiring them to take a view of the pix belonging unto the mint at Canter-

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-

respond-  
ence. *Original.*

bury<sup>h</sup>, as well for my discharge as to the intent the King's Highness may be the more substantially served in his coins there, the said wardens hath sent me word, that they would gladly take pains in that behalf, so that they may have commandment from one of the Council besides me; for so in times past they have accomplished my predecessors' request herein and not else, as they say: these shall be therefore to beseech your lordship to assign this bill herein inclosed, to the intent that the Master and Controller of the said mint, being now in the town at my commandment, may the sooner have expedition in the premises. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Lambeth, the ivth day of December.

Your own assured ever,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord,  
my Lord Privy Seal.

### CCIII. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westminster;  
Crumwell's  
Correspondence. *Original.*

My very singular good Lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto your lordship. These shall be to signify unto the same, that at my late being at the Court, forso-much as I failed of you there, I attempted alone to be a suitor unto the King's Majesty for my loving friend Sir John Markeham<sup>i</sup>, knight, declaring unto his Grace not only the old and continual service which the said Sir John Markeham did first unto his Grace's grandame<sup>k</sup>, and since to his said Grace ever since his coronation, being in all the wars which the King hath had since his most gracious reign, except he had wars in divers places at one time, and then he was ever in one of them, which from time to time hath been great charge unto him: moreover I declared unto his Highness, how that the said Sir John, of long season, hath un-

<sup>h</sup> [See Letter cxxiv.]

<sup>i</sup> [See Letter clxi.]

<sup>k</sup> [The Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond.]

feignedly favoured the truth of God's word<sup>1</sup>; and so upon these my persuasions I besought his Grace to be good in a suit which your lordship and I should make for the said Sir John, whereof I referred the relation unto your lordship: and I found the King's Grace very well minded towards the said Sir John; wherefore I nothing doubt but, if it will please your lordship this present time earnestly to set forward the said suit, the King's Grace is well inclined to hear it; so that I trust you shall easily obtain the same, which I beseech you to do at this my request, and this gentleman shall be ever bound to do you service. And yet one thing I did forget to say unto his Highness, which is this, that the said Sir John Markeham hath been no great craver unto his Grace; for this is the first thing that ever he asked of his Grace. Wherefore, my lord, considering the matter is thus far opened and wholly committed unto you, I shall desire you to promote the same with expedition, and that the rather at this mine instant request; wherein surely you shall not only do for the preferment of a faithful and honest gentleman<sup>m</sup>, but thereby bind me to be at your lordship's commandment. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Lambeth, the vith day of December.

Your lordship's own ever,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

#### CCIV. To CRUMWELL.

My very singular good Lord, after most hearty commendations; this shall be to signify unto your lordship, that I have received both your letters and the book<sup>n</sup> also

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin.

<sup>1</sup> [Sir John Markham was one of Hen. VIII's Visitors for the Deanery of Doncaster. Burnet, *Ref.* vol. ii. App. B. i. No. 21.]

<sup>m</sup> [The site of the Premonstratensian Abbey of Neubo or Newboth, in Lincolnshire, was granted to Sir John Markham, 29 Hen. VIII. Tanner, *Notitia Monast.*]

<sup>n</sup> [*The Institution of a Christian Man.* See Letters CLXXXIV. ccv.]

ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-  
respond-  
ence. Ori-  
ginal.

State  
Papers,  
vol. i.  
part ii.  
Lett. cv.

Todd, *Life*  
*of Cranm.*  
vol. i. p. 184.

lately by us devised, and now overseen and corrected by the King's Majesty, which book, according to his Grace's pleasure, all other business laid apart, I shall, with all possible expedition, peruse and oversee within this sevendnight, or fortnight at the uttermost, and thereof advertise his Majesty, by your lordship, of my judgment and opinion in such places as are in the same book by his Grace corrected.

And as touching your farther advertisement of the King's most gracious pleasure to be resolved in the case of matrimony between the late Duke of Richmond<sup>o</sup> and my Lord of Norfolk's daughter, wherein his Highness willeth me to call my doctors unto me, and to propone the same case amongs them, whether such marriage be matrimony or no; I assure your lordship, that, without farther convocation of doctors, I am fully persuaded that such marriages as be in lawful age contracted *per verba de præsenti*, are matrimony before God. And the same case is, as I remember, plainly opened and declared in the King's Grace's book of his own cause of matrimony<sup>p</sup>. Howbeit, I shall eftsoons consult herein with such learned men as at this time be with me present, and send unto your lordship our resolution in the same. And if his Grace will have me farther to consult therein, then I must send for other learned men, or else come to London myself. Thus Almighty God have your lordship in his tuition. At Forde, the 14th day of January.

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

<sup>o</sup> [See p. 84. The Duke of Richmond died on the 23d of July, 1536, aged about seventeen. Stow, *Annals*; Note to *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 321.]

<sup>p</sup> [Burnet, after giving an account of several books on the King's marriage, adds: "But all these, and many more, were summed up in a "short book, and printed first in Latin, then in English, with the determinations of the Universities before it." This seems to be the book to which Cranmer alludes. It was published by Berthelet in Nov. 1530, and was entitled: *The Determinations of the moste famous and mooste excellent Universities of Italy and Fraunce, that it is so unfeul for a man to marie his brother's wyfe, that the Pope hath no power to*

## CCV. TO CRUMWELL.

My very singular good Lord<sup>r</sup>, after most hearty commen-<sup>MSS.</sup>  
 dations unto your lordship; these shall be to advertise <sup>Cotton,</sup>  
 the same, that as concerning the book lately devised by me <sup>Cleopatra,</sup>  
 and other bishops of this realm, which you sent unto me <sup>E. v. fol.</sup>  
 corrected by the King's Highness, your lordship shall receive <sup>101.</sup>  
 the same again by this bearer the pursuivant, with certain an-  
 notations of mine own concerning the same; wherein I trust  
 the King's Highness will pardon my presumption, that I  
 have been so scrupulous, and as it were a picker of quarrels to  
 his Grace's book, making a great matter of every light fault,  
 or rather where no fault is at all; which I do only for this  
 intent, that because the book now shall be set forth by his  
 Grace's censure and judgment<sup>s</sup>, I would have nothing

*dispencc therewith.* Ames, *Typ. Antiq.* 1132. A copious abstract of  
 it will be found in Burnet. *Ref.* vol. i. p. 195.]

<sup>¶</sup> [Part of this Letter is printed by Strype, *Cranm.* p. 51, and the sub-  
 stance of another part is given by him in the same work, p. 45; but it  
 has not hitherto been published entire.]

<sup>r</sup> [The date of this and the preceding Letter can scarcely be *earlier*  
 than 1538: for *The Institution*, which, on the 21st of July 1537, was an-  
 nounced to be nearly finished, (Letter clxxxiv.) is here spoken of as  
 "the book lately devised." And it can scarcely be *later*; because it  
 may be inferred from the question respecting the marriage of the Duke of  
 Richmond, that it was written at no very distant period after his death;  
 and this took place on the 22d of July 1536. Strype, however, and  
 Mr. Todd place it under 1537. But Strype's narrative tends more  
 to shake his own date than to establish it. In 1537, he says, a commis-  
 sion was issued for devising a form of sound doctrine. The commis-  
 sioners met at Lambeth, and after much debate "set their hands to a  
 "godly book of religion." The book was delivered by Crumwell to the  
 King, who, "at his leisure, diligently perused, corrected, and aug-  
 "mented it: and then after five or six months assigned Crumwell to  
 "dispatch it unto the Archbishop, that he might give his judgment  
 "upon the King's animadversions." . . . . The Archbishop "made his  
 "own annotations, . . . . and when he sent it back again, he wrote  
 "these lines to Crumwell on the 25th of January." No one who is re-  
 quired at this point to add the year, can avoid naming 1538. Yet  
 Strype, after inserting the former part of the letter, proceeds: "at  
 "length this book came forth in the year 1537." It is quite true that  
 "the book came forth in 1537;" but instead of *following*, it must  
 clearly have *preceded* these Letters of Cranmer. See Preface; Letter  
 clxxxiv, and notes; Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 51; Todd, *Life of Cranmer*,  
 vol. i. p. 184.]

<sup>s</sup> [It has been observed in note (i) to Letter clxxxiv. that *The In-*  
*stitution*, though introduced by a Preface from the prelates, did not  
 bear the same stamp of royal authority as the *Articles of Religion* pub-

therein that Momus could reprehend: and yet I refer all mine annotations again to his Grace's most exact judgment; and I have ordered my annotations so by numbers, that his Grace may readily turn to every place, and in the lower margin of this book, next to the binding, he may find the numbers which shall direct him to the words whereupon I make the annotations; and all those his Grace's castigations which I have made none annotation upon, I like them very well: and in divers places also I have made annotations, which places nevertheless I mislike not, as it shall appear by the same annotations <sup>t</sup>.

And as touching the punishment of those evil persons, which have in these parties set forth seditious bruits <sup>u</sup> of the King's Majesty, one of them upon Wednesday last was ordered at Canterbury, according to the King's Grace's commandment, and another shall suffer the same to-morrow at Sandewiche, and the other shall be served accordingly.

And as for the case of marriage <sup>x</sup> wherein your Lordship first required to know, whether marriage contracted and so-

lished in the preceding year. It would appear that it was now proposed to remedy this defect, by setting forth an improved edition "by his Grace's censure and judgment;" and that in consequence, Hen. VIII, previously to committing himself to its tenets, chose to revise it with his own pen. The design, however, was abandoned for the present; for no new edition appeared before 1543, when, having been much altered, it was published "by the King's Majesty of England," under the title of *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*. The immediate cause of this postponement may perhaps be found in the consultations of English and German divines, which were held this year in London, for the purpose of drawing up a general Confession of Faith for all the reformed Churches. For while there was a hope of agreeing in a *joint* form of doctrine, the publication of a *separate* one would of course be suspended. See Preface; Letters ccxxiii, ccxxiv, ccxxx, ccxxxi; Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 330; Heylyn, *Eccles. Restaur.* Edw. VI. p. 19.]

<sup>t</sup> [Corrections of *The Institution* by Hen. VIII. and Annotations on these Corrections by Cranmer are still extant, and will be found vol. ii. pp. 21. 65. There seems to be no reason for doubting their identity with those which are referred to in these Letters.]

<sup>u</sup> [See Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 70.]

<sup>x</sup> [Strype could not tell whom "this great case of marriage" concerned, but he suspected it might relate to Katharine the divorced Queen. The preceding Letter (with which he was unacquainted,) proves the parties to have been the Duke of Richmond, and the Lady Mary Howard, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk. See p. 226.]

lemnised in lawful age, *per verba de præsenti*, and without carnal copulation, be matrimony before God or no: and now you require farther to know, whether such matrimony be consummate or no; and what the woman may thereupon demand by the law civil after the death of her husband: to the first part I answer, that I and my doctors that now are with me, are of this opinion, that this matrimony contracted, *per verba de præsenti*, is perfect matrimony before God, but not utterly consummated, (as this term is commonly used amongst the school divines and lawyers,) but by carnal copulation. And as for the demand of the woman by the law civil, I will therein profess mine ignorance, and I have no learned men here with me in the said civil law, but only Doctor Barbare<sup>y</sup>, who in this matter saith he cannot pronounce his mind, except he had books here, and the company of learned men of the said faculty to consult withal. And I marvel that the votes of the civil lawyers be required herein, seeing that all manner of causes of dower be judged within this realm by the common laws of the same; and there be plenty of well learned men in the civil law at London, which undoubtedly can certify the King's Majesty of the truth herein, as much as appertaineth unto that law<sup>z</sup>. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Forde, the xxvth day of January. [1538.]

Your lordship's own assured,

T. Cantuarien.

<sup>y</sup> [Dr. John Barber was retained by Cranmer in his house as a legal adviser, and was the Official of his Court at Canterbury; yet he was implicated in the conspiracy against him in 1543. Strype, *Cranm.* pp. 91. 121. See Letters ccxxx. ccxli.]

<sup>z</sup> [Mr. Ellis has printed a letter from the Duchess of Richmond to her father the Duke of Norfolk, complaining of delay, and requesting his permission to come and plead her own cause. "If," she says, "it would please ye, as oftentimes I have desired your Grace to give me leave to come up and sue mine own cause, being no wise too good to be in person an humble suitor to his Majesty, I do not doubt but upon the sight thereof his Highness should be moved to have compassion on me, considering that he himself alone made the marriage, and to think that it shall be much his Majesty's honour to grant me that his laws give me to maintain me with, the desolate widow of his late son, in the degree that his Majesty hath called me to, yet nevertheless putting my whole matter into your Grace's hands and my Lord



## CCVI. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster;  
Crumwell's  
Corres-  
pondence.  
*Original.*

My very singular good Lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me to your lordship. And whereas this last year I became a suitor for this bearer John Culpeper, unto the King's Majesty, requiring his Grace to accept into his service the said Culpeper, and farther, to be so gracious lord unto him, as in time convenient to make him one of the grooms of his privy chamber, his Grace most benignly tendering my suit and request at that time not only accepted him into the room of a gentleman waiter, but thereunto also said, that he would see for him upon convenient opportunity: now, my lord, these shall be most heartily to desire and pray you to be so good lord unto the said John Culpeper, as to renew my suit unto the King's Majesty for him at such time as any alteration shall be made within the King's Grace's privy chamber, not doubting at all, but that he shall not only do unto the King's Highness his most true and faithful service, but also be at your lordship's commandment during his life. Thus our Lord have your good lordship in his most blessed tuition. At Ford, the xxviiiith day of January.

Your own ever assured,  
Thomas Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable and my  
singular good lord, my Lord Privy  
Seal.

## CCVII. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,

My very singular good Lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto your lordship. And where of late <sup>a</sup> I

"Privy Seal's." Ellis, *Orig. Letters*, 2nd series, Lett. cxx. It appears from the *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 577. that in the July following she was recognized as Duchess of Richmond, and that suit was then made to the King for securing to this "desolate widow," not only a jointure, but another husband.]

<sup>a</sup> [See Letter ccv.]

wrote unto you, how that one of those seditious persons which here spread false bruits of the King's Highness, was punished at Canterbury: this shall be to certify your lordship that another of them was likewise punished at Sandewiche, as this bearer Sir Edward Ryngisley<sup>b</sup>, knight, can more at large inform your lordship of the manner thereof; for he was present at Sandwiche to see all things executed according to the King's commandment: and he was also very diligent always in examination of divers persons to see the matters tried out, so that no man could be more willing and ready to satisfy the King's commandment. To whom I beseech your lordship for his pains taken in this behalf to give unto him your hearty thanks, which will be unto him (I dare well say) no small courage and pleasure: and as for the priest not yet punished, this day, with the assistance of Mr. Sheriff and this said bearer, we have appointed him to be punished at Asheforth the next market day. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Forde, the 29th day of January.

Your own assured ever,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

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### CCVIII. TO CRUMWELL.

My very singular good Lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me to your lordship. And whereas the benefice of Sutton Magna, within the County of Essex, of the patronage of Margaret Wyate, widow, and George Coverte, *alternis vicibus*, being void this last year, came in controversy of the law, which of them should present the incumbent, so that either of them presented one to the said benefice; the said Margaret Wiate presenting Sir John Gylderde of Rayley, in the county of Essex, a man, as I am credibly informed, both for his literature, good judg-

Westminster;  
Crumwell's  
Correspondence.  
Original.

MSS.  
Chapter House,  
Westminster;  
Crumwell's Correspondence.  
Original.

<sup>b</sup> [See Letter cxc.]

ment, and honest conversation, worthy of commendation and preferment; and the said George Coverte presenting one Sir Heugh Payne <sup>c</sup>, late Observant, whom I knew neither to be of good learning nor judgment, but a seditious person, and I suppose your lordship knew the same: of the which two persons so presented, the Bishop of London, notwithstanding that the matter was then in controversy, and not favouring so much the learning and judgment of the said Sir John of Rayly as he did Sir Heugh Payne's, gave the institution unto the said Sir Heugh Payne <sup>d</sup>, leaving the patroness in suit at the common law for the same; which said suit hath ever since continued, until now that at this time the said Sir Heugh Payne, being in the Marshalsea for his demerits, is departed: and now, forasmuch as the said Margery Wiate pretending the maintenance not only of her just title unto the said benefice, but also the discharging of her conscience in the same, hath once again presented the said Sir John of Rayley, being very loth that the benefice should be bestowed upon such as afore time have been drowned in superstitious religion, as partly she feareth that one Roche, late Observant, will promote himself thereunto as much as in him lieth: these shall be therefore to beseech your lordship, in consideration of her godly mind in this behalf, and to the intent that the said Bishop of London may with better will accept the said Sir John of Raily, to direct your letters in his favour unto the said Bishop of London, requiring him to induct the said Sir John without farther interruption; forasmuch as the said Coverte can claim no more at the most, but to present once against the said Mistress Wiate twice; and therefore it seemeth to me, that he can have no colour of interest in the said benefice at this time <sup>e</sup>, Sir Heugh Payne dying in possession, who

<sup>c</sup> [See Letter CLXXVII.]

<sup>d</sup> [Hugh Payne became Rector of Sutton Magna the 23d of Nov. 1536. Newcourt, *Repertorium*, vol. ii. p. 567.]

<sup>e</sup> [Cranmer was baffled in this case, and the widow Wyat defrauded: for Geo. Covert succeeded in appointing Thomas Roche to the rectory of Sutton Magna the 10th of Feb. 1538. Newcourt, who states with Cranmer, that the Wyats possessed two parts of the advowson, has re-

was by him last presented. And in thus doing your lordship shall do for the advancement of God's word, which I think is but easily set forward in Essex. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Forde, the viith day of February. [1538.]

Your own assured ever,  
T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable and my  
singular good lord, my Lord Privy  
Seal.

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CCIX. To CRUMWELL.

My very singular good Lord, in my most hearty wise I MSS. commend me unto your lordship. And whereas divers Chapter House, Westminster; Crumwell's Correspondence. Original. times I have been desirous and minded to sue unto the King's Majesty for some preferment for John Wakefelde, gentleman, Controller of my household, a man of good judgment and affection towards God's word, which I have Todd, Life of Crumwell, vol. i. p. 205. known him for the space of these twelve years always ready to promote in his country, not rashly nor seditiously, but gently and soberly, so that his own country could neither greatly hate him nor love him: they could not hate him for his kindness and gentleness, being ready to do every man good as much as in his power was; and yet they could not heartily love him, by cause he ever commended the knowledge of God's word, studied in himself diligently, and exhorted them unto the same, and spake many times against the abusions of the clergy; for which he had all the hate that most of the clergy could procure against him: and partly for his sincere mind which he beareth towards God's word, partly for his true and faithful heart which he hath borne towards his prince and such things as from time to

course to the conjecture, that Covert presented under their authority. But his conjecture is negatived by this Letter; and the fact seems to be, that Stokesley, Bishop of London, attended more to the tenets of the presentee, than to the right of the presenter. See Newcourt, *Repertorium*, vol. ii. p. 567.]

time his Highness hath set forth, and specially in this last commotion in the north parties, for so much as he so unfeignedly declared his true and faithful allegiance unto the King's Highness, refusing the confederacy of the Lord Darcy and other being gathered together unto the castle of Pomfrete, which Lord Darcie had trained him thither, (as further your lordship shall perceive by the said Lord Darcy's letters herein enclosed,) and yet that notwithstanding, after that my said Controller by communication had with the said Lord Darcie<sup>f</sup>, had perceived that there was no towardness of fidelity in him, he withdrew himself out of the said castle, to his great jeopardy and loss of all his goods, which at that time were specially spoiled, because he was so unobedient unto their minds; for the which spoil of his goods he hath been partly recompensed by my Lord of Norfolk, but not in comparison to his loss: I say therefore, for this cause of his vexation and other the premises, I was many times minded to sue for his preferment, saving that hitherto I saw nothing meet for his commodity. And now forasmuch as I am informed that the Priory of Pomferte<sup>g</sup> shall be surrendered unto the King's Grace's hands, and that both the situation and the demesne lands of that house lieth very commodiously for him, specially in the town where he dwelleth: these shall be to beseech your lordship to be so good lord unto him, as to be a mean unto the King's Majesty that he may have the preferment of the said priory with the demesnes in farm, doing in that behalf as any other will do for the King's Grace's advantage. It is for no man so meet as for him, and I think there will be but small suit for it, by reason that the lands are valued to the uttermost, and not only lieth in tillage, saving certain

<sup>f</sup> [Lord Darcy was executed on Tower Hill on the 20th of June 1537, for taking part in Aske's rebellion; respecting which, see, besides the historians, *State Papers*, vol. i. Letters XLVII—LXXXIX.]

<sup>g</sup> [A Priory of Dominicans at Pontefract was surrendered on the 26th of November 1538, (Burnet, vol. i. App. B. iii. No. 3.) and granted, 36 Hen. VIII, to W. Clifford and Mich. Wildbore. But the principal religious house at Pontefract was the Cluniac Priory, the site of which was granted to Edward Lord Talbot, 7 Edw. VI. Tanner, *Notitia Monast.*]

pasture for the maintenance of the tilth, but also no common pasture ne woods belonging to the same; for the which cause also my said Controller would not sue, saving that it lieth so nigh unto him; beseeching your lordship, that if hereafter he espy any better thing in the country that he may have your favour therein; and I doubt not in this his small preferment, but that his neighbours shall perceive, that the King's Majesty doth not forget those that bear his Grace their true hearts and fidelity. If your lordship would be so good as to show these my letters unto the King's Majesty, declaring the considerations thereof, I trust his Highness will tender my suit, if it were a greater matter; for his Highness will gladly help his faithful subjects if his Grace have information of them, and except his Grace be informed of them, he cannot help the trusty subjects he hath. Thus, my lord, most heartily fare you well. At Forde, the 28th of February.

Your own ever to command,  
T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable and my  
singular good lord, my Lord Privy  
Seal.

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CCX. To CRUMWELL<sup>b</sup>.

After most hearty commendations to your lordship: for-<sup>MSS.</sup>  
asmuch as I am informed, that your lordship intendeth to  
depose the Prior of the Charter House within the Isle of <sup>Cotton, Cleop. E. iv. fol. 212.</sup>  
Axholme<sup>i</sup>, this shall be to desire you to permit the said <sup>Original.</sup>  
Prior still to continue in his room, for I am about, through

<sup>b</sup> [The direction of this letter has been lost, but there can be little doubt of its having been addressed to Crumwell, as Vicar General.]

<sup>i</sup> [In Lincolnshire. "By Milwood Park side," says Leland, "stood the "right fair monastery of the Carthusians." The site of it was granted, 32 Hen. VIII, to Mr. John Candish, "who hath now turned the monastery to a goodly manor place." Leland *Itin.* vol. i. p. 32. Its yearly revenues at the dissolution were worth 237*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.* according to Dugdale. It was therefore not suppressed among the lesser monasteries in 1536. See Tanner, *Not. Mon.*; Letters cxxxiv. cxlv.]

the help of such friends as I have in those parties, to procure that the said Prior shall willingly resign the same into the King's hands. Thus Almighty God preserve your lordship. From Fourde, the viiith day of March<sup>k</sup>.

Your own assured ever,

T. Cantuarien.

# CCXI. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter-  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-  
respond-  
ence. *Original.*

My very singular good Lord, I heartily commend me unto you; and thank you in like manner for your pains taken with my folk and my letters divers and many times; and now I am driven to desire you to take further pains. So it is, that one Symone Cornethwaite, dwelling with my Lord Russell, did sue a cause of matrimony in the Arches against one Anne Barker, daughter to William Barker of Cheswicke, and brought the mother, and divers other witness, with the confession of the maid, to justify his intent; and then the maid was sequestered, lest any violence should be used towards her, unto the house of Master Vaghan in Chepe side; and in very deed, at the special request of my lord of Sussex, I heard the matter myself one day at Lamebethe, and thought it necessary that the maid should continue still in sequestration till the matter were tried. And this suit depending, one William Brydges, brother to Sir John Bridges<sup>1</sup>, took out the maid from the sequestration, and married her before day without any banns asked, or any license or dispensation obtained, and in the time forbidden<sup>m</sup>,

<sup>k</sup> [Some reader of this Letter has affixed to it the date of 1537; but it seems rather to belong to 1538, this being the year in which the Carthusian Priory of Axiholm in Lincolnshire was surrendered. See Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. App. B. iii. No. 3.]

<sup>1</sup> [Probably the same Sir John Bridges who was created Lord Chandos by Queen Mary, in 1554, for the more honourable reception of the Prince of Spain. See Strype, *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 119.]

<sup>m</sup> [The times forbidden to matrimony by old canons, and by the custom of England, were from Advent Sunday till a week after Epiphany; from Septuagesima Sunday till a week after Easter; and from Ascension day till Trinity Sunday. Comber. "Quando clauditur

within three days afore Christenmas last, and hath ever since lien by her, and keeps her in a secret corner in Master Ambrose Barker's house; and she is declared accurst for violating of the sequestration, and is so denounced at Poule's Cross, and at divers other places, and so hath continued forty days; and this notwithstanding, he keeps her still, more like a rebellion than an obedient subject to the laws and good order of this realm: and swears great oaths, that he will keep her in spite of any man. Now my desire is, for the zeal I do know that you bear unto justice, and the evitiation of notorious sin, it may please you to send for the said William Bridges by privy seal or otherwise, commanding him to bring the woman with him. And then you to sequester her to some honest indifferent house, till the matter be tried whose wife she is. And otherwise to correct him for his misdemeanour in this behalf, as shall be thought good to your lordship. In which doing I doubt not but you shall please God highly; and cause other to beware of such misdemeanour in the King's realm. As knows our Lord, who preserve you as myself. Amen. At Forde, the 14th day of March.

Your own ever assured,

T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal, these be given.

#### CCXII. TO CRUMWELL.

My very singular good Lord, in most hearty wise I com-  
mend me unto your lordship. And whereas there is suit  
made unto me for one Sir William Chevenay, Parson of  
Kynghston, besides Canterbury, which being a very impo-  
MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-

“tempus nuptiarum, et quando aperitur, nota in his versibus sequentibus:

“Aspiciens veterem, circum, qua, quis, benedicta.

“Conjugium vetat Adventus, Hilariusque relaxat.

“Septuagena vetat, octavum Pasche relaxat.”

*Missale ad usum Sarum. 1529.]*



respond-  
ence. *Original.*

tent man, above fourscore years of age, and also blind, is not able in his own person to discharge his cure, and would very gladly have license to abide with his friends and kinsfolks, and would find an honest priest in the meantime to discharge his cure; forasmuch as he is not able, besides the finding of the priest, to keep house of the same, the benefice being of so small valure, as I am credibly informed that it is; these shall be, therefore, to desire you to be good lord unto the said parson in this his suit unto your lordship, that he may be discharged of the Act concerning residence<sup>n</sup>, if it may be. And he shall pray during his life (which is not like to pass one year) for the preservation of your good lordship. Thus right heartily fare you well. From Canterbury, the 16th day of March.

Your own assured ever,

T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

### CCXIII. TO CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westminster;  
Crumwell's  
Correspondence.  
*Original.*

My very singular good Lord, in my most hearty manner I commend me unto your lordship: and where I am informed, that one Sandwhych, a monk of Christ's Church in Canterbury, and Warden of Canterbury College in Oxforth<sup>o</sup>, doth sue for the preferment of the Prior's office in the said house of Canterbury: these my letters are most effectuously to desire your lordship, if any such alteration be <sup>P</sup>, to

<sup>n</sup> [Stat. 21 Hen. VIII. c. 13.]

<sup>o</sup> [Canterbury College in Oxford was at this time subject to the Benedictine Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, and was chiefly occupied by student monks of that order. As a parcel of their possessions it was granted, 33 Hen. VIII, to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, but was transferred, 38 Hen. VIII, to the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, Oxford. Tanner, *Not. Monast.* See, for an account of its foundation, Lewis, *Life of Wiclif*, chap. 1.]

<sup>P</sup> [No alteration seems to have taken place; for at the dissolution, Thomas Goldwell was still Prior of Christ's Church, Canterbury, (having held the office for twenty-three years,) Richard Thornden was

bear your favour and aid to the Warden of the manors of the said house, a man of right honest behaviour, clean living, good learning, good judgment, without superstition, very tractable, and as ready to set forward his prince's causes, as no man more of his coat; and in that house, in mine opinion, there is no meeter man. I am moved to write to your lordship in this behalf, inasmuch as I consider what a great commodity I shall have, if such one be promoted to the said office, that is a right honest man and of his qualities; and I insure your lordship the said room requireth such one; as knoweth God, who ever preserve you. From Canterbury, the 17th day of March.

Your own ever assured,

T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

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#### CCXIV. To CRUMWELL.

My very singular good Lord, in my most hearty wise I MSS.  
commend me unto your lordship; signifying to the same, Chapter House, Westminster; Crumwell's Correspondence. Original.  
that according to the effect and purport of your letters to  
me directed concerning Friar Forest, the Bishop of Worcester and I will be tomorrow with your lordship, to know  
Warden of the manors there, and William Sandwich was Warden of  
Canterbury College, Oxford. Somner, *Antiq. of Canterbury*, by Battely.

Sandwich, alias Gardiner, became one of the prebendaries of the new Chapter at Canterbury. He was a vehement opposer of the reformation, and was one of the chief contrivers of the charges brought against Cranmer in 1543. See some specimens of his sermons in Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 103; and his humble submission to the Archbishop, *ibid.* App. No. 33.

Richard Thornden also was a prebendary on the new foundation, and deeply implicated in the combination against the Archbishop. He was Bishop Suffragan of Dover, was a persecutor under Queen Mary, and died in the last year of her reign. Henry Wharton accuses Strype of confounding him with John Thornton, Prior of Dover, and Suffragan to Archbishop Warham; but there is no such confusion in the passages which he cites, and this and a former Letter strongly confirm Strype's statement of R. Thornden's being specially favoured by Cranmer. See Strype, *Cranm.* p. 62; Wharton, *Observations on Strype's Cranmer*, p. 258; Cranmer's *Declaration concerning the Mass*; (vol. iv. p. 1.) Letter CLVIII.]

farther of your pleasure in that behalf. For if we should proceed against him according to the order of the law, there must be articles devised beforehand, which must be ministered unto him; and therefore it will be very well done, that one draw them against our meeting<sup>9</sup>. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Lambeth, the 6th day of April. [1538.]

Your own assured ever,

T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

### CCXV. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-  
respond-  
ence. Ori-  
ginal.

My very singular good Lord, in my right hearty wise I commend me unto you. And whereas my servant Fraunces Bassett, this bearer, was, by the mean of your good lordship, put in possession of the granges of Musden and Caldon, and is dispossessed by the Earl of Shrewsbury that now is, to his great hurt and hinderance, forasmuch as he is not able to contend with him in the law; these letters shall be directed unto the said Earl in his behalf, or to alter them: any thing mislike you, or else to direct such other letters to

<sup>9</sup> ["Dr. John Forest, a Friar Observant, was persecuted for that in secret confession he had declared to many of the King's subjects, that the King was not Supreme Head of the Church, whereas before he had sworn to the same supremacy. Upon this point he was examined, and answered, that he took this oath with his outward man, but his inward man never consented thereto. Then being further accused of divers heretical opinions, he submitted himself to the punishment of the Church; but having more liberty than before to talk with whom he would, when his abjuration was sent him to read, he utterly refused it. Whereupon he was condemned, and afterward on a pair of new gallows set up for the purpose in Smithfield, he was hanged by the middle and armpits quick, and the gallows was made a fire, wherewith he was burnt and consumed the 2nd day of May, [1538.]"—"Also a pulpit was there set, in the which Master Hugh Latymer, Bishop of Worcester, preached a sermon, confuting the friar's errors, and moving him to repentance." Stow, *Annals*. See also Foxe, vol. ii. p. 396; Lingard, *Hist. of England*, vol. vi. p. 358. (8vo. edit.)]

him as may stand most with your lordship's pleasure in the preferment of this bearer, which only hath and must depend upon your goodness; whom I am the more bold to name your kinsman, by cause I would the said Earl should more earnestly tender your lordship his letters and request. And thus I pray God long to preserve your lordship in health. From Croydon, the viiith day of April.

Your own assured ever,

T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

# CCXVI. To CRUMWELL.

My very singular good Lord; forasmuch as this bearer, MSS.  
your trusty chaplain, Mr. Malet, at this his return towards Chapter  
London from Forde, (whereas I left him, according to your House,  
lordship's assignment, occupied in the affairs of our Church Westmin-  
Service<sup>r</sup>, and now at the writing up of so much as he had to ster;  
Crumwell's Corres-

[The result of Mr. Malet's labors is not known. Burnet says, that there was but very little of the breviaries, missals, and other "rituals" done; this might be for a few rasures of those collects in which the phrase was perjured, of Thomas Becket's office, and the rasures of other names whose days were, by the King's Injunctions, no more to be observed, with some other deletions, made that the old books did still serve. He may be correct respecting the missals, but, as has been observed by Collier, an amended breviary was printed in 1541, and again in 1544, under the following title: *Portiforium secundum usum Sarum, noviter impressum et a plurimis purgatum mendis, in quo nomen Romano Pontifici falso ascriptum omittitur, una cum aliis quæ Christianissimi nostri Regis statuto repugnant.* Lond. Edw. Whitchurch, Cum privilegio. It is possible that the preparation of this edition may have been the work on which Malet was employed. But however this may be, the alterations made in it were too inconsiderable to satisfy the reformers, and much more sweeping changes seem to have been in contemplation, when, on Cranmer's announcement of the King's pleasure, it was ordered by the Convocation in 1543, that "the examination and correction of the Service Books should be committed to the Bishops of Sarum and Ely, [Salcot and Goodrich,] taking to each of them three of the Lower House, such as should be appointed for that purpose: but this the Lower House released." And their coolness appears to have prevented for a time the execution of the design. It was not however relinquished, for in a Letter written by Cranmer in Jan. 1546, mention is made of the Bishops

pondence.  
*Original.*  
Todd, *Life*  
of Cran-  
mer, vol. i.  
p. 198.

do,) came by me here at Croden to know my further pleasure and commandment in that behalf; I shall beseech you, my lord, that after his duty done in seeing your lordship, he may repair unto me again with speed, for further furtherance and final finishing of that we have begun. For I like his diligence and pains in this business and his honest humanity declared in my house for this season of his being therein so well, that I can be bold so to commend him to your lordship, that I shall with all my heart beseech the same, to declare your goodness and favour to him by helping his small and poor living. I know he hath very little growing towards the supporting of his necessities; which is much pity, his good qualities, right judgment in learning, and discreet wisdom considered. Thus fare your good lordship heartily well. From Croden, the 11th of April.

Your own assured ever,

T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable and my  
very good lord, my Lord Privy  
Seal.

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### CCXVII. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster;

My Lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto your lordship. This shall be to desire you to be good lord unto certain men of Smarden and Pluckeley in Kent, whose

of Worcester and Chichester, [Hethe and Day,] with other learned men, "being appointed to peruse certain Books of Service:" and it may be inferred from the following passage in the petition of Edward VIth's first Convocation, that the work was actually completed: "Whereas by the commandment of King Hen. VIII. certain prelates and other learned men were appointed to alter the Service of the Church, and to devise other convenient and useful order therein, who according to the same appointment did make certain books, as they be informed; their request is, that the said books may be seen and perused by them, for a better expedition of Divine Service to be set forth accordingly." Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iv. p. 15. See Letter cclxvi; Burn. *Ref.* vol. i. p. 599; Ames, *Typog. Antiq.* Ed. Dibd. vol. iii. pp. 449. 485; Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 863; Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 375; Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 191.]

names shall be delivered unto your lordship herewithal, which are indicted for unlawful assemblies at the last sessions at Canterbury, and as they report unto me of none occasion or ground else, but for by cause they are accounted fauters of the new doctrine (as they call it) ; beseeching your lordship therefore, that if it cannot be duly proved that they are worthy thus to be indicted, they may be released of this their indictment. For if the King's subjects within this realm which favour God's word, shall be unjustly vexed at sessions<sup>s</sup>, it will be no marvel though much sedition be daily engendered within this realm. Wherefore I pray you, my lord, that some remedy may in time be devised for the redress of such indictments. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Lambeth, the 29th day of April.

Your own assured,

T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable and my  
singular good lord, my Lord Privy  
Seal.

### CCXVIII. To CRUMWELL.

My Lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto you. And whereas I moved you to write in the favour of Sir Thomas Lawney<sup>t</sup> unto young Mr. Parre, for the resignation<sup>u</sup> of the Vicarage of Roydon in Essex, belonging unto

Crumwell's  
Corres-  
pondence.  
*Original.*

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster ;  
Crumwell's

\* [See Cranmer's correspondence with a Justice, Letter cxcvi. &c. The evil does not appear to have been remedied by the present complaint ; for, at a Visitation in 1543, Vincent Ingeam, a justice of the peace, as Strype supposes, was presented, for commanding that no man should read, or hear the Bible read, upon pain of imprisonment ; and for casting two men into prison, one for speaking against him therein, and the other for showing him the King's Injunctions concerning the same.]

<sup>t</sup> ["This Lawney was a witty man, and chaplain to the old Duke of Norfolk, and had been one of the scholars placed by the Cardinal in his new College at Oxon : where he was chaplain of the house, and prisoner there with Frith. In the time of the Six Articles he was a minister in Kent, placed there, I suppose, by the Archbishop." Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 25, where two specimens of his wit may be seen.]

<sup>u</sup> [The resignation did not take place, Osias Le Moyne having held the Vicarage from 1523 to his death in 1541. *Newcourt, Repertorium*, vol. ii. p. 508.]

Corres-  
pondence.  
*Original.*

his chaplain, I have sent unto your lordship letters devised for that purpose, beseeching you, my lord, to assign them if you like the draught of them, or else that they may be amended according to your mind. In accomplishing whereof you shall prefer a right honest man, worthy to have a much better thing than this is. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Lambeth, the first day of May.

Your own assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

#### CCXIX. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster ;  
Crumwell's  
Corres-  
pondence.  
*Original.*

My Lord, in my hearty wise I commend me unto your good lordship. And whereas this bearer, my friend and kinsman, hath certain suits before you, I pray you, my lord, that ye will be so good lord unto him in these his suits, if it may be, that he may have a short end of them, according to justice and equity, with your reasonable favour, and the rather at this my request and instance ; wherein ye shall both show unto me singular pleasure, and bind him to be your daily beadsman. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. From my manor of Lambhyth, the 2nd day of May.

Your lordship's assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

#### CCXX. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster ;  
Crumwell's

My very singular good Lord, after most hearty recommendations : so it is, as I am informed, that there is an office founden before the late Excheator of the county of Lincoln, after the death of one Thomas Tamworth, in the which of-

fice, amongst other things, it is founden, that the said Thomas Tamworthe should be seized and die seized of one mese and fifty-eight acres of land and pasture, lying in a town called Leeke, in the said county of Lincoln; which lands, as I am credibly informed, is the true inheritance of this poor gentleman John Tamworthe, this bearer; and he that is heir of the said Thomas Tamworthe is now the King's ward, and was in the custody of Sir William Musgrave, knight, and Dame Elizabeth his wife, by the King's letters patents to the said Dame Elizabeth made; who having the custody of the same ward, by colour of the said office so founden, both against the due order of law and good conscience, hath, since the death of the said Thomas Tamworthe, not only taken the profits of the said mese and fifty-eight acres of land, but also of forty acres mo of other lands lying in the said town, in the said office not contained, which also is the inheritance of this poor gentleman; and forasmuch as his counsel doth inform him that he can have no traverse to the said office during the minority of the said John Tamworth, son and heir of the said Thomas Tamworth; therefore for restitution of the other lands in the said office not comprised, he hath sued to the Master of the King's wards, who, upon his long suit, did direct a commission to certain worshipful gentlemen of the said county of Lincoln, to inquire of the truth of the premises; who, by authority of the said commission, hath sitten and inquired by the oath of twelve men duly of the same, and which twelve men have given their verdict to the said Commissioners, and put thereunto their several seals; and as I am informed, there is so much affection in Thomas Browne, one of the said Commissioners, (who, by the consent of other his fellows, had the commission delivered unto him to make certificate thereof at the day of return specified in the said commission,) that as yet he hath made no certificate of the same, saying it is the commandment of some of your lordship's counsel, that he shall keep it out and make no certificate, which is great hinderance and cost to this poor gentleman, and loss of his in-

Corres-  
pondence.  
Original.



heritance: wherefore I beseech your good lordship to give in commandment to the said Thomas Browne, who hath the custody of the said commission, to make certificate thereof to the Master of the King's wards; either else that the matter may be heard by your counsel, and upon certificate thereof made to your lordship, such direction and order may be taken in the same, as shall stand with the King's laws, right, and good conscience; and you shall bind this gentleman during his life to do you such service as may lie in him for to do. Thus Almighty God long preserve your lordship in honour. From my manor of Croydon, the xxixth of May.

Your own assured ever,  
T. Cantuarien.

\* The said John Tamworth is a near kinsman of mine, wherefore I pray you be good lord unto him.

To my singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

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CCXXI. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster;  
Crumwell's  
Corres-  
pondence.  
*Original.*

After my most hearty commendations unto your good lordship: these shall be to signify unto the same, that this bearer, John Robynson, is one of my Lord of Wylteshire servants<sup>y</sup>, for whom I spake unto your lordship to accept into your service, beseeching your lordship, inasmuch as he daily giveth attendance to know your pleasure herein, that you will be his good lord in this his suit, and I trust that he shall do unto you his true and faithful service; and as for his honesty and other qualities, I doubt not but that the experience of my Lord of Wiltesher's service is a suffi-

\* [This postscript is in the handwriting of Cranmer.]

<sup>y</sup> [This Letter seems to have been written on the breaking up of the Earl of Wiltshire's establishment by his death in 1538.]

cient testimony for him in that behalf. Thus, my lord,  
most heartily fare you well. At Lambeth, the vth day of  
June.

Your own assured ever,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

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CCXXII. To CRUMWELL.

My singular good Lord, after most hearty wise I commend MSS.  
me unto your good lordship; signifying unto you, that Chapter  
about a twelve months past, as I was in my journey towards House,  
the King's Highness, I lodged at my house in Croydon; Westmin-  
where certain of my chaplains by chance went into the ster;  
church there, and as they looked in certain books they Crumwell's  
found the names of Bishops of Rome not put out accord- Corres-  
ing unto the King's commandment<sup>2</sup>; wherefore I sent for pence.  
all the priests of the church, and their books also, and Original.  
showed them the place where such names were, and also  
commanded them that they should amend their said books,  
and I discharged the parish priest of his service at the  
same time. Now if it please your good lordship, it chanced  
in these holidays the Dean of the Arches to say mass with  
a book belonging to one of the chauntry priests of the said  
church; which book is nothing amended since that time of  
my being there, and yet then I myself showed the places in

<sup>2</sup> [See proclamations on this subject in Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 772; and Burnet, *Ref.* vol. iii. App. B. ii. No. 32; from which it will appear, not only that the bishops were commanded "to cause all manner of prayers, orisons, rubrics, and canons in mass books and all other books used in churches, wherein the Bishop of Rome is named, utterly to be abolished, eradicate, and rased out, in such wise as the said Bishop of Rome, his name and memory for evermore (except to his contumely and reproach) may be extinct, suppressed, and obscured;" but that the sheriffs and justices of the peace were directed to make diligent search, whether the bishops truly and sincerely did their duty. It must be recollected that the proclamation printed by Wilkins, bears the date of 1534 instead of 1535. See Letter CLXXI. note (k) ]

the same book, and the said chauntry priest promised to put them out; and whether this be a maintenance of the Bishop of Rome his authority or no, I will not determine, but remit the matter wholly to your good lordship; yet in the mean season I have called him before me, and have taken certain honest men, which be bound that he shall be ready at all times to come before any of the King's Council, there to make answer unto all such things as shall be laid to his charge concerning the same. I desire your good lordship that I may have an answer by this bearer what I shall do herein; and I desire Almighty God to have your good lordship continually in his preservation. From my manor of Croydon, the 12. day of June.

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my singular good lord, my Lord  
Privy Seal.

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CCXXIII. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster;  
Crumwell's  
Corres-  
pondence.  
*Original.*

After most hearty commendations to your good lordship; these be to certify you, that I will not fail, God willing, to meet you at London tomorrow, accordingly as I perceive by your letters it is the King's pleasure. And forasmuch as I have no manner of stuff nor provision at Lamehyth as now, so that I am not in no wise provided to receive the ambassadors<sup>a</sup> thither as tomorrow; therefore I beseech you to appoint some other place where we may have conference with them, and to send me word by this bearer as well of the time as of the place, where and when ye will appoint me to meet with them; and at our meeting I shall be right glad to have your counsel, what provision is meet that I make for them, which I shall be right glad to do to my power.

<sup>a</sup> [Probably the ambassadors from the German Protestants. See Letters ccxxiv. ccxxx. ccxxxi. Mr. Todd states, that they arrived in England in May 1538. *Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 250.]

As knoweth our Lord God, who long preserve you to his pleasure. At my manor of Croydon, the xiiiith day of June.

Your own assured ever,  
T. Cantuarien.

CCXXIV. To CRUMWELL.

My very singular good Lord, after my most hearty com-  
mendations; these shall be to signify unto your lordship, Chapter House, Westminster; Crumwell's Correspondence. Original.  
that as yesterday Franciscus<sup>b</sup>, the Duke of Saxon's Chancellor, was in hand with me and the Bishop of Chechester<sup>c</sup> very instantly, to have Atkynson's penance altered from Paul's unto the parish church of the said Atkynson; Todd, Life of Crumwell, vol. i. p. 262.  
whereunto we made him this answer, that forasmuch as that error of the sacrament of the altar was so greatly spread abroad in this realm, and daily increasing more and more, we thought it needful for the suppressing thereof, most specially to have him do his penance at Paul's, where the most people might be present, and thereby in seeing him punished, to be ware of like offence; declaring farther unto him, that it lay not in us to alter that penance to any other place, by cause we were but commissaries appointed by your lordship; and therefore, without your advice and consent, we could not grant unto him any thing in this behalf. He then perceiving that we nothing did incline unto his request, answered and said, that if any person coming from the King of England unto the Duke his master, should require a greater request than this was, it should be granted unto him; alleging that the Bishop of Hereforde<sup>d</sup> asked of his master one that was condemned to

<sup>b</sup> [Franciscus Burcardus, (Burckhardt,) Vice-Chancellor to the Elector of Saxony, was at the head of the German Embassy. See Preface; Letters ccxxx. ccxxxI; Seckendorf, *Comment. de Lutheran.* lib. iii. §. LXVI. Add. 1.]

<sup>c</sup> [Richard Sampson. See Strype, *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 199.]

<sup>d</sup> [Edward Fox. See a full account of his negotiations in Germany in 1536, in Seckendorf, *Comment. de Lutheran.* lib. iii. §. xxxix. Add.]

death, and he was liberally delivered unto you. Howbeit, said he, I do not require such a thing, but only that this Atkynson his penance may be altered from one place unto another. Then I promised him that I would consult with your lordship therein as this day, touching his request. Wherefore I beseech your lordship to advertise me by this bearer, what answer I shall make unto him in this behalf. Thus Almighty God preserve your good lordship. At Lambeth, the 22nd day of June. [1538.]

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

° My lord, I pray you have in your good remembrance  
Sir Edward Ryngelay<sup>f</sup>.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

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### CCXXV. TO CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westminster;  
Crumwell's Correspondence. Original.

After my most hearty commendations unto your good lordship; these shall be to beseech the same to direct your letters unto my Commissary at Calise, giving him power and authority to take away as well such images<sup>§</sup> now being within the Priory of the Black Friars at Calice, to whom any pilgrimage appertaineth, as all other images of like estimation within my jurisdiction there. And whereas my said Commissary hath written unto me concerning this bearer, Adam Dampclippe<sup>h</sup>, desiring to have certain requests

° [This postscript is in Cranmer's handwriting.]

<sup>f</sup> [See Letters cxc. ccvii.]

<sup>§</sup> [By Crumwell's Injunctions of 1536 it was merely ordered, that images should not be set forth or extolled for any superstition or lucre. Those of 1538 went farther, and directed, that such feigned images as were abused with pilgrimages, or offerings of any thing made thereto, should forthwith be taken down. But these were not issued till September in this year, so that in July it was necessary for Cranmer to apply for a special authority. See Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. App. B. iii. Nos. 7 and 11; Stow, *Annals.*]

<sup>h</sup> [George Bucker, alias Adam Dampclip, had been chaplain to Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and had afterwards been patronized by

accomplished, as farther shall appear unto your lordship by

Cardinal Pole, who wished him to settle at Rome. He declined this proposal, and was on his return to England, when he was induced by some reformers to stay for a certain space at Calais. There "he preached very godly, learnedly, and plainly, mightily inveighing against all papistry, and confuting the same, but especially those two most pernicious errors or heresies, transubstantiation, and the pestilent propitiatory sacrifice of the Romish mass." He also incurred the mortal hatred of the friars by assisting in the exposure of a pretended instance of visible transubstantiation. It was alleged, in proof of the bread being really changed into flesh, that three hosts might be seen lying on a marble stone, besprinkled with blood: but on a search by commission from the King, there were found "instead of three hosts, three plain white counters which they had painted like unto hosts, and a bone that is in the tip of a sheep's tail. All which trumpery Damplic showed unto the people the next day following, which was Sunday, out of the pulpit." His chief opponents at Calais were John Dove, Prior of the White Friars, and George Buttoll, chaplain to Lord Lisle the Deputy. In consequence of their representations, "he was sent for to appear before the Bishop of Canterbury, with whom was assistant Steven Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, Dr. Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, and divers others, before whom he most constantly affirmed and defended the doctrine which he had taught, in such sort answering, confuting, and soluting the objections, as his adversaries, yea, even among the other, the learned, godly, and blessed martyr Cranmer, then yet but a Lutheran, marvelled at it, and said plainly, that the Scripture knew no such term of transubstantiation. Then began the other bishops to threaten him, shortly to confute him with their accustomed arguments, I mean fire and fagot, if he would still stand to the defence of that he had spoken. Whereunto he constantly answered, that he would the next day deliver unto them fully so much in writing as he had said, whereunto also he would stand; and so was dismissed. The next day at the hour appointed to appear, when they looked surely to have apprehended him, in the mean season he had secret intimation from the Bishop of Canterbury, that if he did any more personally appear, he should be committed unto ward, not likely to escape cruel death. Whereupon he had him commended unto them, and sent them four sheets of paper learnedly written in the Latin tongue." . . . "Which done, he having a little money given him by his friends, stepped aside and went into the West Country." He there employed himself for some time in keeping a school; but was apprehended under the Act of the Six Articles in 1539, and lay in prison for several years. As far however as related to his heresy, he was included in a general pardon by Act of Parliament; but he was at last condemned for treason, because he had accepted money from Cardinal Pole towards the expenses of his journey to England, and was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Calais about 1544. This account is from Foxe, *Acts*, &c. vol. ii. p. 556. It will be observed that it does not perfectly agree with Cranmer's Letters; nor is the Martyrologist correct in stating that Damplic's heresies were covered by the general pardon: for not only were the Sacramentaries, (of whom Damplic was considered one,) excluded from the benefit of that statute, but Damplic himself was excepted by name. See Stat. 32 Hen. VIII. cap. 49; Letters ccxxviii. ccxxix; Strype, *Cranm.* pp. 68. 88; Todd, *Life of*

his<sup>i</sup> letter herein inclosed, I right heartily desire you, my lord, so to tender the said requests, that this said bearer

*Cranmer, vol. i. p. 175; Part of a Letter from the Deputy of Calais and others, touching Damplic and Stevens. Anº. 30 Hen. VIII. in Harl. MSS. 283. p. 89.]*

<sup>i</sup> [This Letter is subjoined. John Butler, the writer of it, had been the Archbishop's Commissary at Calais for several years; and in 1534 he had been employed to take down the Pope's excommunication of Hen. VIII. from the church door at Dunkirk. Now however he shared in the persecution which followed Damplic's preaching. He was charged before the Privy Council in the Star Chamber, with having countenanced Damplic, and with having said that "if the sacrament of the altar be flesh, blood, and bone, then there is good Aqua vitæ at John Spicer's;" where, as Strype gravely suggests, there was probably very bad. After long attendance he was discharged, but lost his office. Foxe, *Acts, &c.* vol. ii. pp. 334. 560; Strype, *Cranm.* p. 88. An expression in his letter is of great use in fixing the date of these proceedings, respecting which there is much confusion in Foxe and Strype. He speaks of Sunday the 21st of July. He wrote therefore in 1538, for in that year the 21st of July fell on a Sunday.

*John Butler, Commissary at Calais, to Cranmer.*

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster;  
Crumwell's  
Corres-  
pondence.  
*Original.*

"In most humble wise please it your Grace to be advertised, that Adam Damplice, bearer hereof, is purposely come over to declare his mind unto your Grace. For it is perceived, that certain which favour nothing the truth, would gladly hinder him, if it were in their power, that he should neither teach nor preach the word of God; as in their large writing, not only against him, but also against other persons; which their writing will not be justified no more than was their false suggestion, saying, that there was in Cales which openly and manifestly did deny Christ. Their saying is now, that here are certain which deny Christ to be put in the sacrament of the altar. I trust they shall take little honour of their so writing. This bearer will declare more unto your Grace. I will not write what I have seen, but I marvel that men will write of malice; saving that they utter what they are from within forth. God send them a better spirit.

"Humbly requiring your Grace to be good and gracious lord unto this bearer, Adam Damplice, and that he may shortly return to Cales again with your Grace's favourable letters, and my Lord Privy Seal's, if it be possible they may be obtained of his lordship, to be Curate of our Lady's church in Cales; and that the Council here may assist him in reading and preaching the true word of God; for by his long absence the poor commonalty, which is very desirous to hear him, shall have great hinderance.

"Your Grace might do a right meritorious deed to aid the Prior of the Friars hence; for I assure your Grace he doth much harm here, and that secretly. God send him grace to turn unto the truth, as he promised to do in Lent last past, knowing himself to be in the wrong; saying to be sorry that he had so long erred from the truth. Further to advertise your Grace, that I have declared to the Prior that his third article is not lowable; and he answered me again, that whosoever did say the contrary of his third article is an heretic, and

may return again thither, and there to proceed with quietness as he hath begun; assuring your lordship, that he is of right good knowledge and judgment as far as I can perceive by him; and therefore, if it would please your lordship to direct your favourable letters unto the Council there in his behalf, you should do a right meritorious deed; and surely I will myself write to like effect, but I know your letters shall be much more esteemed and accepted than mine. In accomplishing whereof you shall deserve of Almighty God condign thanks for the same. Thus our Lord have your good lordship in his blessed tuition. At Lambeth, the 24th day of July. [1538.]

Your own ever assured,

T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable and my  
singular good lord, my Lord  
Privy Seal.

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CCXXVI. To CRUMWELL.

My very singular good Lord, in my most hearty wise I MSS.  
commend me unto your lordship. And whereas I wrote Chapter House, Westminster;  
unto you about this time<sup>k</sup> twelvemonth of one Robert Crumwell's  
Antony, subcellerar of Christ's Church in Canterbury, de-  
claring how that he was run away, and had left a very Corres-  
suspicious letter in his chamber unto the Prior of the house, pondence.  
the copy of which letter I sent at that time unto you, if Original.  
your lordship can call it unto your remembrance: so it is,

" will so prove him. Those words spake he to me upon Sunday, the  
" 21st of this month, in the presence of one Richard Bennet, Alderman  
" of Cales. And as touching the other two articles, the said Adam and  
" the Prior do agree in their sayings. God send light where darkness  
" is. Thus Jesus preserve your Grace in health. From Cales, the  
" 22nd day of July. [1538.]

" Your humble servant,  
" John Butlare."]

" To my Lord of Canterbury's good Grace."

<sup>k</sup> [See Letters CLXXVII. CLXXVIII.]



that the said Robert Anthony, being all this year forth out of this realm without the King's Grace's license, and as I am informed, at Rome, is now come home unto Christ's Church again; and since his coming, as I hear say by such persons as both favoureth God's word and the King's Majesty there, the Prior hath called a chapter, and hath admitted him again into the Convent, as he was before; which in mine opinion is not well done, unless he had been first examined by some of the Council, where he hath been, and upon what occasion he so departed. Therefore, as a thing appertaining unto my duty towards my sovereign lord, I thought it expedient to advertise you thereof, to the intent his Highness may have knowledge of the same: and of this I am sure, that I had letters from a scholar beyond the seas, which met him in a company going to Rome-ward; but whether he hath been there or no I am not sure.

Besides this, my lord, I beseech you to be good lord unto my servant Nevell, this bearer, concerning his suit unto you for his farm at Bowghton under the Blayne, which he had of the Abbot and Convent of Feversham<sup>1</sup>. The truth is, that at the feast of Easter last past, or thereabout, he was a suitor for the same unto the Abbot and his Convent: notwithstanding, they could not agree, for certain considerations which he can declare unto your lordship; insomuch that tendering his preferment to the same, I both spake to your lordship, and obtained your favourable letters unto the said Abbot and Convent in that behalf, by means only whereof he had a lease of the same under the Convent seal for term of fifty-one years; and so since the feast of Saint John Baptiste<sup>m</sup> last past, he hath occupied and been in possession thereof, until now, as I am

<sup>1</sup> [The Abbey of Feversham was surrendered to Hen. VIII. on the 8th of July 1538, and was granted by him to Sir Thomas Cheyney on the 16th of March 1540. Lewis, *Hist. of Feversham Abbey*. As this Letter was evidently written soon after the Abbey came into the King's possession, 1538 may be assumed to be its date, and this will authorize the placing of Letters CLXXVII, CLXXVIII. to which it refers, under 1537.]

<sup>m</sup> [The 24th of June.]

informed, that by information of such as of late were the King's Commissioners, the King's Grace's commandment by you is, that he should be dispossessed, unto such time as his Grace's farther pleasure be known; which will be no little to his loss and hinderance, except your goodness be extended unto him in this behalf, assuring your lordship, beside his hinderance herein, it is a great disquietness unto me to perceive my servant and officer, (which hath not only done me good service in my household, but also [hath been] very towards and ready at all times to apply such business as hath been committed unto me by the King's Majesty, as in the last commotion and otherways,) should thus suddenly be expelled for so small advantage. Howbeit, considering that he obtained this thing only by your lordship's letters and favour, I trust you will be no less good lord unto him now, than you have been heretofore; and if by your wisdom and discretion it shall be thought good to reform any thing in his said lease, I doubt not but that he will abide your lordship's direction in that behalf. But to have him clearly excluded, it were too much extremity, considering that he came to the same by his open and honest suit. Thus, my lord, as well in this suit as in all other, both for myself and mine, I have no refuge but only unto your lordship, which to recompense I shall never be able as my mind would give me; beseeching your lordship in this suit that you will be so good lord unto him, as to maintain him in this his just cause. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Lambeth, the iiid day of August. [1538.]

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable and my  
very special good lord, my Lord  
Privy Seal.

## CCXXVII. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-  
respond-  
ence. Ori-  
ginal.

My very singular good Lord, after most hearty commendations unto your lordship; I likewise thank the same for your goodness toward the bringer hereof, William Swerder<sup>n</sup>, desiring you to continue the same. I have intended, as I showed you when I spake with you last, to send him into Fraunce or Italy, except you be otherwise minded to set him forward, as truly I would be right glad it might please you so to do; and therefore I have sent him unto you, that he should inform your lordship of his mind, desiring you to be good lord unto him for his passport.

Also I heartily require your lordship to be good lord unto Master Statham, and Mistress Statham my lord<sup>o</sup> of Worcester his nurse, as touching the suit that the Bishop of Worcester had unto you for them; and although I doubt not but that your lordship will be good unto them, yet I pray you that my suit and request be not without place, but that for my sake you will be much the better unto them.

Moreover I beseech you most heartily to remember Master Hutton, now absent in Flaunders<sup>p</sup>, and having none to trust unto and that is able to help him, but only your lordship. If you could make him an Abbot or a Prior, and his wife an Abbess or a Prioress, he were bound unto you, as he is nevertheless most bound unto you of all men; but if you would help him to such a perfection, I dare undertake for him that he shall keep a better religion than

<sup>n</sup> [Probably the same person who was afterwards Master of East-bridge Hospital, Canterbury. See Strype, *Parker*, App. No. 58.]

<sup>o</sup> [Hugh Latymer.]

<sup>p</sup> [Stephen Vaughan appears to have been the English Ambassador in the Low Countries in 1538. (See his letters in the British Museum, Cott. MSS. Galba B. x. and Harl. MSS. 283, 284.) Yet John Hutton is said by Lord Herbert to have been the agent employed there this year, to negotiate a marriage between Hen. VIII, and the Duchess of Milan. (*Life of Hen. VIII.* p. 496.) And some letters from him to the King and to Crumwell are preserved in the Cotton Library, Galba, B. x. fol. 329. 333. 335. and Vespasian, c. xiii. fol. 340. In the *State Papers*, (vol. i. p. 741.) John Hutton is spoken of, in 1542, as the King's servant, and Governor of the Adventurers in Flanders.]

was kept there before, though you appoint him unto the best house of religion in England. Thus Almighty God long preserve your lordship. At Lambeth, the third day of August.

These houses of religion be in Master Hutton's country, Combe Abbey, Merevale, Eytun, and Polsworth<sup>q</sup>. I beseech your lordship to remember him, with one of these in special, or any other in general.

Your own assured ever,

T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable and  
my singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

### CCXXVIII. To CRUMWELL<sup>r</sup>.

My very singular good Lord, after my most hearty commendations unto your lordship; these shall be to advertise the same, that I have sent for Robert Antony<sup>s</sup>, late Westminister; Crumwell's Correspondence. *Original* cellerar of Christ's Church in Canterbury, and when he cometh, I shall order him according to your instruction and advice, and so to get out of him what I can, concerning his progress to Rome-ward, and the same to send unto you with expedition.

As concerning Adam Damplip of Calice<sup>t</sup>, he utterly denieth, that ever he taught or said that the very body and blood of Christ was not presently in the sacrament of the altar, and confesseth the same to be there really; but he saith, that the controversy between him and the Prior<sup>u</sup> was, by cause he confuted the opinion of the<sup>x</sup> transubstan-

<sup>q</sup> [These religious houses were all in Warwickshire.]

<sup>r</sup> [The greater part of this Letter is printed by Mr. Todd, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 176.]

<sup>s</sup> [See Letter ccxxvi.]

<sup>t</sup> [See Letters ccxxiv, ccxxv.]

<sup>u</sup> [Probably John Dove, Prior of the White Friars. See note (h) to Letter ccxxv. and Foxe, *Acts, &c.* vol. ii. p. 556, &c.]

<sup>x</sup> [Mr. Todd suggests, that this is an allusion to the story of the three hosts related by Foxe. See Letter ccxxv. note (h). The suggestion is

tiation, and therein I think he taught but the truth. Howbeit there came in two friars against him, to testify that he had denied the presence of the body and blood to be in the sacrament, which when he perceived, straightways he withdrew himself<sup>y</sup>; and since that time no man can tell where he is become; for which I am very sorry, by cause that I think, that he is rather fled suspecting the rigour of the law, than the defence of his own cause. In consideration hereof, and to the intent that the people of Calice may be quiet and satisfied in this matter, I have appointed two of my chaplains<sup>z</sup> to go thither and preach incontinently: nevertheless it is thought, that they shall do little good there, if the said Prior return home again; for whatsoever hath been done heretofore, either by my chaplains or by other, in setting

ingenious, yet, if it were well founded, Cranmer would surely have used stronger language respecting Damplic's "teaching the truth." His hesitating tone on this point certainly confirms Foxe's assertion, that he was at this time a Lutheran in his opinions on the Eucharist. And this supposition is farther supported by the readiness which he seems to have shown this same year to agree in a Confession of Faith with the ambassadors from the Lutheran princes in Germany. Nor is it inconsistent either with his being now in a commission against the Sacramentaries, or with the part he bore some months afterwards in the examination of Lambert. For it is notorious that the Zuinglian tenets on the Lord's Supper were attacked with as much bitterness by the Lutherans, as by the Papists themselves. Perhaps too, it may be reconciled with his assent to the *Necessary Doctrine*; for that Formulary, though it contains some strong expressions respecting the change of substance in the elements, does not go the length of denying that the bread and wine still remain after consecration. It must however be admitted to be wholly at variance with the declarations which he is represented to have made in 1555 before Brokes, that he had never "taught but two contrary doctrines" on the subject, and, that when he disputed with Lambert, "he maintained the papists' doctrine." But the report of the examination, in which this language is said to have been used, is of very doubtful credit. See Preface; and *Examination before Brokes*, vol. iv. pp. 87. 95.]

<sup>y</sup> [See Letter ccxxv. note (h).]

<sup>z</sup> [Viz. "Doctor Champion, and Mr. Garret who after was burned, "two godly and learned men, who in effect preached and maintained "the same true doctrine which Adam Damplic had before set forth, "and by reason thereof they left the town at their departure very quiet, "and greatly purged of the slander that had run on it." Foxe, vol. ii. p. 558. How it happened that the same doctrine now produced a calm, which had just before raised a storm, Foxe does not explain. Cranmer had proposed to send Garret to Calais on a former occasion. See p. 145. Respecting Champion, see Letters cXLVII. cXLVIII. cXLVII.]

forth of the word of God there, no man hath hindered the matter so much as this Prior, nor no superstition more maintained than by this Prior; which I perceive to be true, both by the report of my chaplains heretofore, and of other men of credence. I have herewith sent unto your lordship two letters, which shall something inform you of the Prior's subtlety and craft, praying your lordship, that in any wise he come not at Calice any more to tarry, but either that the House may be suppressed, or else that an honest and a learned man may be appointed in his room; and forasmuch as the Prior is here now, I pray you, my lord, that I may have your authority, by your letter, to command him that he return not again to Calice<sup>a</sup>.

And where in my last letters I prayed your lordship to remember Mr. Hutton, that he might be made an abbot or a prior, which I doubt not that your lordship will effectiously attempt with the King's Majesty, yet forsomuch as his presence with the King might, as I suppose, work something therein, me seemeth it were very good, if he might come home for a little time to see the King's Grace, which, I beseech your lordship, may be brought to pass, if you can by any means. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Lambeth, the xvth day of August.

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable and my very  
singular good lord, my Lord Privy  
Seal.

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### CCXXIX. To CRUMWELL.

After due commendations unto your lordship; so it is, MSS.  
that I have received also your letters concerning the <sup>b</sup>Prior <sup>Chapter</sup>House,

<sup>a</sup> [Cranmer's request seems to have been attended to, for he is not mentioned in Foxe's account of the subsequent troubles at Calais. See Letter ccxxix.]

<sup>b</sup> [See Letters ccxxv. ccxxviii.]

Westmin-  
ster;  
Crumwell's  
Corres-  
pondence.  
*Original.*

of the Friars at Calice, with letters from your lordship unto my Lord Deputy<sup>c</sup>, which I sent unto him incontinently; and reading the copy of the same, I could not but much allow them, considering how frankly and freely you do admonish him and provoke him, as well to favour God's word, as also to the right administration of his room and office. And as for the Prior, according to your advertisement, I have him in safe custody, and so shall keep him until your return into these parties, and I doubt not but there will be matter enough for his deprivation. Thus Almighty God have your lordship in his blessed tuition. At Lambeth, the xviii<sup>th</sup> day of August.

<sup>d</sup> I beseech your lordship to remember Mr. Hutton, that by your means he may have some occasion to come over into England.

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable and my  
singular good lord, my Lord  
Privy Seal.

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CCXXX. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster;  
Crumwell's  
Corres-  
pondence.  
*Original.*

My very singular and especial good Lord, after my most hearty commendations unto your lordship; these shall be to signify unto the same, that according to your letters to me addressed the 15th day of this present month, I sent for the Orators of Germany<sup>c</sup>, and required them in the King's

<sup>c</sup> [Arthur Plantagenet, Lord Lisle. See Letter ccxlviii.]

<sup>d</sup> [This postscript is written by Cranmer himself.]

<sup>e</sup> [Namely, Francis Burcard, Vice-Chancellor to the Elector of Saxony, George a Boyneburgh, Doctor of Laws, and Frederic Myconius, Superintendent of the Church at Gotha. They were ambassadors from John Frederic, Elector of Saxony, and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, and came to England at the invitation of Henry VIII, for the purpose of forming a league against the Pope, and of drawing up by consultation with the English divines, a joint Confession of Faith. See Preface; Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. Addend; Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 329; and in particular, Seckendorf, *Comment. de Luther.* lib. iii. §. LXVI. (6.) and Add. i., §. LXXIII. Add. ii. (f).]

Grace's behalf, so gently as I could, to demore here until *State Papers*, vol. i. pt. ii. his Highness coming nearer into these parties; whereat they were somewhat astonished, saying, that, at the King's Lett. cix. request, they would be very well content to tarry during his pleasure, not only a month or two, but a year or two, if they *Todd, Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 250. were at their own liberty; but forasmuch as they had been so long from their princes, and had not all this season any letters from them, it was not to be doubted but that they were daily looked for at home, and therefore they durst not tarry, unless the King's Highness would make their excuse of their long abode here unto their princes; and yet therein they would give me no determinate answer by no means that time, but they would consult together and make me an answer the next day after. And the next day they were fully determined to depart within eight days; nevertheless after long reasoning, upon hope that their tarrying should grow unto some good success concerning the points of their commission, which I much put them in hope of on your behalf, they condescended and were very well contented to tarry for a month, so that they should be no longer detained; but that after the said month should be expired, they might take their leave, and so depart without farther tract of time, trusting that the King's Majesty would write unto their princes for their excuse in thus long tarrying; besides this they require in the mean time while they tarry here, that we may entreat of the abuses, and put the same articles in writing, as we have done the other  $\S$ , which thing I promised them; nevertheless I would gladly have the King's Grace's pleasure and commandment therein, whereby we shall the sooner finish the matter.

$\S$  [The order pursued in these conferences was that which was marked out by the Confession of Augsburg, namely, first to lay down the Chief Articles of Faith, and then to point out the abuses which needed correction. It seems that the two parties had come to an agreement on the former, and that the foreign ambassadors were now anxious to proceed to the discussion of the latter. In the Appendix will be found a *Form of Doctrine* from the State Paper Office, which may be conjectured to be the Chief Articles to which both parties had assented. See Preface; Letter from Myconius to Crumwell, in Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i. App. No. 95; and Letter ccxxxi.]



Farther, by cause that I have in great suspect that St. Thomas of Canterbury<sup>h</sup> his blood, in Christ's Church in

<sup>h</sup> [The date of this Letter shakes the credit of a story, which is not only related by Roman Catholic historians, but has been admitted by Wilkins into his *Concilia*, and believed by some other protestant writers. It is pretended, that Becket, before the spoliation of his shrine, was formally cited to appear at Westminster to stand his trial, and after the pleading of counsel on both sides, was pronounced guilty of rebellion and treason. Chrysostom Henriquez details the proceedings with much minuteness, and professes to give translations of the official instruments. Of these, the citation is dated the 24th of April; the sentence of confiscation, the 11th of June; and the King's warrant for its execution, the 11th of August, 1538. Surely, if all this had really taken place, if in fact the fate of Becket's tomb had been already sealed, Cranmer would scarcely, on the 18th of August, without the slightest allusion to the previous prosecution, have made the application which is contained in this Letter. But farther, it is also stated, that the sentence was carried into execution on the 19th of August; that the shrine was then plundered, and twenty-six waggon loads of treasure conveyed away. It happens singularly enough, that an account has been preserved of the reception at Canterbury about this time of Madame de Montreuil, a French lady of rank. Among other entertainments, it is related that she was taken to see the great wonder of the town, St. Thomas's shrine: "at the which she was not little marvelled of the great riches thereof; saying to be innumerable, and "that if she had not seen it, all the men in the world could never have "made her to believe it. Thus overlooking and viewing more than "an hour as well the shrine as St. Thomas' head, being at both set "cushions to kneel, and the Prior opening St. Thomas' head, saying to "her three times 'This is St. Thomas' head,' and offered her to kiss it, "but she neither kneeled, nor would kiss it, but still viewing the riches "thereof." Now this visit took place on the 1st of Sept. 1538, nearly a fortnight after the time, at which the shrine according to the Roman Catholic authorities was plundered, and when therefore Madame de Montreuil, instead of admiring its splendour, ought to have been mourning over its fall. This comparison of dates overthrows completely the details of Henriquez's narrative, and excites also a strong suspicion, that the whole story of Becket's trial, notwithstanding the support which it derives from the language of a papal bull, is a fabrication. The motive for such a forgery is sufficiently obvious, since the papist would thus be furnished with materials for recrimination, when reproached by the protestant with the *post mortem* citations of Wiclif, Fagius, and Bucer. See Letter from Penison to Crumwell, in *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 583; Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 835. 841; Lingard, *Hist. of Engl.* vol. vi. p. 359. 8vo; Todd, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 242.

The treasures however of Becket's tomb were not left long untouched after the visit of Madame de Montreuil; and perhaps their seizure may have been hastened by the information communicated by Cranmer in this Letter. The particulars of the spoliation are thus described by Stow, under Sept. 1538. "The shrine of Thomas Becket, in the Priory of "Christ Church, was taken to the King's use. This shrine was builded "about a man's height, all of stone, then upward of timber plain; "within the which was a chest of iron, containing the bones of Thomas

Canterbury, is but a feigned thing, and made of some red ochre or of such like matter; I beseech your lordship that Doctor Lee<sup>i</sup> and Doctor Barbor<sup>k</sup>, my chaplains, may have the King's commission to try and examine that and all other like things there. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well, praying you to give farther credence unto this bearer. At Lambeth, the 18th day of August.

Your own ever assured,

T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable and my  
very singular good lord, my Lord  
Privy Seal.

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CCXXXI. To CRUMWELL.

My very singular good Lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto your lordship. And where that the Orators of Germany, when they granted to tarry one month<sup>l</sup>, required that we should go forth in their book and entreat of the abuses, so that the same might be set forth in

Cotton MSS.  
Cleop. E. v.  
f. 212. Original.  
Burnet, Ref. vol. iii.  
App. B. iii.  
No. 48.

"Becket, skull and all, with the wound of his death, and the piece cut out of his skull laid in the same wound. These bones (by commandment of the Lord Crumwell) were then and there burnt.—The spoil of which shrine in gold and precious stones filled two great chests, such as six or eight strong men could do no more than convey one of them at once out of the church." *Annals*. A document in the State Paper Office printed by Collier, (vol. ii. No. 47.) contradicts the statement respecting the burning of the bones, and asserts that they were "according to reason collocate secretly, where there shall be no cause of superstition given by them." These proceedings were followed in November by a royal proclamation, declaring that Thomas Becket was no saint, and commanding that his images should be put down throughout the realm, and his festival days no longer observed. Burnet, *Ref.* vol. iii. App. B. iii. No. 62. See also Crumwell's Injunctions of Sept. 1538.]

<sup>l</sup> [Probably the Doctor Leigh, who was Cranmer's Commissary, and who seems in that capacity to have incurred the hatred of the papists. It may be doubted whether the Index to Strype is correct in identifying him with Thomas Legh, who had been one of the visitors of religious houses, and who was commissioned by the King in 1543, to inquire into the accusations against the Archbishop. See Strype, *Cranmer*, pp. 116. 120.]

<sup>k</sup> [Probably the same person who is mentioned in Letters ccv. ccxli.]

<sup>l</sup> [See Letter ccxxx.]

writing as the other articles are <sup>m</sup>; I have since effectiously moved the bishops thereto, but they have made me this answer; that they know that the King's Grace hath taken upon himself to answer the said Orators in that behalf, and thereof a book is already devised by the King's Majesty <sup>n</sup>; and therefore they will not meddle with the abuses, lest they should write therein contrary to that the King shall write. Wherefore they have required me to entreat now of the sacraments of matrimony, orders, confirmation, and extreme unction<sup>o</sup>; wherein they know certainly that the Germans will not agree with us, except it be in matrimony only. So that I perceive that the bishops seek only an occasion to break the concord; assuring your lordship that nothing shall be done, unless the King's Grace's special commandment be unto us therein directed. For they manifestly see that they cannot defend the abuses, and yet they would in no wise grant unto them.

Farther, as concerning the Orators of Germany, I am advertised that they are very evil lodged where they be; for besides the multitude of rats daily and nightly running in their chambers, (which is no small disquietness,) the kitchen standeth directly against their parlour where they daily dine and sup, and by reason thereof the house savoureth so ill, that it offendeth all men that come into it <sup>p</sup>. Therefore, if your lordship do but offer them a more commodious house to demore in, I doubt not but that they will accept that offer most thankfully, albeit I am sure that they will not remove for this time.

<sup>m</sup> [See Letter ccxxx. note (g).]

<sup>n</sup> [The Letter of the German ambassadors, and the King's answer, which was drawn up by Tunstall, may both be seen in Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. Add. Nos. 7 and 8. The abuses most insisted on by the Germans were three; viz. the administration of the Eucharist in one kind only, the practice of private masses, and the forced celibacy of the clergy.]

<sup>o</sup> [These four out of the seven Romish sacraments were omitted in the Augsburg Confession; Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and Penance, being retained. See *Sylloge Confessionum*, Oxf. 1827.]

<sup>p</sup> [Yet Seckendorf says, that they lived splendidly and kept a liberal table, and that their expenses were considered heavy by the German princes. *Comm. de Luth.* Lib. iii. §. LXVI. (9).]

And whereas of late I did put your lordship in remembrance for the suppression of the Abbey of Tudberye<sup>9</sup>; now I beseech your lordship, not only that commissioners may be sent unto that house, but also in likewise unto the Abbey of Rocester<sup>r</sup>, or Crockesdon<sup>s</sup>; beseeching your lordship to be good lord unto this bearer Frances Basset, my servant, for his preferment unto a lease of one of the said houses; not doubting but you shall prefer a right honest man, who at all times shall be able to do the King's Grace right good service in those parts, and also be at your lordship's commandment during his life. Thus Almighty God have your good lordship in his blessed tuition. At Lambeth, the xxiiid day of August.

Your own ever assured,

T. Cantuarien.

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CCXXXII. TO CRUMWELL.

My very singular good Lord, after most hearty recommendations to your lordship; I desire you to be good lord to this bearer, an old acquaintance of mine in Cambridge, a man of good learning in divers kinds of letters, but specially in the Latin tongue, in the which he hath obtained excellent knowledge by long exercise of reading eloquent authors, and also of teaching, both in the University, and now in Ludlow, where he was born. His purpose is, for

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westminster;  
Crumwell's  
Correspondence.  
*Original.*

<sup>9</sup> [The Priory of Tutbury, in Staffordshire, was surrendered 30 Hen. VIII; and the site was granted 6 Edw. VI. to Sir William Cavendish. Tanner, *Notitia Monast.*]

<sup>r</sup> [The Abbey of Black Canons at Roucester, or Rocettur, in Dove-dale, having yearly revenues to the amount only of 111*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.* came under the Act for the suppression of the lesser monasteries. The site was granted 31 Hen. VIII. to Richard Trentham, Esq. Tanner, *Notitia Monast.*]

<sup>s</sup> ["The monastery of Crokesden or Croxden, Staffordshire, had an Abbot and twelve Monks, whose yearly revenues were worth, 26 Hen. VIII, 103*l.* 6*s.* 7*d.* Speed. Though this was one of the lesser Abbeyes, and so should have been dissolved by 27 Hen. VIII, yet the King was pleased to continue this house, which finally surrendered 30 Hen. VIII. The site was granted 36 Hen. VIII. to "Jeffry Foljamb." Tanner, *Notitia Monast.*]

causes moving his conscience, (which he hath opened to me, and will also to your lordship,) to renounce his priesthood; whereby he feareth (the rawness and ignorance of the people is such in those parties,) that he should lose his salary whereof he should live, except he have your lordship's help. Wherefore, I beseech your lordship to write for him your letters to the Warden of the Guild there and his brethren, which hath the collation of the said school, that he may continue in his room and be schoolmaster still, notwithstanding that he left the office of priesthood; which was no furtherance, but rather an impediment to him in the applying of his scholars. There is no foundation nor ordinance, as he showeth me, that the schoolmaster thereof should be a priest. And I beseech you to be good lord unto him in any farther suit which he shall have unto your lordship. Thus Almighty God long preserve your lordship. At Lambeth, the xxvth day of August.

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

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CCXXXIII. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westminster:  
Crumwell's  
Correspondence.  
*Original.*

My very singular good Lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto your lordship. And whereas I am credibly informed that Mr. Parker, brother unto the Abbot of Gloucester, is departed, who, amongs other his promotions, had the Deanery of a College<sup>u</sup>, named Tameworth College, within the County of Stafford, being of the King's Grace's collation: these shall be most heartily to desire your lordship, inasmuch as that country is destitute of learned men and preachers, that you will have in remem-

<sup>u</sup> [It was a College for a dean and six prebendaries. Tanner, *Notitia Monast.*; who admits that the prebends were in the gift of the King, but questions his being the patron of the deanery.]

brance Doctor Barons<sup>x</sup> unto the King's Majesty, for his preferment thereunto. Your lordship knoweth full well, that hitherto he hath had very small preferment for such pains and travail, as he most willingly hath sustained in the King's affairs from time to time. Howbeit, I doubt not but the King's Grace and your lordship doth perceive such fidelity and towardness in the man, that he hath deserved a greater living than this promotion; which is esteemed unto me, but at the clear yearly value of xx<sup>li</sup>. or thereabouts; beseeching your lordship eftsoons to be his good lord in this behalf, and that the rather at this mine instant request. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Lambeth, the xxviii. day of August.

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable and my  
singular good lord, my Lord  
Privy Seal.

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CCXXXIV. To CRUMWELL.

My singular good Lord, after my most hearty commen-  
dations; these shall be to beseech your lordship to direct  
your letters unto Mr. Vawghan, willing him to send home  
into England Mistress Hutton<sup>y</sup>, so that she may come  
from thence without danger of the law, bringing with her  
only her apparel; and the rest of the goods to be kept there,  
until your lordship's farther pleasure be known in that

MSS.  
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House,  
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ginal.

<sup>x</sup> [There can be little doubt, that the person here recommended is Doctor Robert Barnes, who had been employed as ambassador to the German princes in 1535, and who in 1540 was burnt, together with Garret and Jerom, for holding heretical opinions. What these opinions were, is not clearly ascertained, as the Act of attainder under which he suffered, takes the convenient course of saying, that "their number was too long to be repeated." But of two grievous offences Barnes was undoubtedly guilty; he had been employed in negotiating Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves, and he had preached against Gardyner. See Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. p. 590, &c.]

<sup>y</sup> [See Letters ccxxvii, ccxxviii, ccxxix. ccxxxv.]

behalf. Thus, my lord, most heartily fare you well. At Lambeth, the second day of October.

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

CCXXXV. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter-  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-  
respond-  
ence. *Ori-  
ginal.*

My singular good Lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me to your lordship. And where of late<sup>a</sup> I wrote unto your lordship in the behalf of Mistress Hutton: these shall be eftsoons to beseech you, my lord, to direct your letters unto Mr. Vawghan, willing him so to see her discharged from those parties where she is now, that she may come home incontinently into England, without danger of the law, bringing with her all such apparel as appertaineth unto her and to her chamber; and as for the other stuff, there to remain, until your lordship's farther pleasure be known in that behalf. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well.

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

CCXXXVI. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-  
respond-

After my most hearty commendations unto your good lordship; these shall be to signify unto you, that a scholar of Oxford hath uttered unto me certain things, which, forasmuch as they appertain unto the King's Majesty, I send them unto your lordship herein enclosed<sup>a</sup> to be examined

<sup>a</sup> [Letter ccxxxiv.

<sup>a</sup> [This enclosure has been preserved, at least in part. All that is extant is here subjoined, both because it gives a lively picture of the

by you : and if your lordship require farther information in <sup>ence. Original.</sup>

divisions which at that time probably existed in most colleges, and also because several of the persons mentioned in it were distinguished men, and some of them too, distinguished afterwards on a different side from that to which they were now attached. The complaints came, as will be seen by the names given, from Corpus Christi College.

“ J E S U S.

“ AS CONCERNING MR. DON <sup>b</sup>.

1. “ I, Gregory Stremer, do testify, that Mr. Don said that Sir Marshall should make satisfaction for the putting out of this word *papa* in Saint Gregory’s works in our library.

2. “ I, Edmund Mervyn, testify, that sythe that time, when as Sir Martiall laid that same to his charge again, he denied it not, but said “ these words, ‘ Mary, and I say yet, that it is not necessary to put out *papa* out of profane books.’

3. “ The said Mr. Don, when it was his part, in his collation made “ to the company, to declare the just abrogation of the Bishop of “ Rome’s usurped power, went about specially to persuade that the “ bishop might be called *papa*, and that it was but a foolish phantasy “ of men to make so much about the name *papa*, because divers bishops, “ besides the Bishop of Rome, were so called.

“ Witness of the same	{	Gregory Stremer,	Hue Goode,
		Richard Marshall <sup>c</sup> ,	Edmund Marvyn,
		Richard Wye,	John Wye.
		John Bondell,	

4. “ I, Gregory Stremer, Richard Martiall, and Edmund Marvyn, “ were talking with Mr. Don in his chamber, and I willed him to teach “ the youth why the Bishop of Rome was expulsed ; ‘ for I think,’ said “ I, ‘ none of them can tell why it is done.’ Then said Mr. Don these “ words: ‘ No more can I.’ ‘ No?’ said I; ‘ what mean you, Mr. Don, by “ that? Bear record, masters.’ Then, after a little deliberation, he said, he “ could not tell why he was expulsed, by cause he never knew any au- “ thority he had here; which interpretation afterwards was allowed of “ Mr. Doctor Cotes <sup>d</sup>, then being in the Commissary’s place. In witness “ whereof we have here subscribed our names.

“ Gregory Stremer, Edmund Mervyn.

“ Richard Marshall,

5. “ He affirmed, in a lesson which he read at Wytney, that men “ make laws now a days for money, not for profit of the commonweal.

“ Hue Goode,

“ Edmund Mervyn.

<sup>b</sup> [John Dunne was Greek Lecturer at C. C. C. about this time.]

<sup>c</sup> [Afterwards “ the furious and zelotical” Dean of Christ Church, “ who, to show his spite against the reformation, had caused Peter Martyr’s “ wife, who deceased while he was the King’s Professor, to be taken out of “ her grave, and buried in his dunghill.” Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 373. See also Wood, *Fasti*, vol. i. p. 78. He was one of the witnesses against Cranmer, in Sept. 1555. See *Processus contra Cranm.* in Strype, *Add.* (Ed. Oxf. 1812.)]

<sup>d</sup> [George Cotes of Magd. Coll. was admitted Doctor of Divinity 5 July 1536, and became Master of Balliol 30 Nov. 1539. Wood, *Fasti*, and *Hist. of Oxford*. He must on this occasion have acted as deputy to Dr. Tresham, who was Commissary of the University, without interruption, from 1534 to 1546. Wood, *Fasti*.]



this behalf, I think the said scholar can partly instruct you

6. "The said Don preached at Wytney in a sermon, that the old  
"time good men were wont to build and maintain churches, and now  
"they be more ready to pluck them down.

"Hue Goode,  
"Edmunde Marvyn.

"MR. SLATER.

7. "Mr. Slate hath accused Hue Goode, Gervase Huche, Richard  
"and John Wye, John Lane, unto their friends wrongfully, and hath  
"continued in troubling of them ever since they began to be conver-  
"sant with Mr. Stremer and Richard Martiall, which hath been ab-  
"horred in all the College, syth they began to call upon the officers of  
"the said College for fulfilling of the King's commandments, as touch-  
"ing the abolishing of the Pope's name, and preaching against the  
"popish doctrine, and certain other things commanded by the King's  
"commissioners at the last visitation.

"Gregory Stremer, Hue Goode,  
"Edmunde Marvyn, Richard Marshall,  
"Richard Wye, John Wye.

"SIR TURNBULL.

8. "Sir Turnbull, reader of logic, wresteth good questions which the  
"scholars put forth in their disputations to Duns' quiddities.

"Gregory Stremer, Hue Goode.

9. "Jo. Edwards, I. Goidge, Jamys Broke\*, William Chedsey†,  
"Masters of Arts, keep the youth of this College from the knowledge of  
"God's word, grudging and resisting to their power against such ordi-  
"nances as make to the spreading of the gospel, and extirping of  
"ungodly and papistical doctrine.

"Gregory Stremer, Richard Marshall  
"Hue Goode, Edmunde Marvyn,  
"Richard Wye, John Wye.

"Papa was written into a calendar of a book in our College Chapel  
"after it had been once put out, by whom we cannot tell.

"John Garrett, Richard Marshall,  
"George Etherige‡, John Morwen<sup>b</sup>.

\* [The same who was afterwards Master of Balliol College, Bishop of Gloucester, and the Pope's Subdelegate at Cranmer's trial in 1555. Wood, *Athenæ*, vol. i. p. 133.]

† ["He was by the protestants accounted a very mutable and unconstant man in his religion, but by the Roman Catholics not, but rather a great stickler for their religion, and the chief prop in his time in the University for the cause, as it appeared not only in his opposition of P. Martyr, but of the three bishops that were burnt in Oxon." Wood, *Athenæ*, vol. i. p. 137. See his *Disputation with Cranmer*, vol. iv. p. 8.]

‡ [George Etheridge, afterwards Professor of Greek, who appears here in the ranks of the reformers, was forward against them under Qu. Mary. In one of the discussions at Oxford in 1555, he proposed that Ridley should be gagged; and his name appears in the proceedings against Cranmer in the same year. See Foxe, *Acts, &c.* vol. iii. p. 500; Wood, *Athenæ*, vol. i. p. 237; *Processus contra Cranm.* p. 1080.]

<sup>b</sup> [John Morwen, noted for his knowledge of Greek, was a private instructor of John Jewell, though afterwards a hater of his opinions. Wood, *Athenæ*, vol. i. p. 82. See Humphrey, *Life of Jewell*.]

therein. Thus, my lord, most heartily fare you well. At Lambeth, the 8th day of October.

*The following Articles are on a different sheet, but obviously belong to the foregoing complaint.*

1. "Not fulfilling the King's Injunctions, which require preaching.
2. "Item, Not singing the collect for the King in the mass, agreeing to the Injunctions.
3. "Item, Not blotting out *papa*, until it was within this half year, and singing the said *papa* openly in the church.
4. "Item, *Papa* written again, after it had been once put out, into a certain church book, throughout the calendar.
5. "Item, A book continual four years suffered in the library, which called them heretics and schismatics that did not set the Bishop of Rome above all powers, as kings and emperors, &c.
6. "Item, Another book which was named Alexander de Hayles, which proved the Bishop of Rome above all powers.
7. "Item, They would not suffer the Bible to be read openly in the hall at dinners, as the statute biddeth, till that we ourselves proffered to read it.
8. "Item, Mr. Chedsay, one of the deans, said, that if he saw any scholar have a New Testament in his hand, he would burn it.
9. "Item, Mr. Shepreve<sup>1</sup> said, that studying of the Scripture was subversion of good order, and that, if he durst, he would bar us from reading of Scripture.
10. "Item, That Mr. Donne would have had satisfaction of Sir Marshall for putting out *papa* in Gregory's works in the library.
11. "Item, Mr. Slater said, there were some in the house which could prove the Bishop of Rome's authority.
12. "Item, Mr. Goyge reported in Hamsher, that Sir Marwin and Sir Marshall were heretics, and had heresy books, and were naughty.
13. "Item, Mr. Slater forbade the scholars a company.
14. "Item, The divinity lesson, which ought by the statute above all other lessons to be read, is not read.
15. "Item, Mr. Smythe said, that such as Sir Marshall is, have done much hurt with preaching.
16. "Item, That few or none, except the Masters, have any part of Scripture in their chamber.
17. "Item, Sir Garret for saying that it were better for Sir Marshall to let *papa* alone than put it out of the church books, was punished with losing a fortnight's commons, and had his meat and drink given him.
18. "Item, Sir Turnbull said, when four of Sion, London, and Sheene<sup>k</sup>, were put to execution for holding with the Bishop of Rome, that he trusted to have a memory of them among other of the saints one day.
19. "Item, Sir Bocher said, that all they which be of the new learning, were advouters and naughty knaves.
20. "Item, Mr. Donne called Sir Marwin and Sir Marshall Neo-Christianos, i. e. a new kind of Christian men.
21. "Mr. Slater complained of certain to their friends, because he perceived them to favour the truth.

<sup>1</sup> [Hebrew Professor of the University about 1538. See his praises as a linguist and a poet in Wood, *Athenæ*, vol. i. p. 60.]

<sup>k</sup> [See Letter cxlv.]

<sup>1</sup> My Lord, I beseech you to be good lord unto M. Bul, parson of Norflete, whom I have known many years to be a man of good learning, judgment, soberness, and a very quiet man, whatsoever report is made of him to the contrary.

Your own ever assured,

T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster;  
Crum-  
well's  
Corres-  
pondence.  
*Original.*

### CCXXXVII. To CRUMWELL.

My very singular good Lord, after my most hearty commendations unto your good lordship; these shall be to yield unto you my most hearty thanks for this bearer Markeham, to whom, as I understand, you are so good lord as to prefer him to the farm of the Priory of Newsted, beseeching your lordship, as you have herein been his especial good lord, so you will continue; and I doubt not, but that he shall so handle himself, both in the King's service, and towards your lordship, that you shall not forthink that you have done for him. Thus, my lord, most heartily fare you well. At Lambeth, the 10th day of October.

<sup>1</sup> The two Observants whom you sent unto me to be examined, have confessed that which I suppose is high treason. I shall send them with their depositions unto your lordship this night or tomorrow.

Your own ever assured,

T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

22. "Item, Mr. Donne forbade reading of the Bible in the hall.

23. "Item, The Masters and Fellows of the house which be counted of the new learning, as they called it, be admitted neither to any office, ne yet to any council of the College business."

<sup>1</sup> [These postscripts are in Cranmer's handwriting.]

## CCXXXVIII. To CRUMWELL.

My very singular and especial good Lord, in my most MSS.  
 hearty wise I commend me unto you. And whereas I <sup>Chapter</sup>  
 understand that the town clerkship of Calais standeth now <sup>House,</sup>  
 as void, so that it is in their election there to choose a new <sup>Westmin-</sup>  
 officer; forasmuch, my lord, as there is one of Gray's Inn, <sup>ster;</sup>  
 named Nicolas Bacon <sup>n</sup>, whom I know entirely to be both <sup>Crumwell's</sup>  
 of such towardness in the law, and of so good judgment <sup>Corres-</sup>  
 touching Christ's religion, that in that stead he shall be <sup>pondence.</sup>  
 able to do God and the King right acceptable service: <sup>Original.</sup>  
 these shall be most heartily to beseech your lordship, by  
 cause I have often times heretofore wished to have that town  
 furnished with some officers of right judgment, that you  
 will direct your favourable letters unto the Mayor of Calice  
 and other the King's officers there, moving them to prefer  
 this man in their election to that room; which thing I do  
 more willingly require of your lordship, by cause that I am  
 credibly informed that certain of the head officers there  
 would gladly have him amongs them in this said room; and  
 therefore, not doubting but that your lordship shall think  
 your letters well bestowed hereafter herein, shall now be-  
 seech you to be his good lord in this behalf. Thus, my  
 lord, right heartily fare you well. At Lambeth, the xxiii.  
 day of October.

Your own ever assured,

T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord,  
 my Lord Privy Seal.

<sup>n</sup> [Nicholas Bacon, afterwards Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, was now about twenty-eight years of age, and it is not unlikely that this recommendation by Cranmer may have led to his subsequent advancement. His biographers do not mention that he was ever town clerk of Calais, but he must have been employed early in the King's service, for about 1544 he received a grant of some of the possessions of the dissolved monastery of Bury St. Edmund's, as "a proof of the estimation in which he was held by his Majesty." See Chalmers, *Biogr. Dict.*]

## CCXXXIX. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-  
respond-  
ence. Ori-  
ginal.

My very singular good Lord, in my right hearty wise I commend me unto your lordship: and whereas I understand, that one Crofts<sup>o</sup> being now in the Tower, and like to be attainted of treason, hath a benefice in Somersetshire, named Shipton Mallet, but of the yearly value of xxvi<sup>li</sup>, which being the very parish where Doctor Champion<sup>p</sup>, my chaplain, was born, and where all his kinsfolk and friends now dwell, is for no man so meet a promotion as for him; and, forasmuch as the said Doctor Champion doth trust and hope that your lordship beareth him such favour, that, when occasion should be offered, you would do him a good turn: these shall be heartily to desire you, my lord, to find the means that the said Doctor Champion may be preferred unto the said benefice by your favour and aid, or else to show unto me your good advice how that I may obtain it for him, in case it fall void at this time. The King's Majesty and my Lord Dalawarre giveth it *alternis vicibus*, and the King's Grace gave it last; now whether his Grace doth give it again by reason of this attainder you can best tell: beseeching your lordship so to extend your accustomed benevolence towards the said Doctor Champion, that by your procurement he may have the benefice, whosoever giveth it. Wherein I assure your lordship you shall do more for his commodity and preferment, than if you should give him a promotion worth ten of it in value, by cause that thereby he shall not only have occasion to do some good continually in his native country by preaching there the word of God, but also help the judgments of his own kinsmen and friends the sooner by this means. Thus, my lord,

<sup>o</sup> [George Crafte was Rector of Shepton Mallet, in 1535. *Val. Eccles.* George Crofts, Chancellor of the Cathedral of Chichester, was indicted for denying the King's supremacy on the 4th of Dec. 1538. *Burn. Ref.* vol. i. p. 719. There can be little doubt of their identity. Crofts was implicated in the charges of treason brought against the Marquis of Exeter, Henry Pole Lord Montacute, and others; and was executed in the following January. Stow, *Annals*.

<sup>p</sup> [See Letter CLXIII.]

most heartily fare you well. At Lambeth, the xiiiith day of November. [1538.]

Your own assured ever,  
T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable and my  
singular good lord, my Lord Privy  
Seal.

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CCXL. To CRUMWELL.

My very singular good Lord, after most hearty recom-<sup>MSS.</sup>  
mendations; this shall be to signify unto you, that this day <sup>Chapter</sup>  
the King's Highness sent me a commandment to be with <sup>House</sup>  
him tomorrow at ten of the clock, which I cannot do, if I <sup>Westmin-</sup>  
be with you at Stepney before nine of the clock. But for <sup>ster; Crum-</sup>  
so much as his Grace hath appointed me to be at two <sup>well's Cor-</sup>  
sundry places about one time, which I cannot accomplish, <sup>respond-</sup>  
and I dare disappoint neither of his commandments without <sup>ence.</sup>  
his Grace countermand the same; therefore I will send <sup>Original.</sup>  
unto his Grace to know his determinate pleasure herein, <sup>Holograph.</sup>  
and I will not fail to wait upon you at Stepney, at your  
hour assigned, unless the King's pleasure be to the contrary.  
Thus Almighty God ever preserve your lordship to his  
pleasure. From Lamehithe, the xix. day of November.

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my singular good lord, my Lord  
Privy Seal be this delivered.

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CCXLI. To CRUMWELL.

My singular good Lord, after my right hearty recom-<sup>MSS.</sup>  
mendations. Whereas I am credibly informed that your <sup>Chapter</sup>  
servant, Doctor Cave<sup>9</sup>, if it may stand with your lordship's <sup>House,</sup>  
<sup>Westmin-</sup>

<sup>9</sup> [Neither this name, nor that of Barbar, is to be found in Ant. Wood's account of Christ Church. Respecting Barbar, see Letters ccv. ccxxx.]

ster;Crum-  
well's Cor-  
respond-  
ence. Ori-  
ginal.

pleasure, is right willing to leave a prebend, which he now hath in the King's Majesty's College at Oxforthe, to my chaplain, Doctor Barbar; albeit, I know myself so much bounden unto your lordship, for your ready gentilness towards me in all my suits heretofore, that I would not gladly at this time trouble your lordship with this thing, yet having no other mean to the King's Highness, of whose gift the said prebend is, for the obtaining of the same, and considering the qualities and learning of the said Doctor Barber, which I think be not to your lordship all unknown, I am compelled in this, as in all other my business, to have recourse to your lordship, heartily desiring your favour towards him herein; whereby your lordship shall not only do for an honest and meet man, but also bind me to do you any pleasure as may lie in my power. From Lambethe, the 21. day of November.

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable and my  
singular good lord, my Lord Privy  
Seal.

#### CCXLII. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster;  
Crumwell's  
Corres-  
pondence.  
Original.

My very singular good Lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto your lordship. And so herewithal send unto you Sir Henry ad Cortbeke, the Dutch priest, to receive the 20<sup>li</sup>. which on Tuesday last your lordship said you would deliver unto him; and farther, I desire your lordship that he may have the King's letters patents freely to be a denizen, and in that behalf to appoint one to procure it forth for him, to whom he may resort for the same, or else he shall never obtain it himself, by cause he can neither speak English, nor hath no manner of acquaintance to promote his cause in mine absence; beseeching your lordship also to have the said Sir Henry in remembrance unto the King's Majesty for some honest stipend for the main-

tenance of his living; wherein your lordship shall do a right good and meritorious deed. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Lambeth, the 28th day of November.

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable and my  
singular good lord, my Lord Privy  
Seal.

### CCXLIII. To CRUMWELL.

After most hearty commendations unto your good Lord-  
ship; these shall be to signify unto the same, that I have  
received your letters dated at Hampton Court, the 12th day  
of December, by which I perceive that the King's Majesty  
hath nominated and appointed you to the offices of the  
High Stewardship of all my franchises, and Master of the  
game of all my chases and parks, by reason of the attainder  
of Sir Edward Nevell<sup>a</sup>, knight, and thereupon you require  
for your better assurance my confirmation in that behalf:  
surely, my lord, I am right glad that you of all other hath  
the preferment thereof; and if it shall please you to send  
unto me the tenor of the King's letters patents to you made  
for the same, I will make unto you such lawful assurance  
as in me shall be; and to the intent your lordship may be  
ascertained what grants my predecessor made of the said  
office, I send unto you herewithal the copies of the said  
grants. And as touching the said office of the Stewardship  
of the liberties, the same of late hath not been duly exer-  
cised as it ought to have been, by reason whereof, as I am  
informed by the learned counsel, the interest therein by the

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-  
respond-  
ence. Ori-  
ginal.

<sup>a</sup> [Sir Edward Nevill, brother to the late Lord Abergavenny, was included in the prosecution of the Marquis of Exeter and others, which has been mentioned in a preceding note. The special matter charged against him was, that he had said the King was a beast, and worse than a beast. He was condemned for treason on the 4th of Dec. 1538, and was beheaded with the Marquis of Exeter and Lord Montacute, on Tower Hill, the 9th of Jan. 1539. Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. p. 717. Stow, *Annals.*]



said grant heretofore made is forfeited ; so that, if the law will permit, I will be glad to assure it to you for term of your life, or else it will appertain unto the lord of Burgayveny<sup>s</sup>. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Forde, the 14th day of December. [1538.]

My Lord, I pray you accomplish my suit for this bearer, my servant, Francis Basset, concerning the monastery of Croxden<sup>t</sup>, and I will not fail to accomplish my promise unto you concerning the same.

Your own assured ever,  
T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable and my  
singular good lord, my Lord Privy  
Seal.

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CCXLIV. TO CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster ;

My singular good Lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto your lordship ; signifying to the same, that there is brought before me one Henry Totehill for naughty communication<sup>u</sup> which he should speak concerning the Bi-

<sup>s</sup> [See Letters xxxi. ccxlv. Lord Abergavenny seems to have been Steward of the Liberties, and Sir Edward Nevill, Master of the Game, &c.]

<sup>t</sup> [See Letter ccxxxi. This postscript is in Cranmer's handwriting.]

<sup>u</sup> [The following is the account given of this "naughty communication" by the principal witness. It conveys some information respecting the means then used to render the papal supremacy unpopular, and the jealous attention which was paid even to the idle conversation of drunkards.]

"John Alford, of the age of 18 years, examined, saith, that by reason that he had been in Christmas time at my Lord of Canterbury's, and there had heard an interlude concerning King John, about 8 or 9 of the clock at night on Thursday the second day of January last past, spake these words following in the house of Thomas Brown : "That it is pity that the Bishop of Rome should reign any longer, for if he should, the said Bishop would do with our King as he did with King John." Whereunto this deponent saith, that Henry Totehill answered and said : 'That it was pity and naughtily done to put down the Pope and St. Thomas : for the Pope was a good man, and St. Thomas saved many such as this deponent was, from hanging.' "Another witness adds, that "Totehill should say that the old law was as good as the new." And a third, that when reproved for his talk he declared, that "he thought no harm to no man," and

shop of Rome and Thomas Beckett <sup>z</sup>, which matter I have examined, as your lordship shall farther perceive by a bill of the depositions herein enclosed. And forasmuch as John Alforde, the principal accuser, is one that hath no certain bidding place, I have sent him with the said Totehill unto your lordship, to the intent that he may avouch his words before you in the presence of the said Totehill.

Farther, this shall be to advertise your lordship, that I have taken upon me your office in punishing of such transgressors as break the King's Injunctions<sup>y</sup>; for already I have committed two priests unto the castle of Canterbury, for permitting the Bishop of Rome's name in their books; the one of them lay there until it had cost him four or five mark, and yet notwithstanding, I commanded him to give 4<sup>li</sup>. in alms after I had delivered him out of the castle, which he refused to do, and then was again committed unto the castle; at length, considering his expences and punishment in prison, it is concluded that he shall give 40 shillings unto his poor neighbours, at the distribution of Sir Edward Ringeley and other Justices. As for the other priest, being but a curate, I have still in the castle until such time as he be condignly punished, for he hath little store of money to bestow in alms; howbeit I have commanded the parson where he was curate, to give 40 shillings in alms unto his poor neighbours. Thus much have I done on your behalf, remitting the rest unto your discretion, if you think it otherwise to be punished, beseeching your lordship to send me word, how I shall behave myself hereafter in punishing of such offences. Thus, most heartily fare you well. At Forde, the 11th day of January. [1539<sup>z</sup>.]

Your own ever assured,

T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable and my singular good lord, my Lord Privy Seal.

moreover, that "he was drunken." MSS. Chapter House, Westminster.]

<sup>x</sup> [See Letter ccxxx. note (h).]

<sup>y</sup> [See Letter ccxxii. note (z).]

<sup>z</sup> [The date of this Letter is ascertained from the depositions which accompany it.]

## CCXLV. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-  
respond-  
ence. Ori-  
ginal.

My singular good Lord, after my most hearty commendations unto your lordship; these shall be to signify unto the same that I have received your letters with two patents, one of them concerning the Stewardship of my liberties, the other of the Mastership of my game, which patents I have sealed, and sent unto your lordship by Nevell my steward, whom nevertheless I have commanded not to deliver, until such time as your counsel and mine have concluded that I may justly deliver them: for, although as I am bound, I am very glad and ready to do for your lordship that I may do, yet to do more than I may justly do, neither standeth with justice, nor will at length be to your honour and benefit, nor mine neither; for if I should grant your patents, the state of things standing as they do at this present, so far as yet I do know, surely as well the heirs of the lord of Bargineny<sup>a</sup>, as the son of Sir Edward Nevell, may hereafter not only recover of me the arrearages, but also bring your patents in question, which I were very loth should chance, for default of an oversight at the beginning. But by cause your counsel have informed your lordship that these patents may justly pass, and I am not instructed as yet how it may be done, nor I have not my counsel here at this time, therefore I beseech your lordship that your counsel learned may commune with Mr. James Halis<sup>b</sup> and Mr. Boys my counsel herein, that by them I may be certified the truth and justice of these things. And surely whatsoever justice will serve to do for your lordship, that will I do and maintain it unto the uttermost. And yet surely my heart is much moved with pity towards the young lord of Bargevenny<sup>c</sup> and Sir Edward

<sup>a</sup> [See Letters xxxi. CCXLIII.]

<sup>b</sup> [Without doubt the same, who was afterwards a Justice of the Common Pleas; whose firmness was conspicuous under Edward VI. in his refusal to sign the settlement of the crown on Lady Jane Grey; and whose weakness was betrayed under Mary by his recantation and suicide. See Burnet, *Ref.* vol. ii. p. 458; Strype, *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 173; Foxe, *Acts*, &c. vol. iii. pp. 19. 96. 185.]

<sup>c</sup> [Henry Nevill, the young Lord Abergavenny, became an orphan by the death of his father in 1535. He was himself not old enough to

Nevell's son, the one, by cause he is within orphanage, the other, by cause he hath lost all his inheritance<sup>d</sup>. Nevertheless your lordship may do more for them than this matter is worth, if the King's pleasure so be; and they both have justly forfeit their patents, as I am informed by my counsel, for abusing the same, and so I told the Lord Bargeveney and Edward Nevell divers times in their lives. Thus, my lord, most heartily fare you well. At Forde, the xxi. day of January.

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

#### CCXLVI. To CRUMWELL.

My very singular good Lord, in my most hearty wise I <sup>MSS.</sup> commend me unto your lordship; signifying to the same, <sup>Chapter House, Westminster; Crumwell's Correspondence. Original.</sup> that I have sent unto you another copy of the sermon which doctor Cronkehorne<sup>c</sup> should preach, beseeching you, my lord, to peruse the same, and to add and take away as you shall think convenient; and that you will either enjoin him to do it, or else to signify unto me your mind what I shall do therein. Thus, my lord, most heartily fare you well. At Forde, the last day of January.

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

be summoned to parliament before 1552. Nicolas, *Synopsis of the Peerage.*]

<sup>d</sup> [This son, who lost his inheritance by his father's attainder, eventually succeeded to the barony of Abergavenny, on the death of his cousin, "the young lord" above-mentioned, without male issue in 1586. Nicolas, *Ibid.*]

<sup>e</sup> [Bale speaks of Dr. Cronkehorne as having been engaged in an imposture similar to that of Elizabeth Barton. "This far passeth," he says, "the calking of Dr. Cronkehorne with his secret revelations, and also the pretty practices of Dr. Bockynge and the holy maid of "Kent." Bale, *Yet a Course at the Romish Fox*, fol. 34.]

## CCXLVII. TO CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster ;  
Crumwell's  
Corres-  
pondence.  
*Original.*

My very singular good Lord, after my most hearty commendations unto your lordship: and whereas upon the death of my loving friend, Mr. Thomas Wiate, (his son being ward unto the King's Majesty,) you obtained the wardship of his said son, and gave the same unto Mr. Wrothe, who then likewise gave the said wardship unto Mistress Wiate his sister, and mother unto the said ward: and now forasmuch as the said Mistress Wyate is not only departed this miserable life, leaving the said ward in the custody of William Morice, Edward Isaac, and Thomas Isaac, her sons and executors, but also hath as yet left unobtained the King's Grace's grant under seal, so that without the same the executors are without surety to perform that legacy, which they are bound to do by her testament: these shall be to desire and pray your lordship to be so good lord unto the said executors, as by your means they may procure the King's grant unto you already made, under the seal, and so your grant over again unto them thereof; and for your lordship's pains to be taken herein, they shall give you a pleasure, howbeit the wardship, as I am informed, is but 10<sup>li</sup>. yearly, which is little enough to find the child at his learning, and to keep the house in reparations. Wherefore eftsoons I beseech your lordship to show them herein your lawful favour, and that the rather, because the said Mistress Wiate<sup>f</sup> was not only my special friend, but also a very good and perfect woman. Thus, my lord, most heartily fare you well. At Canterbury, the vith day of April.

Your own assured ever,

T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable and my  
very singular good lord, my Lord  
Privy Seal.

<sup>f</sup> [See Letter ccviii.]

CCXLVIII. TO LORD LISLE.<sup>g</sup>

My very good Lord, after my right hearty commendations; these shall be to signify to you, that I have received your letters dated the 7th day of July, and also your other letters dated the      day of      and therewith certain depositions, the contents of the which your said letters I have thoroughly pondered and considered. And first as touching the said depositions, process shall be made accordingly as justice shall require in that behalf; and as for to get you a discreet priest for your parish, I shall do what I can to provide you one with expedition; and likewise to provide you a learned man to be my Commissary<sup>h</sup>, I will do the best that lieth in me. Howbeit, I fear me, that I shall with much difficulty obtain such a one, by reason that learned men are not willing to demore continually beyond the sea and out of the realm, without great stipend, which will be to me no small charge over that it was. Nevertheless I do little pass of any charge, so that I may get one that will mind the advancement of God's glory, the King's honour, and the quietness of your town. And as to your request, that none should be suffered to preach nor expound the Holy Scripture with you, but such as shall be authorized by the King's Majesty or by me, I shall not fail to give such a commandment unto him that shall be my Commissary,

<sup>g</sup> [Arthur Plantagenet, Viscount Lisle, an illegitimate son of Edw. IV, was now Lord Deputy of Calais, having been appointed to the office in 1532. He was afterwards committed to the Tower on suspicion of a design for betraying Calais to the French, and died there in 1542. The King, it is related, being satisfied of his innocence, sent him a diamond ring as a token of his favour, by Sir Thomas Wriothesley his Secretary; and "Master Secretary set forth this message with such effectual words, as he was an eloquent and well spoken man, that the Lord Lisle took such immoderate joy thereof, that his heart being oppressed therewith, he died the night following through too much rejoicing." Holinshed, vol. iii. p. 955.]

<sup>h</sup> [The office was vacant by the removal of John Butler. See Letter ccxxv. The Archbishop does not seem to have been happy in the choice of a successor: for Robert Harvey, whose appointment bears date the 20th of May, 1540, after a short administration signalized by a cruel persecution of the reformers, was hanged, drawn, and quartered for treason. Strype, *Cranm.* p. 87; Foxe, *Acts*, &c. vol. ii. p. 565.]

that he shall suffer no person to preach out of his own cure, but such as shall have the said authority, either from the King's Grace or from me<sup>1</sup>.

As concerning such persons as in time of divine service do read the Bible, they do much abuse the King's Grace's intent and meaning in his Grace's Injunctions<sup>k</sup> and Proclamations; which permitteth the Bible to be read, not to allure great multitudes of people together, nor thereby to interrupt the time of prayer, meditation, and thanks to be given unto Almighty God, which, specially in divine service, is and of congruence ought to be used; but that the same be done and read in time convenient, privately, for the condition and amendment of the lives, both of the readers and of such hearers as cannot themselves read, and not in contempt or hinderance of any divine service or laudable ceremony used in the church; nor that any such reading should be used in the church, as in a common school, expounding and interpreting Scriptures, unless it be by such as shall have authority to preach and read; but that all other readers of the Bible do no otherwise read thereupon, than the simple and plain text purporteth and lieth printed in the book<sup>l</sup>. And if it chance that any doubt or question

<sup>1</sup> [Lord Lisle's request probably arose out of the furious controversies by which Calais had lately been agitated. See Letters ccxxv. ccxxviii. and Foxe, *Acts*, &c. vol. ii. p. 556, &c.]

<sup>k</sup> [It was one of Crumwell's Injunctions in the preceding September, that a copy of the Bible should be placed in every parish church. See Letter cxcii note (k).]

<sup>l</sup> [Cranmer's Letter is in perfect accordance with other documents of that day, both with respect to the abuses attending the reading of the Bible, and the remedies recommended for them. Thus it was directed, in *A Declaration* to be read by curates to their congregations, that "if at any time by reading any doubt shall come to any of you, touching the sense and meaning of any part thereof; that then, not giving too much to your own minds, phantasies, and opinions, nor having thereof any open reasoning in your taverns or ale-houses, ye shall have recourse to such learned men, as be, or shall be authorized to preach and declare the same." See Appendix. And a proclamation in May 1541, declared, that it was not the intention of the King's Royal Majesty that any of his loving subjects "should read the said Bibles, with high and loud voices, in time of the celebration of the holy mass, and other divine services used in the church; or that any his lay subjects reading the same, should presume to take upon them any common disputation, argument, or exposition of the myst-

do arise, or seem to the readers and hearers of the said Bible by reason of the text, then they always, for the declaration of the said doubts and questions, to resort unto such preachers as shall be lawfully admitted to preach. Which manner of reading and using of the Bible I pray you, my lord, that now, in the absence of my Commissary, the same may, by your authority, be published in your church and all other churches within the marches of Calyce, with all convenient expedition. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Croydon, the 13th day of July. [1539.]

I pray your lordship to send unto me with expedition other articles which you have against Rauff Hare<sup>m</sup>, or Broke, if you have any against them, specially since the King's pardon, other than you have before sent hither; for the mo matters that be against them, the more it is to their condemnation.

Your loving friend,  
T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable my  
Lord Lyle, the King's Deputy  
at Calyce.

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### CCXLIX. To CRUMWELL.

My very singular good Lord, after my most hearty MSS.

"eries therein contained." Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. App. book iii. N<sup>o</sup>. 24. Chapter House,  
Boner also in his *Admonition* to readers of the Bible in 1542, recommended, "that no number of people be specially congregate therefore  
"to make a multitude; and that no exposition be made thereupon,  
"otherwise than it is declared in the book itself; and that especially  
"regard be had, that no reading thereof be used, allowed, and with  
"noise in the time of any divine service or sermon; or that in the same  
"be used any disputation, contention, or any other misdemeanour."  
Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. App. book iii. N<sup>o</sup>. 25. See also Cranmer's *Preface to the Bible*, (vol. ii. p. 104;) and Henry VIII's celebrated speech to his parliament in 1545.]

<sup>m</sup> [Ralph Hare, a private soldier, and Thomas Brook, an officer in the customs at Calais, were accused of being tainted with Damplic's supposed heresies. See Letter ccxiv. Foxe relates "the troubles" of both, and gives a particular account of Gardyners insidious advice to Hare, to submit himself to my lord of Canterbury, as "a good gentle  
"lord, who was loth that he should be cast away." Foxe, *Acts*, &c. vol. ii. p. 559.]



Westminster; Crumwell's Correspondence. Original. State Papers, vol. i. part ii. Lett. xcii. Todd, *Life of Cranm.* vol. i. p. 129. commendations; these shall be to signify unto your lordship, that I have overseen the Primer which you sent unto me, and therein I have noted and amended such faults as are most worthy of reformation; divers things there are besides therein, which, if before the printing of the book had been committed unto me to oversee, I would have amended; howbeit they be not of that importance, but that for this time they may be well enough permitted and suffered to be read of the people: and the book of itself, no doubt, is very good and commendable. Thus, my lord, most heartily fare you well. At Croydon, the xxith day of July<sup>n</sup>.

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To the Right Honourable and my  
singular good lord, my Lord Privy  
Seal.

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CCL. To CRUMWELL.

MSS. Chapter House, Westminster; Crumwell's Correspondence. Original. My very singular good Lord, after my most hearty commendations; these shall be to signify unto your lordship, that it chanced in time of my being at Lambeth on Sunday at night last past, between ten and eleven of the clock of the same night, a priest and a woman were very suspiciously taken at Croidon by the constable there, and by the said constable kept in ward until my coming home, which was

<sup>n</sup> [In the State Papers, (vol. i. p. 559.) this Letter is assigned to 1537, and the Primer mentioned is supposed to be that which was printed by Redman in the same year. But on the 21st of July 1537, Cranmer was at Lambeth, in fear of the plague, and praying for leave to depart. See Lett. clxxxiv. p. 189. Probably therefore the Primer now sent for the Archbishop's revision, was one which was printed by John Maylart for John Waylande in 1539, with the following title: "The Primer in English, most necessary for the education of children, abstracted out of the Manual of Prayers, or Primer in English and Latin, set forth by John [Hilsey] late Bishop of Rochester, at the commandment of the Right Hon. Lord Thomas Crumwell, Lord Privy Seal, &c." Or it may have been the larger work by Hilsey, which is referred to in this title. See accounts of both in Ames, *Typogr. Antiq.* ed. Dibdin, vol. iii. p. 518.]

on Monday last past; since which time I have examined both parties, as farther your lordship shall perceive by their examinations, which I send unto you herewithal. And forasmuch as there is no commission out as yet for the due correction and punishment of such offenders according to the Act<sup>o</sup> in this behalf, I shall desire your lordship to advertise me with convenient expedition of the King's Grace's pleasure, how and in what manner they shall be ordered. And as concerning the woman, if it be true which she hath confessed, as it seemeth to be, then she hath deserved somewhat the more favour for the plain confession of the truth. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Croidon, the xxx<sup>th</sup> day of July.

Your own assured ever,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

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CCLI. To CRUMWELL.

My very singular good Lord, after my most hearty commendations; these shall be to advertise your lordship, that I have received your letters for the preferment of Mr. Doctor Peter<sup>p</sup> unto Doctor Wotton's<sup>q</sup> room of the faculties, when it shall chance by the promotion of the said Doctor Wotton to be void. Surely, my lord, I would be as glad of Mr. Peter's preferment as of any man's living to that office, for such good qualities as I know in him of old;

<sup>o</sup> [Viz. the celebrated Act of the Six Articles, Stat. 31 Hen. VIII. c. 14. The examinations which were forwarded to Crumwell sufficiently proved, that the 21st and 22nd clauses of it, against the incontinence of priests, had been violated.]

<sup>p</sup> [See Letter clx.]

<sup>q</sup> [Dr. Nicholas Wotton succeeded Boner as Master of the Archbishop's Faculties on the 6th of Oct. 1538. In 1539 he was appointed Archdeacon of Gloucester, and refused a bishopric: about which time probably this Letter was written. Strype, *Cranm.* p. 72. Chalmers, *Biogr. Dict.*]

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster; Crum-  
well's Cor-  
respond-  
ence. Ori-  
ginal.

but indeed, my lord, I have promised it unto my Commissary Doctor Nevynson<sup>r</sup>, who hath of me twenty marks by year, and can spend no penny, with condition that he should surrender it unto my hands when I had given him a benefice: wherefore if your lordship of your goodness will provide some benefice for my Commissary, I shall both satisfy your lordship's request, and deliver myself of my promise: and this I write, by cause I have many to provide for, and little to provide them of. As concerning the King's Majesty, I will not strive with his Highness; howbeit I suppose the gift should appertain unto me, considering Mr. Wotton hath it but only at my pleasure. Thus, my lord, most heartily fare you well. At Forde, the xth day of September.

Your own assured ever,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

---

CCLII. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster;  
Crumwell's  
Corres-  
pondence.  
*Original.*

My very singular good Lord, after my right hearty commendations unto your lordship, these shall be to desire you to have in your remembrance Sir Henry Corbett<sup>s</sup>, the Dutch priest, for whom I have sued divers times unto your lordship for some honest stipend, beseeching your lordship to move the King's Grace in his favour in this behalf. I ensure you he is almost in despair of a living, for so much as he supposeth your lordship hath utterly forgotten him, and for so doing your lordship shall not only do a very good deed, and dispatch yourself of an importunate suitor, but also discharge me of such costs as I am at in keeping of

<sup>r</sup> [Probably Dr. Christopher Nevynson; who was one of the Royal Visitors in 1547, and a Commissioner for presiding at Peter Martyr's Disputation on the Eucharist at Oxford in 1549. Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 47; *Cranm.* p. 200.]

<sup>s</sup> [See Letter ccxlii.]

him. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. From Croydon, the 7th day of October.

Your own ever assured,

T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

CCLIII. To CRUMWELL.<sup>t</sup>

My very singular good Lord, after my most hearty com-  
mendations; these shall be to signify unto your lordship, that Bartelett and Edward Whitechurche hath been with me, and have by their accounts declared the expenses and charges of the printing of the Great Bibles; and by the advice of Bartelett I have appointed them to be sold for 13s. 4d. a piece, and not above. Howbeit Whitechurche informeth me, that your lordship thinketh it a more convenient price to have them sold at 10s. a piece, which in respect of the great charges, both of the paper, which in very deed is substantial and good<sup>u</sup>, and other great hinderances,

MSS.  
Chapter House,  
Westminster;  
Crumwell's Correspondence. Original.  
*State Papers*, vol. i. part ii.  
Lett. cxvi.

<sup>t</sup> [This Letter is placed in the *State Papers* under 1538; on which supposition it must relate to the Bible, which was seized in an unfinished state by the inquisitors at Paris in December of that year, and which, after much delay, was at length completed in London in April 1539. This view, it must be admitted, is far from improbable, yet Cranmer's mention of his Preface seems to connect it with the edition in which this Preface first appeared, viz. the Great Bible of 1540. And the price named leads to the same conclusion: for ten shillings is the precise sum ordered to be paid by royal proclamation in 1541, for "Bibles of the largest and greatest volume to be set in churches." This clearly identifies the Bible of the present Letter with the Bible of the proclamation. And the Bible of the proclamation again can be no other than the Great Bible of 1540; for this only could be said to be of the largest volume; and this too is expressly declared in its title page to be "the Bible appointed to the use of churches." For these reasons Cranmer's Letter is believed to refer to the Great Bible of 1540; and in consequence the date of 1539, assigned to it by Mr. Todd, has been preferred to that which it bears in the *State Papers*. See *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 590; Strype, *Cranm.* p. 83; Lewis, *Hist. of Engl. Bible*, pp. 121. 136; Cotton, *List of Editions*, pp. 6. 118; Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. App. B. iii. Nos. 15 and 24; and particularly Todd, *Life of Cranm.* vol. i. p. 228, &c.]

<sup>u</sup> [The Great Bible of 1540 fully answers this description, being

Whitechurche and his fellow<sup>x</sup> thinketh it a small price. Nevertheless they are right well contented to sell them for 10s., so that you will be so good lord unto them as to grant henceforth none other license to any other printer saving to them, for the printing of the said Bible<sup>y</sup>; for else they think that they shall be greatly hindered thereby, if any other should print, they sustaining such charges as they already have done. Wherefore, I shall beseech your lordship, in consideration of their travail in this behalf, to tender their requests; and they have promised me to print in the end of their Bibles the price thereof, to the intent the King's liege people shall not henceforth be deceived of their price<sup>z</sup>.

Farther, if your lordship hath known the King's Highness' pleasure concerning the Preface<sup>a</sup> of the Bible which I sent to you to oversee, so that his Grace doth allow the same, I pray you that the same may be delivered unto the said Whitchurche unto printing, trusting that it shall both encourage many slow readers, and also stay the rash judgments of them that read therein. Thus our Lord have your good lordship in his blessed tuition. At Lambeth, the 14th day of November.

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

printed on excellent paper, and being in every respect a very handsome book.]

<sup>x</sup> [This "fellow" may perhaps have been Grafton, and Berthelet may have been concerned only as the King's printer. If so, the fact mentioned in a note to the *State Papers* as remarkable, will be accounted for, namely, that none of the editions of Cranmer's Bible appear to have been printed by Berthelet and Whitchurch jointly. See Lewis, *Hist. of Translations*, p. 137.]

<sup>y</sup> [By letters patent, dated the 14th of Nov. 1539, no Bibles were to be printed for five years without the permission of Cromwell. Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 649; Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. App. B. iii. No. 15.]

<sup>z</sup> [This promise does not appear to have been fulfilled, but the omission was supplied by the proclamation of 1541. See p. 289. note (t); and Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. App. B. iii. No. 24.]

<sup>a</sup> [See this Preface, (vol. ii. p. 104.)]

## CCLIV. TO CRUMWELL.

My very singular good Lord, after my most hearty commendations; these shall be to advertise your lordship, that I have received your letters dated the xxvii. day of November; and therewith a bill concerning the device<sup>b</sup> for the new es-

Cotton  
MSS.  
Cleop. E. iv.  
fol. 302.  
Original.

<sup>b</sup> [The following is the design on which Cranmer comments: it is preserved in the same manuscript. Hen. VIII. was probably proud of it; for Sadler, his ambassador in Scotland, was directed to lay it before James V, as an example of the useful purposes to which the revenues of religious houses might be applied. See Sadler's *State Papers*.

<i>" Christ's Church in Canterbury.</i>		£.	s.	d.
" First, A provost		150	0	0
" Item, Twelve prebendaries, every of them at 40 <i>l.</i> by the				
" year, sum		480	0	0
" Item, Six preachers, every of them 20 <i>l.</i> a year		120	0	0
" Item, A reader of humanity, in Greek, by year		30	0	0
" Item, A reader in divinity in Hebrew, by year		30	0	0
" Item, A reader both in divinity and humanity, in Latin, by				
" the year		40	0	0
" Item, A reader of civil		20	0	0
" Item, A reader of physic		20	0	0
" Item, Twenty students in divinity, to be found ten at Ox-				
" ford, and ten at Cambridge, every of them 10 <i>l.</i> by the		200	0	0
" year				
" Item, Sixty scholars to be taught both grammar and logic				
" in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, every of them five marks				
" by the year		200	0	0
" Item, A school-master 20 <i>l.</i> and an usher 10 <i>l.</i> by the year		30	0	0
" Item, Eight petty canons to sing in the choir, every of				
" them 10 <i>l.</i> by the year		80	0	0
" Item, Twelve laymen to sing also, and serve in the choir,				
" every of them 6 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> by the year		80	0	0
" Item, Ten choristers, every of them five marks by the year		33	2	4
" Item, A master of the children		10	0	0
" Item, A gospeler		6	13	4
" Item, An epistler		5	6	8
" Item, Two sacristans		6	13	4
" Item, One chief butler, his wages and diets		4	13	4
" Item, One under butler, his wages and diets		3	6	8
" Item, A cater to buy their diets, for his wages, diets, and				
" making of his books		6	13	4
" Item, One chief cook, his wages and diets		4	13	4
" Item, One under cook, his wages and diets		3	6	8
" Item, Two porters		10	0	0
" Item, Twelve poor men, being old and serving men, de-				
" cayed by the wars, or in the King's service, every of				
" them at 6 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> by the year		80	0	0
" Item, To be distributed yearly in alms		100	0	0
" Item, For yearly reparations		100	0	0

Burn. Ref. tablishment to be made in the metropolitan church of Can-  
 vol. iii. terbury; by which your lordship requireth mine advice  
 App. B. iii. thereupon by writing, for our mutual consents.  
 No. 65.

Surely, my lord, as touching the book drawn and the order of the same, I think that it will be a very substantial and godly foundation; nevertheless in my opinion the prebendaries which be allowed 40*l.* a piece yearly, might be altered to a more expedient use. And this is my consideration; for having experience both in times past and also in our days, how the said sect of prebendaries have not only spent their time in much idleness, and their substance in superfluous belly cheer, I think it not to be a convenient state or degree to be maintained and established. Considering first, that commonly a prebendary is neither a learner, nor teacher, but a good viander. Then by the same name they look to be chief, and to bear all the whole rule and preeminence in the college where they be resident: by means whereof the younger, of their own nature given more to pleasure, good cheer, and pastime, than to abstinence, study, and learning, shall easily be brought from their books to follow the appetite and example of the said prebendaries, being their heads and rulers. And the state of prebendaries hath been so excessively abused, that when learned men hath been admitted unto such room, many times they have desisted from their good and godly studies, and all other Christian exercise of preaching and teaching. Wherefore, if it may so stand with the King's gracious pleasure, I would wish that not only the name of a prebendary were exiled his Grace's foundations, but also the superfluous conditions of such persons. I cannot deny but that the beginning of prebendaries was no less purposed for the maintenance of good learning and good conversation of living, than religious men were: but forasmuch as both be

" Item, Six to be employed yearly, for making and emending	£.	s.	d.
" of highways	40	0	0
" Item, A steward of the lands	6	13	4
" Item, An auditor	10	0	0
" Item, For the provost's expenses in receiving the rents and			
" surveying the lands, by the year	6	13	4"]

gone from their first estate and order, and the one is found like offender with the other, it maketh no great matter if they perish both together: for to say the truth, it is an estate which St. Paul, reckoning up the degrees and estates allowed in his time, could not find in the Church of Christ. And I assure you, my lord, that I think it will better stand with the maintenance of Christian religion, that in the stead of the said prebendaries, were twenty divines at 10*l.* a piece, like as it is appointed to be at Oxford and Cambridge; and forty students in the tongues and sciences and French, to have 10 marks a piece; for if such a number be not there resident, to what intent should so many readers be there? And surely it were great pity that so many good lectures should be there read in vain: for as for your prebendaries, they cannot attend to apply lectures, for making of good cheer. And as for your sixty children in grammar, their master and their usher be daily otherwise occupied in the rudiments of grammar, than that they may have space and time to hear the lectures. So that to these good lectures is prepared no convenient auditory. And therefore, my lord, I pray you let it be considered, what a great loss it will be to have so many good lectures read without profit to any, saving to the six preachers. Farther, as concerning the reader of divinity and humanity, it will not agree well that one man should be a reader of both lectures. For he that studieth in divinity, must leave the reading of profane authors, and shall have as much to do as he can, to prepare his lecture to be substantially read. And in like manner, he that readeth in humanity, had not need to alter his study, if he should make an erudite lecture. And therefore in mine opinion it would be two offices for two sundry learned men.

Now concerning the Dean and other to be elected into the College, I shall make a bill of all them that I can hear of in Cambridge, Oxford, or elsewhere, meet to be put into the said College, after my judgment: and then of the whole number the King's Highness may choose the most excellent; assuring you, my lord, that I know no man more



meet for the Dean's room in England than Doctor Crome<sup>d</sup>, who by his sincere learning, godly conversation, and good example of living, with his great soberness, hath done unto the King's Majesty as good service, I dare say, as any priest in England. And yet his Grace daily remembereth all other that doth him service, this man only except, who never had yet, besides his gracious favour, any promotion at his Highness' hands. Wherefore, if it would please his Majesty to put him in the Dean's room, I do not doubt but that he should show light to all the deans and masters of colleges in this realm. For I know that when he was but president of a college in Cambridge, his house was better ordered than all the houses in Cambridge besides.

And thus, my lord, you have my final advice concerning the premises, which I refer unto the King's Grace's judgment, to be allowed or disallowed at his Highness' pleasure : sending unto your lordship herewithal the bill again, according to your request. Thus, my lord, most heartily fare you well<sup>e</sup>. At Croydon, the xxix. day of November. [1539.]

Your own ever assured,

T. Cantuarien.

<sup>c</sup> [Cranmer's recommendation was not followed, Dr. Nicholas Wotton having been appointed the first Dean of Canterbury by the charter of incorporation. *Le Neve, Fasti*. For a memoir of Crome, see Strype, *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 102. See also Burnet, *Ref.* vol. iii. p. 287. He was the author of the ingenious argument against private masses, "that if trentals and chauntry masses could avail the souls in purgatory, then did the parliament not well in giving away monasteries, colleges, and chauntries, which served principally to that purpose. But if the parliament did well (as no man could deny) in dissolving them, and bestowing the same upon the King, then is it a plain case, that such chauntries and private masses do nothing to relieve them in purgatory. This dilemma no doubt was insoluble. But notwithstanding, the charitable prelates so handled him, that they made him recant. And if he had not, they would have dissolved him and his argument in burning fire." Foxe, vol. ii. p. 572. See some valuable letters respecting this prosecution, in which Latymer also was implicated, in the *State Papers*, vol. i. part ii. Letter ccxliii. &c.]

<sup>e</sup> [The following narrative from one of Foxe's manuscripts throws some farther light on Cranmer's views respecting this new foundation at Canterbury. The substance of it is printed by Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 89.

"At what time the Cathedral Church of Canterbury [was] newly erected, altered, and changed, from monks to secular men of the clergy,

## CCLV. To CRUMWELL.

My singular good Lord, in my most hearty wise I com-  
mend me to your lordship; and whereas I am informed

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,

“ in the time of King Henry the VIII, as to prebendaries, canons, petty canons, choristers, and scholars, there were present at that erection Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Riche, Chancellor of the Court of the Augmentation of the revenues of the Crown, Sir Christopher Hallis, knight, the King's attorney, Sir Anthony Senceteleger, knight, with divers other Commissioners. And taking upon them to nominate and elect such convenient and apt persons, as should serve for the furniture of the said Cathedral Church, according to the new foundation, it came to pass, that when they should elect the children of the grammar school, there were of the Commissioners mo than one or two, which would have none admitted but younger brethren and gentlemen's sons. As for other husbandmen's children, they were more meet, (they said,) for the plough and to be artificers, than to occupy the place of the learned sort; so that they wished none else to be put to school but only gentlemen's children.

“ Whereunto that most reverend father, Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, being of a contrary mind, said, that he thought it not indifferent so to order the matter. For (said he) poor men's children are many times endued with more singular gifts of nature, which are also the gifts of God, as with eloquence, memory, apt pronounciation, sobriety, with such like, and also commonly more given to apply their study, than is the gentleman's son delicately educated.

“ Whereunto it was on the other part replied, that it was meet for the ploughman's son to go to plough, and the artificer's son to apply the trade of his parent's vocation, and the gentlemen's children are meet to have the knowledge of government and rule in the common wealth. For we have as much need of plough even as of any other state, and all sorts of men may not go to school.

“ I grant (quoth the Archbishop) much of your meaning herein, as needful in a common wealth; but yet utterly to exclude the ploughman's son and the poor man's son from the benefit of learning, as though they were unworthy to have the gifts of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon them, as well as upon others, is as much to say, as that Almighty God should not be at liberty to bestow his great gifts of grace upon any person, nor no where else but as we and other men shall appoint them to be employed, according to our fancy, and not according to his most godly will and pleasure: who giveth his gifts, both of learning and other perfections in all sciences, unto all kinds and states of people indifferently. Even so doth He many times withdraw from them and their posterity again those beneficial gifts, if they be not thankful. If we should shut up into a strait corner the bountiful grace of the Holy Ghost, and thereupon attempt to build our fancies, we should make as perfect a work thereof, as those that took upon them to build the tower of Babelon. For God would so provide, that the offspring of other best born children should peradventure become most unapt to learn and very dull, as I myself have seen no small number of them very dull and without all manner of capacity. And,

Westmin-  
ster;  
Crumwell's  
Corres-  
pondence.  
*Original.*

that this bearer Edward Askew, my servant, son unto Sir William Askewe, knight, is by some nobleman preferred unto the room of one of these new spears<sup>f</sup> in the Court, which, because it is done both without my knowledge and his, I shall beseech you, my lord, inasmuch as I have no friend to sue unto for me and mine, but only unto your lordship, that you will, at this my request, bear unto him your lawful favour and furtherance in the same; assuring your lordship that he, the young man, is of a very gentil nature, right forward, and of good activity, so that I think he shall be meet to furnish such a room, and to do unto the King's Majesty diligent and faithful service. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Forde, the 28th day of December. [1539.]

Your own assured ever,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

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#### CCLVI. To CRUMWELL.

My very singular good Lord, after my most hearty com-

"to say the truth, I take it that none of us all here, being gentlemen born, as I think, but had our beginning that way from a low and base parentage: and through the benefit of learning and other civil knowledge, for the most part, all gentles ascend to their estate.

"Then it was again answered, that the most part of the nobility came up by feat of arms and martial acts.

"As though (quoth the Archbishop) that the noble captain was always unfurnished of good learning and knowledge, to persuade and dissuade his army rhetorically, which rather that way is brought unto authority than . . . else his manly looks. To conclude, the poor man's son by pains taking . . . for the most part will be learned, when the gentleman's son will not take the pains to get it. And we are taught by the Scriptures, that Almighty God raiseth up from the dunghill and setteth him in high authority; and when so it pleaseth Him, of his divine providence, deposeth princes unto a right humble and poor estate. Wherefore if the gentleman's son be apt to learning, let him be admitted; if not apt, let the poor man's child apt enter his room. With such like words in effect." Harl. MSS. 419. fol. 115.]

<sup>f</sup> ["In December [1539] were appointed to wait on the King's Highness' person, fifty gentlemen called pensioners or spears, like as they were in the first year of the King." Hall, p. 832.]

mendations; these shall be to advertise your lordship, that I have received by my servant Eaton, fifty sovereigns from you, which shall be delivered tomorrow, and presented unto my Lady Annys & Grace, according to your lordship's advertisement in your letters; and if I may compass and bring it to pass, the town of Canterbury shall put thereunto fifty angels, to be altogether presented in one cup. And whereas this bearer Mr. Pheneux, your servant, by his demore here in giving attendance upon me whiles my said Lady Annys Grace was received at Canterbury, hath longer absented himself from you than he thought to have done, I trust your lordship will accept the same in the best part, assuring you, my lord, that in case he and other gentlemen of the country, with mine own retinue, had not the better assisted me, over and besides the number appointed, I should have received her Grace but with a slender company. For the whole number appointed to me, besides mine own company, was not six score, and yet some of them failed; so that if, partly by mine own company, and partly by other gentlemen's assistance, it had not been supplied, I should not have received her with a convenient number. Thus, my lord, most heartily fare you well. At Canterbury, the xxixth day of December.

Your own ever assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

\* [Anne of Cleves. Her reception at Canterbury is thus described by Hall, who details with great minuteness the whole of her progress from Calais to Greenwich. "On Monday, for all the storm that then was, she marched toward Canterbury, and on Baram down met her the Archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied with the Bishop of Ely, St. Asse, St. Davies, and Dover, and a great company of gentlemen well apparelled, and so brought her to St. Austen's without Canterbury, where she lay that night." Hall, p. 833. This Letter was written on the same Monday, the 29th of December 1539, after her arrival; and the cup with the sovereigns was doubtless to be presented at her departure on the following morning.]

## CCLVII. To CRUMWELL.

MSS.  
Chapter  
House,  
Westmin-  
ster;  
Crumwell's  
Corres-  
pondence.  
*Original.*

My very singular good Lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto your lordship; always thanking you for your benevolence towards me and my poor servant, for which I am not able to recompense as my mind is; signifying to your lordship, that you shall receive of my servant Nevell this bearer 20*l.* for your half year's fee<sup>h</sup> now due. And whereas my said servant Nevell informeth me, that Mr. Chancellor of the Augmentation told him, that the King's Majesty was content that he should have some recompense for his farm of the parsonage of Bowgh-ton<sup>i</sup>; these shall be to desire you, my lord, to bear him your lawful favour for his furtherance unto such recompense: for the which you shall bind him to be at your lordship's commandment during his life. Thus, my lord, right heartily fare you well. At Ford, the xx. day of January.

Your own assured ever,

T. Cantuarien.

To my very singular good lord, my  
Lord Privy Seal.

CCLVIII. To KING HENRY VIII<sup>k</sup>.

Lord Her-  
bert, *Life*  
*of Henry*  
*VIII.* p.  
519.

. . . . . I heard yesterday in your Grace's Council, that he [Crumwell] is a traitor, yet who cannot be sorrowful and amazed that he should be a traitor against your Majesty, he that was so advanced by your Majesty; he whose surety was only by your Majesty; he who loved your Majesty, as I ever thought, no less than God; he who studied

<sup>h</sup> [Crumwell was Steward of the Archbishop's liberties, and Master of his game, and hence probably was entitled to the fee here mentioned. See Letters ccxliiii. ccxlv.]

<sup>i</sup> [See Letter ccxxvi. p. 254.]

<sup>k</sup> [It is much to be regretted that this Letter has not been found entire. The fragment here printed, which is justly characterized by Sir James Mackintosh as being very earnest and persuasive, has been preserved by Lord Herbert. Crumwell was beheaded about six weeks afterwards, on the 28th of July 1540.]

always to set forwards whatsoever was your Majesty's will and pleasure; he that cared for no man's displeasure to serve your Majesty; he that was such a servant in my judgment, in wisdom, diligence, faithfulness, and experience, as no prince in this realm ever had; he that was so vigilant to preserve your Majesty from all treasons, that few could be so secretly conceived, but he detected the same in the beginning? If the noble princes of memory, King John, Henry the Second, and Richard II. had had such a counsellor about them, I suppose that they should never have been so traitorously abandoned, and overthrown as those good princes were: . . . . . I loved him as my friend, for so I took him to be; but I chiefly loved him for the love which I thought I saw him bear ever towards your Grace, singularly above all other. But now, if he be a traitor, I am sorry that ever I loved him or trusted him, and I am very glad that his treason is discovered in time; but yet again I am very sorrowful; for who shall your Grace trust hereafter, if you might not trust him? Alas! I bewail and lament your Grace's chance herein, I wot not whom your Grace may trust. But I pray God continually night and day, to send such a counsellor in his place whom your Grace may trust, and who for all his qualities can and will serve your Grace like to him, and that will have so much solicitude and care to preserve your Grace from all dangers as I ever thought he had. . . . . [14 June 1540.]

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### CCLIX. To W<sup>R</sup>YTHESLEY<sup>1</sup>.

Master Wrythiosley, after my right hearty recommendations; these be to signify unto you, that I have received out of the realm of Pole, letters from Dantiscus, Bishop of Vermien., who was many years the King of Pole his ambassador unto the Emperor, and was with the Emperor the

State  
Paper  
Office, Ec-  
cles. Pa-  
pers. Ori-  
ginal.

<sup>1</sup> [Afterwards Lord Chancellor, Earl of Southampton, and the leader of the Roman Catholic party. See Strype, *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 282; Burnet, *Ref.* vol. ii. p. 31.]

Todd,  
Introduction to  
Cranmer's  
Defence,  
p. lxxiii.

same time that I was the King our master his ambassador<sup>m</sup>; in whom I found at that time great humanity and faithfulness; and, as I could perceive, as ready an heart he had to serve the King's Majesty our master, as if he had been his own subject; and as lovingly he entreated me, as if he had been my own brother, notwithstanding that we were of two contrary judgments; for he was a mere papist. Nevertheless he would hear me diligently and patiently to say all my mind concerning the bishop of Rome, and seemed many times to condescend unto my judgment, and to allow the same. Howbeit, after he came home into his own country, and had two bishoprics given unto him, *Jordanus conversus est retrorsum*: for he returned again wholly *ad papismum*. And now they say that he is the greatest persecutor of God's word that is in all the land of Pole; and you may perceive by his letter, (which herewith you shall receive,) how much he is offended with me, for that, according to God's word, I wrote myself in the subscription of my letter, *ecclesiæ Cantuarien. ministrum*.

Now since I received this letter, I have been much inquieted therewith, considering what heinous rumours by mischievous tongues be spread into so far countries of the King's Majesty, which would make any true and loving subject's heart to bleed in his body to hear or read of his prince. And by cause you should the better perceive the same, I have sent you Dantiscus' own letter<sup>n</sup>, interlined in

<sup>m</sup> [See Letters II, III.]

<sup>n</sup> [This Letter is still in the State Paper Office, and being on many accounts extremely interesting, is subjoined, as far as it can be decyphered; for in several parts it is much injured by damp. The passages underlined by Cranmer are here distinguished by Italics.]

“ *Dantiscus to Cranmer.*

“ Rumorem de morte mea ad te, mi humanissime Cramere, perlatum, eo auctum scribis, quod a me intra triennium nullas acceperis.  
“ Hoc quidem non incurantia, aut mutæ nostræ amicitæ oblivione contigit, verum ob similem de te rumorem, qui apud nos percrebuit, quem certe, amantissimus utpote tui, dolenter accepi, *Te inquam, jussu Regis tui, cum multis aliis bonis viris, præter omnem æquitatem fuisse e vivis sublatum.* Quo intime permotus, non secus atque tu meis, ita et ego tuis Manibus æternam non semel beatitudinem sum precatum. Qua de re, quum ejusmodi rumor, Deo gratus, utrique

places most notable concerning that matter; desiring you to declare the same to the King's Highness at convenient

" falsus evanuit, gaudendum nobis, et ad pristinum benevolentiae officium

" et animo et scripto redeundum est. *Tu tamen, ne te <sup>Salamandra fatum</sup> <sup>(\*)</sup> <sup>τοῦτο</sup> <sup>μῦθος</sup>*  
 " occupet, quum ea sint apud vos tempora, quæ in nulla prius orbis Chris-  
 " tiani regione fuerunt unquam, caveas; plura adderem, nisi vererem has  
 " fraudi tibi futuras, si in alterius quam in tuas manus inciderent.

" Quid apud vos agatur, gratius mihi fuisset scire a te, quam de iis  
 " qui multa incerta pro certis nobis denunciant. Tot scilicet bonorum  
 " Ecclesiae di[reptiones] . . . . . quæ modum et numerum  
 " non habent in utrumque promiscue sexum supplicia, quodque magis hic  
 " omnes in admirationem ac detestationem inducit, tot conjugia, totque  
 " contra omnes tum humanas, tum etiam divinas leges repudia, quæ  
 " tamen, quamvis passim hic in vulgus sparsa, pro veris habentur, apud  
 " me adhuc sunt ambigua. Non nihil ad credendum me compellit,  
 " quod tu, quum sis et Archiepiscopus et regni vestri Primas, Minis-  
 " trum Ecclesiae tuæ, longe alio quam prius nomine, te subscribis.  
 " Ministri quidem sumus omnes Ecclesiarum, qui sumus Episcopi; hoc  
 " tamen titulo quo Paulus usus est, abuti non deberemus. Is etenim  
 " qui speculatur, non est sine ministerio, sua tamen ob id vocatione  
 " non privatur. Nos porro hic sub Christianissimo pientissimoque  
 " Rege<sup>p</sup> degentes, Phavorini apud Gellium precepto, utimur verbis  
 " præsentibus, et moribus vivimus antiquis<sup>q</sup>, in quibus et vos olim non  
 " infelices inter alios mortales fuistis; adeo etiam quemadmodum  
 " recens nosti, quod de insigni ad te conjugio scripserim, hoc si ad eum  
 " modum, ut cum Juliacense successisset, in quas me turbas non con-  
 " jecissem. Eas a me Deus per suam misericordiam avertit. Quem vero  
 " apud vos exitum, hoc turbulentissimum cum tot commutatis Helenis  
 " malum, et hæc tanta et tam impius diritas aliquando habebit, nemo  
 " sanæ mentis non videt, quantumvis lento divina ira gradu procedat.  
 " Quam ut ab hac vestra prædivite insula, quæ mihi ob multam huma-  
 " nitatem in ea perceptam charissima est, et a vobis omnibus mihi charis-  
 " simis, diutissime Dominus Deus contineat, immo nunquam exerceat,  
 " impense oro; tantum ahest ut quicquam adversi imprecer. Ceterum  
 " quod honorificis illis relictis titulis usu receptis adeo me . . . . .  
 " . . . . . magnas gratias habeo, quod  
 " puerum, quem Ratisbonæ ad Danubium in Aula Cæsaris quondam  
 " famulatui tuo addixeram, adeo liberaliter educari commiseris; hunc  
 " revera, quum tuis me verbis et literis salutaret, a facie non minus  
 " quam alium quempiam exoticum a me nunquam prius visum, noveram;  
 " fuitque eo mihi gratior, quod tua opera et adminiculo in adolescentem,  
 " moribus et literis non incultum, excreverit; qui si institutum quod  
 " coepit, prosequi non intermiserit, quod ad reliquum vitæ tempus perti-  
 " nebit, facile assequetur. Tibi vero iterum atque iterum gratias ago,

\* [It would seem from this insertion, which is in Cranmer's handwriting, that he did not calculate on the Greek words being understood, either by Henry VIII, or his secretary.]

<sup>p</sup> [Sigismund I; a monarch "modest, humble, humane, enlightened, indefatigable, the father of his people." A victory gained by him over the Waywode of Moldavia in August 1531, is recorded by Dantiscus in a letter printed in Schardii *German. Antiq.* p. 1275.]

<sup>q</sup> [Gellius, *Noctes Atticæ*, lib. i. cap. 10.]



opportunity, and to know his pleasure, whether I shall make any answer unto the said Dantiscus, and what answer I shall make: for the matter is of such importance, that I dare not presume to make a slender answer upon mine own head. Nevertheless, I think it not good to open this matter unto the King's Grace, until he be well recovered of his disease, (which I pray God shortly to put away,) lest peradventure it might trouble and move his Grace, and rather be occasion of longer continuance of the said disease. And if that had not been, I would have come to the Court

" quod illum, ad meam commendationem et nostræ inter nos amicitia  
 " rationem, tam benigne et largiter tuo impendio in literarum studiis  
 " exercitum foveris, hucque ad me non sine viatico remiseris. Hinc  
 " clare liquet Athenæum non recte sensisse, amicos non esse qui procul  
 " degunt, quum tu, ab orbe nostro divisus, in hoc juvene, cujus pa-  
 " rentes [non] nisi fama agnovi[sti], mihi fueris officiosissimus; proinde  
 " ubi vicissim gratum tibi facere, tibi que aut tuis ex usu et re esse  
 " possum, propensissimam meam offero operam. Qua in eventis peri-  
 " culosi hujus temporis, proque fortunarum et facultatum mearum satis  
 " lauta, Deo gratia, conditione, libere atque tuto utere, tibi que per-  
 " suade, me tui esse assiduissime memorem. Itaque, si me amas, quod  
 " certo existimo, copiose de tuo ac rerumstrarum statu rescribe.  
 " Idipsum per mercatores, gentiles meos, qui Londini agunt, commode,  
 " quandocunque libuerit, facies, mihi que mirum in modum gratificaberis.  
 " Dat. ex arce nostra Heilsberg prima Septembris 1540.

" . . . . .  
 " . . . . . item ad se vitæ meæ cursum, (de quo sæpe inter nos,  
 " quando una essemus, collocutio incidit,) atque institutum, prælis, me  
 " invito etiamnum et inscio, excussum mitterem. In eo vivum tibi tui  
 " Dantisci simulachrum seu iconisma depinxi. Hocque ob id, ut et tu  
 " mihi quam ducas vitam, et si comparem, quemadmodum Paulo  
 " tribuitur, duxeris, significationem facias. Apud nos cœlibatu et  
 " libero lectulo nihil est jucundius ac dulcius. Jocari libuit. Hæc enim  
 " scribens, visus sum mihi tecum vel in symposio, ut solebamus, vel  
 " in nave Danubiana, ad quam me comiter ex Ratisbona superioribus  
 " annis comitasti abeuntem, confabulari. Quod pro jure veteris inter nos  
 " comparatæ necessitudinis nedum familiaritatis, boni te puto consultu-  
 " rum. Tuus ille, inquam, totus

" Tuus Joannes Dantiscus Episcopus  
 " Vermien: manu mea script.

" R<sup>mo</sup>. in Christo Patri Domino Thomæ  
 " Cranmero Archiepiscopo Cantua-  
 " rien. et regni Angliæ Primati, fratri  
 " charissimo et honorando."

\* [This postscript is wholly in the handwriting of Dantiscus. The com-  
 mencement of it is much mutilated by damp.]

this day myself, but I thought it very evil that any person or matter should at this present disquiet his Grace. Wherefore I refer unto your wisdom, to break this matter unto his Grace at such time as you shall think most expedient. From Lamhith, this Saint Mathies day. [21 Sept. 1540.]

Your assured,

T. Cantuarien.

To my loving friend Sir Thomas  
Wrythisley, Secretary unto the  
King's Majesty.

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CCLX. To OSIANDER.

*Doctissimo D. Andreae Osiandro, Concionatori Norenburgensi.*

Salve plurimum. Vix tribus abhinc diebus elapsis, Osiander dilectissime, literas ad te scriptitabam, quas per subitum et festinatum tabellarii discessum coactus sum abbreviare, imo abrumpere plane, prætermisso eo, quod et tunc quam maxime scriptum volui, et nunc otii plusculum nactus, nescio quam nervose, verbose certe decrevi pertractare. Res est, ut mihi quidem videtur, non parva, neque leniter animadvertenda, ut quæ ad omnium evangelicam veritatem profitentium sugillationem, ne dicam ignominiam et culpam manifeste pertineat. Proinde te rogo, ut et scriptum hoc meum legas attente, et tuum vicissim responsum super eo conficias accurate, matureque remittas, quo habeam tandem quod respondeam iis qui me interrogant. Nosti enim, opinor, ut soleant homines hic, omnium quæ istic geruntur, a me rationem exigere: alii quidem bono animo, et communis evangelicæ causæ studio solliciti, nequid a vobis fieret, secus quam oporteret: aliis autem malus est animus, mala mens. Nihil magis cupiunt, aut captant, quam ut justam aliquam vos et vestra facta dictave reprehendendi ansam undecunque apprehendant: et gaudent si mihi in os subinde talia possint objicere. Quibus duobus inter se diversis hominum generibus re-

Cott. MSS.  
Cleopatra,  
E. v. fol.

111.  
Strype,  
Cranm.  
App. No.  
29.

spondeo ego persæpe, quæ vel ipse comminisci possum, vel quæ ex scriptis vestris, sive in publicum emissis, sive ad me privatim missis, possim colligere. Incidunt tamen persæpe nonnulla, quæ nec negare possum, nec absque rubore fateri, quæ denique quo pacto a vobis honeste aut pie fieri doceantur, rationem ullam saltem excogitare sufficientem nequeo. Nam ut interim de usuris taceam, a vobis aut vestrum certe nonnullis, ut apparet, approbatis, deque eo, quod magnatum filiis concubinas habendas permittitis, (videlicet ne per nuptias legitimas hæreditates dispergantur) qui concubinatum in sacerdotibus tantopere aversati estis: quid poterit a vobis in excusationem allegari pro eo, quod permittitis, a divortio, utroque conjuge vivo, novas nuptias coire, et quod adhuc deterius est, etiam absque divortio uni plures permittitis uxores. Id quod et tute, si recte memini, in quibusdam tuis ad me literis apud vos factum diserte expressisti, addens <sup>s</sup> Philippum ipsum sponsalibus posterioribus, ut paranymphum credo atque auspicem, interfuisse.

Quæ ambo, tum ipsius conjugii rationi, quæ non duo, sed unam carnem facit, tum etiam Scripturis sunt expresse et manifeste contraria. Ut patet Matth. xix. Mark x. Luke xvi. Rom. vii. 1 Cor. vii. Quibus locis perspicuum fit, ex apostolorum, atque adeo Christi ipsius, institutione, unum uni debere matrimonio conjungi, nec posse sic conjunctos postea, nisi interveniente morte alterutrius, denuo contrahere. Quod si responderitis, hoc intelligi excepta causa fornicationis; an uxoris adulterium fuerit causa cur Philippus marito permiserit aliam superducere, vos melius nostis.

<sup>s</sup> [Philip Melancthon; who with Bucer was present at the private marriage of Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, to Margaret de Sala, on the 3rd of March 1540, the Landgravine being still alive. See Seckendorf, *Comment. de Luth.* Lib. iii. §. LXXIX. Add. 3. who labours to defend the transaction against the attacks of Bossuet and others. Some letters on the subject will also be found in Fuesslin, *Epist. Reformat.* It is remarkable, that nearly at the same time that Cranmer was complaining to Osiander of irregular marriages in Germany, Dantiscus reproached Cranmer with similar abuses in England. There was too much truth in both charges. The difference was, that the German prince had two wives at once, the English, either by the Ecclesiastical Court or the scaffold, disposed of one, before he married another.]

Quod si fuerit, tunc objiciemus, ab ineunte hucusque Ecclesia, (cujus exemplis oportet Scripturarum interpretationes conformari confirmarique) nunquam, quod scimus, hoc sic fuisse acceptum. Augustinus, quid ipse de hoc senserit, imo quid Ecclesia ante ipsum et usque ad ipsum, clare docet, *Lib. De adulterinis conjugis, Ad Pollentium*. Quid igitur ad hæc dicetis, libenter vellem audire abs te quidem, si et ipse in eadem cum cæteris es sententia: sin minus, per te saltem vellem cognoscere, quid ab illis exploraveris ad talia responsum iri. Nam quum eorum nonnulli, ut audio, statuta nostra parlamentaria censorie nimis ac superciliose condemnent, quorum tamen gravissimas justissimasque causas ac rationes ignorant, mirum est quod interim ipsi non advertant apud ipsos plurima designari, quæ optimis atque gravissimis viris jure optimo displiceant. Scire atque aveo, an ista tanquam honesta, et promiscue quibusvis licita, ac evangelicæ veritati non repugnantia defendant: an secundum indulgentiam (ut dixit Apostolus) ad ea, dum a quibusdam fiunt, connivent, nequid gravius contingat, non idem omnibus itidemque permissuri. Illud prius haud equidem credo illos esse facturos, nisi legis Mahometanæ potius quam Christianæ assertores videri voluerint. Posterius hoc si faciunt, videant quomodo permittant, quæ Christus, Apostoli, Evangelistæ, atque adeo totius Ecclesiæ consensus districte ab initio huc usque prohibuit.

Quod si forte dixerint, ea jam quoque tolerari posse, eo quod ante Christum natum fuerunt vel approbata vel tolerata; tunc enimvero causam nobis reddant, cur non et cætera toleremus, quæcunque tunc legimus pari jure usitata; aut definiant quænam hujus generis, ac quatenus erunt admittenda. Nam in Veteri Testamento expressum habemus, olim patrem concubuisse cum filiabus, ut Loth; socerum cum nuru, ut Judam; patrem familias, nempe Abraham, cum ancilla pellice, conscia uxore atque etiam id ultro suadente, nempe Sara; eundem ipsum uxorem suam, adhuc juvenculam ac formosam, sororem nominasse, eamque regibus, Pharaoni et Abimelech, ultro in concubitum permisisse: præterea, unum sæpe hominem plures habuisse

uxores, ut Jacob et Mosen ipsum, legis latorem a Deo constitutum: postremo, principes multos, eosque nec illaudatos, præter uxorum numerosa contubernia, concubinarum etiam greges aluisse: ut Davidem, Solomonem, etc. Nec Assuero vitio datur, quod singulis pæne noctibus concubinam novam asciverit. Et Hester fœmina laudatissima, utpote quam ad salutem populi sui Deus excitavit, quum esset Judæa et legi Mosaicæ obnoxia, Assueri regis cubiculum ante nuptias intravit. Quid pluribus opus, quum gravissimi auctores Ambrosius et Augustinus disertis verbis affirmant, hic polygamiam, ille concubinatum, peccato tum caruisse, quando nec contra morem, nec contra præceptum fierent; quæ nunc et legibus et moribus pronuntiant esse contraria. Talia, inquam, constat apud veteres fuisse usitata, nec a bonis quidem viris tunc temporis improbata. Quæ vel omnia probabunt novi isti homines et rerum novarum introductores, vel aliqua, vel nulla. Quod si nulla dicant nobis, cur ista admiserunt? Si aliqua, cur non et reliqua? Et præscribant nobis regulam, qua sciamus, quæ sunt admitenda, quæ vero rejicienda. Si omnia, (in qua sententia videtur esse Bucerus) quæso te, qualem rerum faciem quantumque a priore mutatam in Ecclesia videbimus? Quam erunt confusa, inversa, atque præpostera omnia? Sed adhuc propius urgebimus eos, interrogabimusque: An non tantum quæ sub lege facta sunt, sed etiam quæ ante legem; et an non tantum quæ a Judæis, sed et quæ a gentibus fuerint usitata, veluti jure postliminii, ad exemplum revocabunt? Et si illa tantum, cur non hæc æque atque illa? præsertim quæ a sanctoribus et sapientioribus viris, ut Socrate, Platone, Cicerone, etc. fuerint vel facta, vel approbata. Quod si utraque concedent, concedant et nobis Britannis, more majorum nostrorum, denas duodenasque uxores habere insimul communes, et maxime fratres cum fratribus, parentes cum liberis: quod aliquando in hac insula usitatum fuisse, Cæsar, non ignobilis auctor, testatur in Commentariis. Concedant fœminis Christianis, quod Solon suis Atheniensibus concesserat, ut quæ viros parum ad rem veneream idoneos sortitæ fuissent, aliquem ex mariti pro-

pinquis impune admitterent. Concedant quod Lycurgus concessit viris Lacedæmoniis, ut qui minus esset ad procreandam prolem idoneus, alteri cui vellet suam conjugem impregnandam daret, et prolem precario sibi natam, ut propriam, suo nomine nuncuparet. Aut denique quod Romanorum legibus permissum erat, ut qui satis liberorum procreasset, uxorem suam alteri commodaret prolem desideranti. Id quod et Cato vir gravissimus sapientissimusque habitus, Hortensio amico suo legitur fecisse. Talia cum probata fuerint antiquitus viris sapientissimis, ac philosophorum legumque latorum optimis et sanctissimis, ut Platoni, Xenophonti, Catoni, etc. ; quum eadem fuerint moribus recepta Hebræorum, Græcorum, Latinorum, (quorum populorum respublicas et politias constat optime fuisse constitutas, et ab omnibus scriptoribus maxime celebratas) age, faciamus et nos, si Deo placet, similia, et Christianis fratribus permittamus facienda. Imo Christus Opt. Max. tam fœda, tamque incestuosa connubiorum portenta a sua sancta Ecclesia dignetur avertere, nunc et in diem Domini, Amen.

Hæc ego ad te potissimum, charissime Osiander, in præsentia scribenda duxi, propter eam, quæ inter nos est et jam diu fuit, summam necessitudinem et familiaritatem ; quamvis putem, atque adeo certo sciam, te ab hujusmodi tam absurdis et moribus et opinionibus quam alienissimum esse. Cum cæteris vestratibus doctoribus levior et minus arcta mihi intercedit amicitia ; cujus ipsius quoque fateor me multum poeniteret, si scirem hos esse fructus novi evangelii ab ipsis tantopere jactitati, et a nobis quoque hactenus, ut putabamus, non temere aliqua ex parte probati. Bene vale. Dat. Lambeth, xxviiimo. Decembr.

Tui Amantissimus,

T. Cantuarien.

# CCLXI. 'To KING HENRY VIII<sup>s</sup>.

It may please your Majesty to understand, that at my *State Papers*, vol. 1.

\* [The Original of this Letter, preserved in the State Paper Office, is entirely in the Archbishop's handwriting.]

part ii.

Lett. CLXII.  
from the  
Original.

repair unto the Queen's Grace<sup>t</sup>, I found herein such lamentation and heaviness, as I never saw no creature; so that it would have pitied any man's heart in the world to have looked upon her; and in that vehement rage she continued, as they informed me which be about her, from my departure from her unto my return again; and then I found her, as I do suppose, far entered toward a frenzy, which I feared before my departure from her at my first being with her; and surely, if your Grace's comfort had not come in time, she could have continued no long time in that condition without a frenzy, which, nevertheless, I do yet much suspect to follow hereafter.

And as for my message from your Majesty unto her, I was purposed to enter communication in this wise; first, to exaggerate the grievousness of her demerits; then to declare unto her the justice of your Grace's laws, and what she ought to suffer by the same; and last of all to signify unto her your most gracious mercy: but when I saw in what condition she was, I was fain to turn my purpose, and to begin at the last part first, to comfort her by your Grace's benignity and mercy; for else the recital of your Grace's laws, with the aggravation of her offences, might, peradventure, have driven her unto some dangerous ecstasy, and else into a very frenzy; so that the words of comfort coming last might peradventure have come too late. And after I had declared your Grace's mercy extended unto her, she held up her hands and gave most humble thanks

<sup>t</sup> [Catharine Howard. According to the official statement sent on the 14th of Nov. to the English Ambassador in France, the Queen "was spoken withal in it by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Great Chamberlain of England, and the Bishop of Winchester; to whom at the first she constantly denied it; but the matter being so declared unto her, that she perceived it to be wholly disclosed, the same night she disclosed the whole to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who took the confession of the same in writing, subscribed with her hand." Lord Herbert, *Life of Hen. VIII.* p. 534. The interview described in this Letter of Cranmer's seems to have been subsequent to her first confession, and was perhaps the same at which she signed the paper printed by Burnet, *Ref.* vol. iii. App. B. iii. No. 72. Much new correspondence on this subject has lately been published in the *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 689, &c.]

unto your Majesty, who had showed unto her more grace and mercy<sup>u</sup>, than she herself thought meet to sue for or could have hoped of; and then, for a time, she began to be more temperate and quiet, saving that she still sobbed and wept; but after a little pausing she suddenly fell into a new rage, much worse than she was before.

Now I do use her thus; when I do see her in any such extreme brayds, I do travail with her to know the cause, and then, as much as I can, I do labour to take away, or at the least to mitigate the cause; and so I did at that time. I told her there was some new fantasy come into her head, which I desired her to open unto me; and after a certain time, when she had recovered herself that she might speak, she cried and said, ‘Alas, my lord, that I am alive, the fear of death grieved me not so much before, as doth now the remembrance of the King’s goodness; for when I remember how gracious and loving a Prince I had, I cannot but sorrow; but this sudden mercy, and more than I could have looked for, showed unto me, so unworthy at this time, maketh mine offences to appear before mine eyes much more heinous than they did before: and the more I consider the greatness of his mercy, the more I do sorrow in my heart that I should so disorder myself against his Majesty.’ And for any thing that I could say unto her, she continued in a great pang a long while, but after that she began something to remit her rage and come to herself, she was meetly well until night, and I had very good communication with her, and, as I thought, had brought her unto a great quietness.

Nevertheless, at night, about six of the clock, she fell into another like pang, but not so outrageous as the first was; and that was, as she showed me, for the remembrance of the time; for about that time, as she said, Master Hen-nage was wont to bring her knowledge of your Grace.

<sup>u</sup> [This boasted “mercy,” as is well known, was no obstacle to her execution. She was beheaded, together with Lady Rochford, on the 12th of February following. Derham and Culpeper were executed on the 10th of December 1541.]



And because I lack time to write all things unto your Majesty, I have referred other things to be opened by the mouth of this bearer, Sir John Dudlay ; saving that I have sent herewith enclosed all that I can get of her concerning any communication of matrimony with Derame ; which, although it be not so much as I thought, yet I suppose, surely, it is sufficient to prove a contract, with carnal copulation following ; although she think it be no contract, as indeed the words alone be not, if carnal copulation had not followed thereof.

The cause that Master Baynton<sup>x</sup> sent unto your Majesty, was partly for the declaration of her estate, and partly because, after my departure from her, she began to excuse and to temper those things which she had spoken unto me, and set her hand thereto<sup>y</sup> ; as at my coming unto your Majesty I shall more fully declare by mouth ; for she saith, that all that Derame did unto her was of his importune forcement, and, in a manner, violence, rather than of her free consent and will. Thus Almighty God have your Majesty in his preservation and governance. [Nov. 1541.]  
From

Your Grace's most bounden  
chaplain,  
T. Cantuarien.

To the King's Majesty.

<sup>x</sup> [It was the King's pleasure that Baynton "should attend on the Queen, to have the rule and government of the whole house ; and " with him the Almoner [Nicholas Hethe] to be also associate." Letter from the Council to Cranmer in *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 692.]

<sup>y</sup> [This is probably the document printed by Burnet, *Ref.* vol. iii. App. B. iii. No. 72. which is signed by Catharine Howard, and which relates chiefly to her contract of matrimony with Derham. Though this precontract was the point to which Cranmer's attention was chiefly directed, the Lord Chancellor was strictly charged, in declaring the Queen's misconduct to the Privy Council, to omit all mention of it. And it is also altogether passed over in the official account sent to the ambassadors. The object of the omission is admitted to have been, " to engreave the misdemeanour," by suppressing what " might serve " for her defence." Cranmer probably on the other hand wished to strengthen this defence, and to save her life by obtaining grounds for a divorce. See *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 692 ; Lord Herbert, *Life of Henry VIII.* p. 532.]

CCLXII. TO KING HENRY VIII<sup>a</sup>.

It may please your Majesty to be advertised, that yesterday the ambassador of Cleve came unto my house at Lamhith, and delivered me <sup>b</sup> letters from Oslynger, Vice-Chancellor unto the Duke of Cleve, which letters I have sent unto your Majesty herewith enclosed: the purport whereof, after he hath set forth my lauds and commendations like an orator, when he cometh to the substance of the matter, is nothing else but to commend unto me the cause of the Lady Anne of Cleve. Which although he trusteth that I would do of myself, undesired, yet he saith that the occasion is such, that he will not omit to put spurs to the horse that runneth of his own courage. When I had read the letter, and considered that no cause was expressed specially, but

*State Papers*, vol. i. part ii. Letter CLXXVII. from the *Original*.

<sup>a</sup> [This Letter also is wholly in the Archbishop's handwriting.]

<sup>b</sup> [Olisleger's Letter is subjoined, from *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 716.

"Salus et pax a Deo patre, et Jesu Christo Domino ac Salvatore nostro. Reverendissime Præsul ac Domine, multis modis venerande. Quoniam singularis candor, plurimorumque officiorum tuorum præstationes multis bonis viris tam extra quam intra hoc florentissimum regnum Angliæ, cognita atque perspecta, de tua Celsitudine eam opinionem statuerunt, eandemque Celsitudinem tuam ita suspicentur, ut quod ad Omnipotentis Dei ac Benedicti Filii ejus gloriam illustrandam imprimis, ac deinde ad reipublicæ Christianæ, præsertim Anglicanæ, tranquillitatem ac commoditatem conservandam, augendam, promovendamque quovis modo pertinere videatur, id semper singulari studio, opera, atque industria, Celsitudo tua fuerit prosecuta; fieri non potest, quin in eadem spe firmiter consistamus, etiam nunc idipsum Celsitudinem tuam pro sua virili curaturum. Itaque, quantum plurimum possumus Celsitudinem tuam flagitamus, ut causam illustrissimæ Dominæ Annæ, sororis Principis nostri pro rei commoditate sibi quam commendatissimam habere non gravatum velit. Et quamvis existimemus idipsum Celsitudinem tuam sine nostra interpellatione æque facturam, nolui tamen committere, quin, pro hujus temporis occasione, hoc calcar equo sponte currenti admoverem. Et oro Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, ut gratiam suam aliqui plus satis infusam in Celsitudinem tuam augere, ac diu incolumem servare dignetur. Datum Duysseldorpii, pridie Calendas Decembris, 1541.

"Ejusdem Celsitudinis tuæ addictissimus,

"Henr. Olisl. Doct.

"Vicecancellarius Clevensis.

"Reverendissimo Præsuli ac Domino, plurimisque dotibus insigni, Domino Thomæ, per Dei gratiam, Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, ac per regnum Angliæ Primario Præsidi, Domino plurimum Venerabili."]

only in general that I should have commended the cause of the Lady Anne of Cleve, although I suspected the true cause of his coming, yet I would take upon me no knowledge of any special matter, but said thus unto him : ‘ Master Ambassador, I have perused Oslynger’s letters, by the which he commendeth unto me the Lady Anne of Cleve’s cause; but forasmuch as he declareth no certain cause, I trust you have some other instructions to inform me of some particular matter.’ Whereunto he answered, that the cause was, the reconciliation of your Majesty unto the Lady Anne of Cleve. Whereunto I answered, that I thought not a little strange, that Oslynger should think it meet for me to move a reconciliation of that matrimony, of the which I, as much as any other person, knew most just causes of divorce. And here I moved him to consider your Grace’s honour and the tranquillity of this realm, with the surety of your Grace’s succession; and further, how this should agree with Oslynger’s opinion of me, as he writeth in his letters, that I should study to the commodity and tranquillity of this realm, if I should move your Grace to receive her in matrimony, from whom your Majesty was, upon most just causes, divorced<sup>c</sup>; whereupon might grow most uncertitude of your Grace’s succession, with such unquietness and trouble to this realm, as heretofore hath not been seen. And when he would have begun something, as appeared unto me, more largely to have reasoned the matter, and to grope my mind, I finished our communication in this sort: ‘ Master Ambassador, this is a matter of great importance, wherein you shall pardon me, for I will have no communication with you therein, unless it please the King’s Majesty to command me. But I shall signify unto his Highness your request, and thereupon you shall have

<sup>c</sup> [See the judgment of the Convocation for annulling the marriage, in Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. App. B. iii. No. 19, or in *State Papers*, vol. i. part ii. No. cxxviii. where the signatures of the members are given, and where also is added Hen. VIII’s Declaration of the causes of the separation. However questionable the justice of these causes may be, it was certainly, as Cranmer stated, “not a little strange,” that on the discovery of Catharine Howard’s incontinence, a reconciliation should have been attempted.]

‘an answer.’ Now what shall be your Majesty’s pleasure that I shall do, whether that I shall make him any answer or no, and what answer it shall be, and whether I shall make a general answer to Oslynger by writing, because he writeth generally not touching this matter, or that I shall make a certain answer in this point to the ambassador by mouth, I most humbly beseech your Majesty that I may be advertised; and according thereto I shall order myself, by the grace of God: whom I beseech daily to have your Majesty evermore in his protection and governance. From my manor of Lamhith, this Tuesday the 13 Januarii <sup>d</sup>.

Your Grace’s most bounden  
chaplain and beadsman,  
T. Cantuarien.

To the King’s Majesty.

### CCLXIII. To LORD COBHAM <sup>c</sup>.

My Lord, after my right hearty commendations; these Harl. MSS. No. 283. fol. 205. are to advertise you, that I have received your letters dated at Calais the xi<sup>th</sup> of April; and as concerning your re-Original.

<sup>d</sup> [“This date is manifestly erroneous, for the 13th of January did “not fall on a Tuesday between 1540, when the King was recently married to Anne of Cleves, and 1545, when he was the husband of “Catharine Parr. There can be little doubt that January is written “by mistake instead of December, for the 13th of December 1541 was “Tuesday, and this supposition makes this Letter coincide with Lord “Southampton’s of the preceding day, which, from the other circumstances adverted to in it, is fixed beyond dispute to that month and “year.” Note to *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 717. These reasons are quite conclusive in favour of the correction. The following is an extract from the letter of Lord Southampton’s, on which it is founded. “This morning [12 Dec.] the ambassador of Cleves was here at “my house, and advertised me, that he hath letters of credence to your “Highness from the Duke his master, with two other letters; the “one addressed to my Lord of Canterbury from Olisleger, the other “from the said Duke to my Lord Great Master; and hath also delivered letters to me from the same Olisleger.” Lord S. then proceeds to give an account of the ambassador’s conversation; which was to the same effect as that which is related by Cranmer. Letter from the Earl of Southampton to King Henry VIII, in *State Papers*, vol. i. part ii. Lett. clxxvi.]

<sup>e</sup> [George Brook, Lord Cobham, Lord Deputy of Calais. The same volume of the Harleian MSS. from which this Letter is taken, contains much more of his correspondence.]

quest, that I should revoke the inhibition brought unto the Arches by John Holland, in the matter between him and William Porter: forasmuch as the said Holland hath appealed to the Arches, I cannot with justice interrupt his appellation, so that the same be again remitted unto the Commissary of Calice; for then the said Holland should have just occasion to appeal from me; but for the better expedition of the matter, I have sent to the Dean of the Arches, commanding him to surcease therein, and have wholly resumed the matter into my hands. Wherefore, my lord, I pray you let both the interrogatories and the testament, with all the acts before the judge, be sent unto me, and I shall take such an order therein as shall stand with equity and justice. I will stay the matter for a time, that you may make an end therein, if you can, shortly, and if you cannot, then I shall proceed as to the law appertaineth.

Moreover, I most heartily thank your lordship for your wine, which I trust to remember; and if at any time this year there come any to be sold at any reasonable price, I pray you that I may have part thereof. Praying you to have me heartily commended to my Lady Cobham, to Mr. Treasurer<sup>f</sup>, to Mr. Marshall, to Mr. Wenteworthe, and to my lady. Thus heartily, my lord, fare you well. At Bekisborne, the xviii<sup>th</sup> of April.

Your assured,  
T. Cantuarien.

And as concerning my Lady Baynton's request, you write that you are content that she shall have the College<sup>g</sup>, and not to meddle with Cobham Hall, I pray, my lord, to send your mind herein to him that hath the ordering of

<sup>f</sup> ["In the month of July, 1543, the King sent over 6000 men under "the leading of Sir John Wallope, accompanied with Sir T. Seymour, "marshal, Sir Robert Bowes, treasurer," &c. Stow, *Annals*. The campaign of Henry VIII. himself, and the capture of Boulogne, took place in 1544.]

<sup>g</sup> [The Master and Brethren of Cobham College, foreseeing their dissolution, sold it to George Brook, Lord Cobham, about 1538. Hasted, *Hist. of Kent*, vol. i. p. 503.]

that house and your affairs there ; for my lady is willing to have the same, so that she may have convenient ground thereunto. Wherefore your lordship shall do well to send your determinate mind, what commodities she shall have with the College, and the prices thereof, appointing one to whom she may resort, and commune, and conclude withal in that behalf.

To my very loving lord, my Lord Cob-  
ham, Lord Deputy of Calis.

#### CCLXIV. TO KING HENRY VIII.

It may please your Majesty to be advertised, that ac-  
cording to your Highness' commandment, sent unto me by  
your Grace's secretary Mr. Pagett, I have translated into  
the English tongue, so well as I could in so short time,  
certain processions, to be used upon festival days, if after  
due correction and amendment of the same, your Highness  
shall think it so convenient. In which translation, foras-  
much as many of the processions, in the Latin, were but  
barren, as me seemed, and little fruitful, I was constrained  
to use more than the liberty of a translator : for in some  
processions I have altered divers words ; in some I have  
added part ; in some taken part away ; some I have left out  
whole, either for bycause the matter appeared to me to be  
little to purpose, or bycause the days be not with us festival  
days ; and some processions I have added whole, because I  
thought I had better matter for the purpose, than was the  
procession in Latin : the judgment whereof I refer wholly  
unto your Majesty ; and after your Highness hath corrected  
it, if your Grace command some devout and solemn note  
to be made thereunto, (as is to the procession which your  
Majesty hath already set forth in English,) I trust it will much  
excitate and stir the hearts of all men unto devotion and  
godliness : but in mine opinion, the song that shall be made  
thereunto would not be full of notes, but as near as may be,  
for every syllable a note ; so that it may be sung distinctly

*State Pa-  
pers*, vol. i.  
part ii.  
Letter  
cxcvi.  
from the  
*Original*.  
Collier,  
*Eccles.*  
*Hist.* vol. ii.  
p. 206.  
Todd, *Life*  
of Cran-  
mer, vol.  
i. p. 355.

and devoutly, as be in the Matins and Evensong, *Venite*, the Hymns, *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, *Nunc dimittis*, and all the Psalms and Versicles; and in the *Mass Gloria in Excelsis*, *Gloria Patri*, the Creed, the Preface, the *Pater noster*, and some of the *Sanctus* and *Agnus*. As concerning the *Salve festa dies*, the Latin note, as I think, is sober and distinct enough; wherefore I have travailed to make the verses in English, and have put the Latin note unto the same. Nevertheless they that be cunning in singing, can make a much more solemn note thereto. I made them only for a proof, to see how English would do in song. But by cause mine English verses lack the grace and facility that I would wish they had, your Majesty may cause some other to make them again, that can do the same in more pleasant English and phrase. As for the sentence, I suppose will serve well enough. Thus Almighty God preserve your Majesty in long and prosperous health and felicity. From Bekisbourne, the 7th of October  $\varepsilon$ .

Your Grace's most bounden  
chaplain and beadsman,  
T. Cantuarien.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

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CCLXV. TO PRINCE EDWARD <sup>h</sup>.

Foxe, *Acts*, Non magis poterat ipsa me [mea] servare salutem, fili in Christo charissime, quam salutem tuam. Mea vita non dicenda est vita, &c. vol. ii. p. 786.

<sup>\varepsilon</sup> [This Letter is placed in the *State Papers* under the year 1543. Mr. Todd assigns it to 1544, Collier to 1545. The two latter opinions are nearly equally probable; but perhaps that of Mr. Todd is to be preferred. The prayer of procession, which is referred to as "already set forth," was authorized by Henry VIII's mandate in June 1544, shortly before his campaign in France. He returned from Boulogne on the 1st of Oct., and being proud of his success, may probably have commanded it to be celebrated by religious processions. See Mandate to Boner in the Appendix; and Stow, *Annals*.]

<sup>h</sup> [Foxe prints the following Letter, as that to which Cranmer's was an answer.

*Prince Edward to Cranmer.*

"Etsi puer sum, colendissime susceptor, non tamen immemor sum

absque tua et salute et valetudine. Quapropter cum te incolumem ac salvum intelligo, vitam etiam mihi integram esse et incolumem sentio. Neque certe absentia mea tam est injucunda tibi, quam sunt literæ tuæ perjucundæ mihi. Quæ arguunt tibi juxta adesse et ingenium dignum tanto principe, et præceptorem dignum tanto ingenio. Ex quibus tuis literis te sic literas video colere, ut interim doctrinæ cœlestis tua nequaquam minima sit cura; quæ cuicumque sit curæ, non potest illum quævis cura frangere. Perge igitur qua via incepisti, Princeps illustrissime, et Spartam quam nactus es, hanc orna, ut quam ego per literas video in te virtutis lucem, eadem olim illuminet universam tuam Angliam. Non scribam prolixius, tum quidem ut me intelligas brevitate non nihil affici, tum etiam quod credam, te ætate quidem adhuc parvulum parvo gaudere, et similem simili; tum etiam præterea, ne impolita mea oratio in causa sit, quo generosa illa tua indoles barbariæ vitium contrahat.

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CCLXVI. TO KING HENRY VIII.

It may please your Highness to be advertised, that foras-  
 much as I might not tarry myself at London, because I  
 had appointed the next day after that I departed from your  
 Majesty to be at Rochester, to meet the next morning all  
 the Commissioners of Kent at Sittingbourn; therefore the  
 same night that I returned from Hampton Court to Lamb-

State Paper  
Office.  
Eccles.  
Papers.  
Burnet,  
Ref. vol. ii.  
App. B. i.  
No. 61.

“ vel officii erga te mei, vel humanitatis tuæ, quam indies mihi exhibere  
 “ studes. Non exciderunt mihi humanissimæ tuæ literæ pridie divi  
 “ Petri ad me datæ. Quibus antehac respondere nolui, non quod illas  
 “ neglexerim, aut non meminerim, sed ut illarum diuturna meditatione  
 “ fruerer, fidelique memoria reponerem, atque demum bene ruminatis  
 “ pro mea virili responderem. Proinde affectum erga me tuum vere  
 “ paternum, quem in illis expressisti, amplector et veneror, optoque ut  
 “ multos vivos annos, tuoque pio ac salubri consilio pergas esse mihi  
 “ venerandus pater. Nam pietatem ante omnia mihi amplectendam et  
 “ exosculandam esse duco, quoniam divus Paulus dicit, *Pietas ad omnia*  
 “ *utilis est*. Optime valet tua paternitas in plurimos annos. Harte-  
 “ ford, 13. Januarii.

“ Tui studiosissimus,

“ Edwardus Princeps.”]



hith, I sent for the Bishop of <sup>k</sup> Worcester incontinently, and declared unto him all your Majesty's pleasure, in such things as your Majesty willed me to be done. And first, where your Majesty's pleasure was, to have the names of such persons as your Highness in times passed appointed to make laws ecclesiastical for your Grace's realm<sup>l</sup>, the Bishop of Worcester promised me, with all speed to inquire out their names and the book which they made, and to bring the names and also the book unto your Majesty; which I trust he hath done before this time.

And as concerning the ringing of bells upon Alhallow-day at night, and covering of images in Lent, and creeping to the cross, he thought it necessary that a letter of your Majesty's pleasure therein should be sent by your Grace unto the two archbishops; and we to send the same to all other prelates within your Grace's realm. And if it be your Majesty's pleasure so to do, I have, for more speed, herein drawn a minute of a letter, which your Majesty may alter at your pleasure. Nevertheless, in my opinion, when such things be altered or taken away there would be set forth some doctrine therewith, which should declare the cause of the abolishing or alteration, for to satisfy the conscience of the people: for if the honouring of the cross, as creeping and kneeling thereunto, be taken away, it shall seem to many that be ignorant, that the honour of Christ is taken away, unless some good teaching be set forth withal to instruct them sufficiently therein: which if your Majesty command the Bishops of Worcester and <sup>m</sup> Chichester with other your Grace's chaplains to make, the people shall obey your Majesty's commandment willingly, giving thanks to your Majesty that they know the truth; which else they would obey with murmuration and grutching. And it shall be a satisfaction unto all other nations, when they shall see your Majesty do nothing but by the authority of God's

<sup>k</sup> [Nicholas Hethe. See Letter LXXXIX.]

<sup>l</sup> [See Preface; Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. p. 661. vol. iii. p. 308; Strype, *Cranm.* p. 133.]

<sup>m</sup> [George Day.]

word, and to the setting forth of God's honour, and not diminishing thereof. And thus Almighty God keep your Majesty in his preservation and governance. From my manor at Bekisbourne, the 24th of January, 45. [1546<sup>n</sup>.]

Your Grace's most bounden  
chaplain and beadsman.

I beseech your Majesty, that I may be a suitor unto the same for your Cathedral Church of Canterbury; who to their great unquietness and also great charges, do alienate their lands daily, and as it is said, by your Majesty's commandment. But this I am sure, that other men have gotten their best lands, and not your Majesty. Wherefore this is mine only suit, that when your Majesty's pleasure shall be to have any of their lands, that they may have some letter from your Majesty to declare your Majesty's pleasure, without the which they be sworn that they shall make no alienation: and that the same alienation be not made at other men's pleasures, but only to your Majesty's use. For now every man that list to have any of their lands, makes suit to get it into your Majesty's hands; not that your Majesty should keep the same, but by sale or gift from your Majesty, to translate it from your Grace's Cathedral Church unto themselves.

T. Cantuarien.

*The minute of the King's Majesty's letters to be addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury* °.

Forasmuch as you, as well in your own name as in the

<sup>n</sup> [Burnet, following the usual practice, interprets this date to be, according to the new style, 1546; Mr. Todd wishes to throw it back to the preceding year. But there seems to be no reason for doing so. On the contrary, if, according to Foxe's statement, foreign negotiations prevented the King from acting on Cranmer's suggestions, the earlier date is wholly inadmissible; for in 1545 the contending parties breathed nothing but war, and peace was not concluded till June 1546. See the next note; Foxe, *Acts, &c.* vol. ii. p. 585; Stow, *Annals*.]

° [This Letter was never sent, in consequence of the interference of Gardyner, who led the King to believe that any farther innovation in

name of the bishops of Worcester and Chichester, and other our chaplains and learned men, whom we appointed with

religion would prevent the conclusion of a league which he was at that time negotiating between England, France, and the Emperor. The account of this affair, and of a subsequent plan of reformation entertained by Henry and the French ambassador, as given by Cranmer to his Secretary Morice, in the following reign, is too curious and important to be omitted. "When [King Edw. VI's first] visitation was put "in a readiness, before the Commissioners should proceed in their "voyage, the said Archbishop sent for the said Register his man "[Morice] unto Hampton Court, and willed him in any wise to make "notes of certain things in the said visitation, whereof he gave unto "him instruction, having then further talk with him touching the "good effect and success of the said Visitation. Upon which occasion the Register said unto his master the Archbishop: I do remember that you not long ago caused me to conceive and write "letters, which King Henry the Eighth should have signed and directed unto your Grace and the Archbishop of York, for the reformation of certain enormities in the churches, as taking down of the "roods, and forbidding of ringing on Allhallow night, and such like "vain ceremonies; which letters your Grace sent to the Court to be "signed by the King's Majesty, but, as yet, I think that there was "never any thing done therein.

"Why, (quoth the Archbishop again,) never heard you those letters "were suppressed and stopped? Whereunto the Archbishop's servant "answering again: As it was, (said he,) my duty to write those letters, so was it not my part to be inquisitive what became thereupon.

"Mary, (quoth the Archbishop,) my Lord of Winchester then being "beyond the seas about the conclusion of a league between the Emperor, the French King, and the King our master, and fearing that "some reformation should here pass in the realm touching religion in "his absence against his appetite, wrote to the King's Majesty, bearing him in hand that the league then towards would not prosper "nor go forwards on his Majesty's behalf, if he made any other innovation or alteration in religion or ceremonies of the Church than was "already done; which his advertisement herein caused the King to "stay the signing of those letters, as Sir Anthony Denie wrote to me "by the King's commandment.

"Then said his servant again unto him: Forsomuch as the King's "good intent took no place then, now your Grace may go forward in "those matters, the opportunity of the time serving much better thereunto than in King Henry's days.

"Not so, (quoth the Archbishop.) It was better to attempt such reformation in King Henry the Eighth his days, than at this time, the "King being in his infancy. For if the King's father had set forth "any thing for the reformation of abuses, who was he that durst gainsay it? Mary, we are now in doubt how men will take the change or "alteration of abuses in the Church, and therefore the Council hath "forborne especially to speak thereof, and of other things which "gladly they would have reformed in this Visitation; referring all "those and such like matters to the discretion of the visitors. But if "King Henry the Eighth had lived unto this day with the French

you to peruse certain books of service which we delivered unto you, moved us, that the vigil, and ringing of bells all the night long upon Alhallow-day at night, and the covering of images in the church in time of Lent, with the lifting up of the veil that covereth the cross upon Palm-Sunday, with the kneeling to the cross the same time, might be abolished and put away, for the superstition and other enormities and abuses of the same: First, forasmuch as all the vigils of our Lady and the Apostles, and all other vigils, which in the beginning of the Church were godly used, yet for the manifold superstition and abuses which after did grow by means of the same, they be many years passed taken away throughout all Christendom, and there remaineth nothing but the name of the vigil in the calendar, the thing clearly abolished and put away, saving only upon Alhallow-day at night, (upon which night is kept vigil, watching, and ringing of bells all the night long;) foras-

"King, it had been past my Lord of Winchester's power to have visored the King's Highness, as he did when he was about the same league.

"I am sure you were at Hampton Court, (quoth the Archbishop,) when the French King's ambassador was entertained there at those solemn banquetting houses not long before the King's death; namely, when after the banquet was done the first night, the King, leaning upon the ambassador and upon me; if I should tell what communication between the King's Highness and the said ambassador was had, concerning the establishing of sincere religion then, a man would hardly have believed it. Nor had I myself thought the King's Highness had been so forward in those matters as then appeared: I may tell you it passed the pulling down of roods, and suppressing the ringing of bells. I take it, that few in England would have believed that the King's Majesty and the French King had been at this point, not only within half a year after to have changed the mass into a communion, (as we now use it,) but also utterly to have extirped and banished the Bishop of Rome and his usurped power out of both their realms and dominions.

"Yea they were so thoroughly and firmly resolved in that behalf, that they meant also to exhort the Emperor to do the like in Flanders and other his countries and seignories, or else they would break off from him. And herein the King's Highness willed me, (quoth the Archbishop,) to pen a form thereof to be sent to the French King to consider of."

"But the deep and most secret providence of Almighty God, owing to this realm a sharp scourge for our iniquities, prevented for a time this their most godly device and intent, by taking to his mercy both these princes." Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. p. 586. See also Henry VIII's declaration to the Saxon ambassador, *ibid.* p. 647.]

much as that vigil is abused as other vigils were, our pleasure is, as you require, that the said vigil shall be abolished as the other be, and that there shall be no watching, nor ringing, but as be commonly used upon other holydays at night. We be contented and pleased also, that the images in the churches shall not be covered, as hath been accustomed in times passed; nor no veil upon the cross; nor no kneeling thereto upon Palm-Sunday, nor any other time. And forasmuch as you make no mention of creeping to the cross, which is a greater abuse than any of the other; for there you say, "Crucem tuam adoramus Domine;" and the Ordinal saith, "Procedant clerici ad crucem adorandum nudis pedibus;" and after followeth in the same Ordinal, "Ponatur crux ante aliquod altare, ubi a populo adoretur;" which by your own book, called, *A Necessary Doctrine*, is against the second commandment: therefore our pleasure is, that the said creeping to the cross shall likewise cease from henceforth and be abolished, with the other abuses before rehearsed. And this we will, and straitly command you to signify unto all the prelates and bishops of your province of Canterbury, charging them, in our name, to see the same executed, every one in his diocese, accordingly.

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#### CCLXVII. TO THE CHAPTER OF CANTERBURY.

Strype,  
Cranmer,  
p. 138.  
from the  
Register  
of Christ  
Church,  
Canter-  
bury.

After my hearty commendations; whereas I am informed that you be in doubt, whether any prebendary of that my church may exchange his house or garden with another prebend of the same church living, and that you be moved by this statute so to think, which here followeth; "Statuimus ut Canonicus de novo electus et demissus in demortui aut resignantis aut quovismodo cedentis ædes succedat:" these be to signify unto you, that neither this statute, nor any other reason that I know, maketh any thing against the exchange between two prebends living, but that they may change house, orchard, or garden during

their life, this statute or any other reason contrary notwithstanding. And whereas you have appointed your preachers at your last chapter their chambers and commodities, I require you that they may be indelayedly admitted thereunto, according to that your order. Thus fare you well. From my manor of Croydon, the 12th of December, 1546.

T. Cantuariens.

To my loving friends, the Vice-dean  
and Prebendaries of my Church in  
Canterbury.

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CCLXVIII. To BONER.

After our right hearty commendations; whereas it hath pleased Almighty God to send the King's Majesty such victory against the Scots<sup>p</sup>, as was almost above the expectation of man, and such as hath not been heard of in any part of Christendom this many years: in which victory above the number of 15,000 Scots be slain, 2000 taken prisoners, and among them many noblemen and others of good reputation; all their ordnance and baggage of their camp also won from them: the King's Majesty, with advice of his Highness' Privy Council, presently attending upon his Majesty's most royal person, well knowing this as all other goodness to be the gifts of God, hath and so doth account it; and therefore rendereth unto Him the only glory and praise for the same: and so hath willed me, not only in his Majesty's cathedral church, and other churches of my diocese, to give thanks to Almighty God, but also to require in his name all other bishops of the province of Canterbury to do or cause to be done semblably in their cures. Which his Majesty's pleasure I have thought good to signify unto you, requiring you, not only to cause a sermon to be made in your cathedral church the next holy-day after receipt thereof, declaring the goodness of God, and exhorting the people to faith and amendment of life;

Cranm.  
Regist. f.  
55.  
Strype,  
Cranm.  
p. 154.

<sup>p</sup> [Viz. In the battle of Pinkey, won on the 10th of Sept. 1547.]

and to give thanks to God for this victory ; but also at the same time, immediately after the sermon, and in presence of the Mayor, Aldermen, and other the citizens of London, to cause the Procession in English, and *Te Deum* to be openly and devoutly sung. And that you do also cause the like order to be given in every parish church of your diocese, upon some holyday, when the parishioners shall be there present, with as much speed as you may ; not failing, as you tender his Majesty's pleasure. Thus fare you heartily well. From Otelands, the 18th day of December 9, the year of our Lord God 1547.

Your loving friend,  
T. Cantuarien.

The Council's pleasure is, you shall see this executed on Tuesday next.

To the Dean and Chapter of St.  
Paul's, in London, this be given  
in haste <sup>r</sup>.

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### CCLXIX. TO BONER.

Wilkins,  
*Concilia*,  
vol. iv. p.  
22. from  
Boner's  
Regist. fol.  
110.

This is to advertise your lordship, that my Lord Protector's Grace, with advice of others the King's Majesty's Council, for certain considerations them thereunto moving, hath fully resolved, that no candles should be borne upon Candlemas day, nor also from henceforth ashes or palms used any longer. Wherefore I beseech your lordship to cause admonition thereof to be given in all parish churches throughout your diocese, with all celerity : and likewise unto all other bishops that be hereabouts, that they may do the

<sup>9</sup> ["December" is the word in the register, but, as Strype observes, there can be little doubt of its being a clerical error for "September." See also Heylyn, *Eccles. Restaur.* Edw. VI. p. 47.]

<sup>r</sup> [This also is copied accurately from the register, yet expressions in the Letter itself prove that it was addressed to the Bishop of London.]

semblable in their dioceses before Candlemas day. And as for other bishops that cannot have knowledge so soon, you may give them knowledge hereof at more leisure, so that it be done before Ash Wednesday. Thus fare your lordship well.

Your loving friend,  
T. Cantuar.

Lambeth, Jan, 27, 1547. [1548.]

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CCLXX. To MATTHEW PARKER.

I commend me unto you; signifying, that the Lord <sup>C.C.C.C.</sup> Protector, conceiving good opinion of your wisdom, learn- <sup>MSS.</sup> ing, and earnest zeal which you bear to the setting forth of <sup>CVIII. p.</sup> God's word among the people, hath, by the advice of the <sup>III.</sup> Council, appointed you to preach one sermon at Paul's Cross in London, on Sunday, being the 22. day of July next, not doubting but that you will purely and sincerely set out the holy Scriptures, so as God's glory may be advanced, and the people with wholesome doctrine edified. *Original.* These therefore shall be to require you to prepare yourself ready in the mean season to supply the day, time, and place to you appointed accordingly; foreseeing that you present yourself unto the Dean of Paul's, residing at his house in Paul's Church Yard, or unto his deputy there, the Saturday before noon that you shall preach, or at the least to signify then unto him by your letters, or some sure messenger, that you will not fail to preach the Sunday; because the Cross must in no wise be disappointed or destitute of a preacher. Thus heartily fare you well. From my manor at Lambith, the 5. day of May. [1548.]

Your loving friend,  
T. Cant.



CCLXXI. TO KING EDWARD VI.<sup>1</sup>

*To the most excellent Prince Edward VI, by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and in earth of the Church of England and Ireland immediately under God Supreme Head, your Grace's humble Subject and Chaplain Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, wisheth abundance of all grace and godliness with a long and prosperous reign.*

Cranmer's  
Catechism,  
1548.

It is not unknown unto the whole world, most excellent Prince, that your Grace's father, a King of most famous memory, of a fervent and earnest godly disposition and tender zeal towards the setting forth of God's glory, most diligently travailed for a true and a right reformation and a quiet concord in Christ's religion throughout all his dominions; wherein undoubtedly he brought many things to a godly purpose and effect, and did abolish and take away much blindness and ignorance of God, many great errors, fond and pernicious superstitions and abuses, that had crept into this Church of England, and Ireland a long time. And I, perceiving that your Majesty, by the advice of your most dear uncle my Lord Protector, and the rest of your Grace's most honourable Council, is most desirous perfectly to finish and bring to pass that your father did most godly begin, do think that there is nothing more necessary for the furtherance hereof, then that it might be foreseen how the youth and tender age of your loving subjects may be brought up and traded in the truth of God's holy word.

For it is thought, not to me only but to many others, that neither your Grace's father should have been inforced in his time to have taken so great pains for the reformation of Christ's religion, neither yet your Highness in this your time should need with such great difficulty go about to further God's cause and his true service, with so many laws, injunctions, and proclamations, if so great negligence

<sup>1</sup> [This Letter was prefixed to the translation of the Catechism of Justus Jonas, set forth by the Archbishop in 1548. See Preface.]

of the education of the youth had not been so much suffered, and the necessary points and articles of our religion and profession omitted, of those whose office and bounden duty was to have most diligently instructed the youth in the same. Or if the ancient and laudable ceremony of confirmation had continued in the old state, and been duly used of the ministers in time convenient, where an exact and strait examination was had of all such as were of full age, both of their profession that they made in baptism touching their belief and keeping of God's commandments, with a general solemn rehearsal of the said commandments and of all the articles of their faith.

Surely there can be no greater hope of any kind of persons, other to be brought to all honest conversation of living, or to be more apt to set forth and maintain all godliness and true religion, than of such as have been from childhood nourished and fed with the sweet milk, and as it were the pap of God's holy word, and bridled and kept in awe with his holy commandments. For commonly as we are in youth brought up, so we continue in age, and savour longest of that thing that we first receive and taste of. And as a fair table finely polished, though it be never so apt to receive either pictures or writings, yet it doth neither delight any men's eyes, neither yet profit any thing, except the paintertake his pencil, set to his hand, and with labour and cunning replenish it with scriptures or figures as appertaineth to his science; even so the tender wits of young children, being yet naked and bare of all knowledge, through the grace of God, be apt to receive God's gifts, if they be applied and instructed by such schoolmasters as have knowledge to bring them up and lead them forward therein. And what can be more apt to be grown or painted in the tender hearts of youth, than God's holy word? What can lead them a righter way to God, to the obedience of their Prince, and all virtue and honesty of life, than the sincere understanding of God's word, which alone sheweth the way how to know Him, to love Him, and to serve Him? What can better keep and stay them, that they do not

suddenly and lightly fall again from their faith? What can cause them more constantly to withstand the assaults of the Devil, the world, and the flesh, and manfully to bear the cross of Christ, than to learn in their youth to practise the same? And verily it seemeth no new thing that the children of them that be godly, should be thus instructed in the faith and commandments of God even from their infancy. For doth not God command his people to teach

Deut. xi. his law unto their children and childer's children? Hath not this knowledge continued from time to time amongst them, to whom God promised to be their God, and they his people? Doth it not appear by plain expressed words of

2 Tim. ii. Paul, that Timothy was brought up even from a child in holy Scriptures? Hath not the commandments of Almighty God, the articles of the Christian faith, and the Lord's Prayer, been ever necessarily, since Christ's time, required of all, both young and old, that professed Christ's name, yea though they were not learned to read? For doubtless in these three points is shortly and plainly included the necessary knowledge of the whole sum of Christ's religion, and of all things appertaining unto everlasting life.

In consideration whereof, in this time of your gracious reformation of all ungodliness, and the setting forth of God's true glory, I, knowing myself as a subject greatly bounden, and much the more by reason of my vocation, to set forward the same, am persuaded that this my small travail in this behalf taken, shall not a little help the sooner to bring to pass your godly purpose. For by this little treatise<sup>t</sup> not only the youth of your Grace's realm may learn to know God, and how they may most purely and sincerely honour, glorify, and serve Him, and may also learn their office and duty how they ought to behave themselves, first toward God, secondly towards your Majesty, and so towards all ministers under the same, towards their fathers and mothers, and all other persons of what sort or degree soever they be: but also many of the older sort, such as love God and have a zeal to his honour and glory, and yet

<sup>t</sup> [Namely, the translation of Justus Jonas's Catechism. See Preface.]

in their youth, through negligence, were brought up in ignorance, may, by hearing of their children, learn in their age that which passed them in their youth.

And as mine intent and endeavour is to profit both, and according to mine office to bring both to the right knowledge of God, so my most earnest and humble prayer unto God continually, shall be that my good mind and desire may have good success, and take effect according to mine expectation. Which thing I assuredly hope shall come to pass, if it would please your Highness to suffer this little book, by me offered unto your Majesty, to be read, taught, and learned of the children of your most loving subjects, in whom is great hope of all grace, godliness, and virtue.

Your Grace's humble subject and chaplain,  
Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury.

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CCLXXII. To JOHN A LASCO<sup>u</sup>.

*Illustri Viro D. Joanni a Lasco, Amico suo carissimo,  
S. D. P.*

Adventum tuum ad nos, alterius cujusdam negotii subito <sup>Gabbema,</sup> interventu impeditum esse doleo, non enim dubito, quin de <sup>Epist. Clar-</sup> tua vocatione<sup>r.</sup> facile tibi satisfecissem, si coram tecum <sup>Viro-</sup> mihi potestas colloquendi fuisset. Sed quia hoc tempore <sup>rum, LII.</sup> venire non potuisti, scribis tamen te venturum esse posthac, si prius ex literis nostris intellexeris, qualis vocationis tue <sup>ratio</sup> apud nos futura sit: literis tecum agam, et quod coram copiosius fortassis dicturus eram, id per literas explicabo brevi. ⁊ Cupimus nostris Ecclesiis veram de Deo

<sup>u</sup> [See a memoir of this Polish reformer in Gerdes, *Hist. Reformat.* vol. iii. p. 145; and a Collection of his Letters in the *Scrinium Antiquarium* of the same author, tom. ii. &c.]

<sup>x</sup> [The following extract is rather ambiguous, but it seems to imply that John a Lasco had been invited to England in the preceding year. "Nuntium mittimus Witebergam ad Philippum [Melancthonem], aut "ubi is sit, scribimusque ad illum de vocatione in Angliam, de qua "hodie ad te scripsi." Letter from John a Lasco to Albert Hardenberg, Embd. 11 Oct. 1547. in Gerdes, *Scrini. Antiq.* tom. ii. p. 635.]

<sup>y</sup> ["In the year 1548 Cranmer propounded a great and weighty business to Melancthon; and a matter that was likely to prove highly

doctrinam proponere, nec volumus cothurnos facere aut ambiguitatibus ludere<sup>a</sup>; sed semota omni prudentia carnis, veram, perspicuam, sacrarum literarum normæ convenientem doctrinæ formam ad posteros transmittere; ut et apud omnes gentes extet illustre testimonium de doctrina nostra, gravi doctorum et piorum auctoritate traditum, et universa posteritas normam habeat quam sequatur. Ad perficiendam rem tantam eruditorum hominum præsentia nobis opus esse judicavimus, qui collatis nobiscum judiciis, doctrinæ controversias tollant, et integrum corpus veræ doctrinæ extruant. Accersivimus igitur et te et alios quosdam doctos viros<sup>a</sup>; qui cum non gravatim ad nos venerint, ita ut nullum fere ex iis præter te et Melancthonem desideremus: summopere te rogamus, ut et ipse ad nos venias, et Melancthonem, si ullo modo fieri poterit, tecum adducas. <sup>b</sup> Tertiam nunc epist-

"useful to all the Churches of the evangelic profession. It was this: 'the Archbishop was now driving on a design for the better uniting of all Protestant Churches; viz. by having one common confession and harmony of faith and doctrine, drawn up out of the pure word of God, which they might own and agree in.' . . . 'But the troubles at home and abroad frustrated this excellent purpose.'" Strype, *Cranm.* p. 407. who drew his information from Melancthon's letters only, not being acquainted with those by Cranmer, which are now first printed from manuscripts at Zurich. See Letters cclxxiii, cclxxvi, cclxxxiii, cclxxxiv, cclxxxv; and Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 56.]

<sup>a</sup> [See Letter cclxxxiii.]

<sup>a</sup> [The following news from England was communicated by John a Lasco to Albert Hardenberg on the 19th of this same July. "Contentio sacramentaria cœpit illic exagitari per quosdam, estque instituta ea de re publica disputatio, ad quam magnis multorum precibus vocor. Bucerus expectatur. Franciscus noster Dryander jam adest. Et de Calvino mussatur, nisi quod Gallus est." Gerdes, *Scriu. Antig.* tom. ii. p. 644.]

<sup>b</sup> [Archbishop Lawrence, in the notes to his Bampton Lectures, after enumerating Henry VIII's invitations to Melancthon, gives the following account of repeated applications of the same kind under his successor. "During the short reign of Edward, solicitations of a similar nature appear to have been frequent. Latimer, in a sermon preached before the King, March 22, 1549, thus alludes to a report of the time: 'I heard say, Master Melancthon, that great clerk, should come hither. I would wish him, and such as he is, to have 200*l.* a year. The King should never want it in his coffers at the year's end.' In the subsequent year his presence here was a second time requested. 'Ego,' he remarks in a letter to J. Camerarius, 'rursus in Angliam vocor.' Epist. lib. iv. 780. May 17, 1550. And lastly, again before the death of that much lamented prince; 'Regius literis vocor in Angliam, quæ scriptæ sunt mense Maio. Postea secuta est mors nobilissimi adolescentis.' Epist. lib. iv. 813. A. D.

olam ad Melancthonem mitto, qua eum hortor, ut ad nos veniat; quibus meis epistolis si tuæ adhortationes accesserint, non diffido eum persuaderi posse, ut toties iteratam vocationem sequatur<sup>c</sup>. Nullas, ut arbitror, insidias hostium, nulla itinerum pericula pertimescit, quæ, si qua sunt, minora tamen sunt iis, quibus nunc est. Adde, quod exigui temporis molestiis, multorum annorum quietem sibi, reipub. vero utilitatem adferret æternam. Quod si ei commigrationem ad nos aut inutilem aut injucundam fore prospicerem, nemo certe me dissuaderet vehementius. Nunc vero, cum videam nihil ab eo aut ipsi aut reipub. posse fieri utilius, quam ut hoc tempore ad nos veniat, insto vehementius, teque hortor, ut omnem curam cogitationemque tuam in hoc unice convertas, ut Philippum nostrum plane nostrum facias. Qualis et tua et ipsius futura sit conditio paulo ante ostendi. Ita tamen ostendi, ut experientia vestra potius quam prædicatione mea Angliam vobis placere cupiam. Bene et feliciter Vale. Londini, die iv. Julii MDXLVIII.

Tuæ præsentiae cupidiss.

T. Cantuariensis.

### CCLXXIII. TO ALBERT HARDENBERG<sup>d</sup>.

. . . e Cupimus nostris Ecclesiis veram de Deo doctrinam. Copia manu Huberti

"1553. The latter circumstance Strype notices in his Ecclesiastical "Memorials: 'Had not,' he says, 'the King died so soon, the moderate, learned, and wise Melancthon would have come into England, "and been placed in the University of Cambridge.'" *Bampton Lect.* pp. 186. 227. It will be observed, that all these invitations were subsequent to that which is the subject of this and the following Letter.]

<sup>c</sup> [John a Lasco forwarded Cranmer's Letter to Melancthon by Æpinus, as appears from his inquiry to Hardenberg on the 28th of July. "Te rogo ut ad illum [i. e. Melancthonem] per occasionem scribas, "num literas Cantuarienses a me ad se per Æpinum transmissas acceperit, et ut respondeat." Letter from John a Lasco to Hardenberg, 28. July, 1548. in Gerdes, *Scriin. Antiq.* tom. ii. p. 646.]

<sup>d</sup> [Albert Hardenberg, the friend and correspondent of John a Lasco, was educated at the University of Louvain. He commenced his ministerial labours at a monastery in Groningen; from whence he moved to Cologne on the invitation of Archbishop Herman. At the date of this

in MSS.  
vol. ix. p.  
36. Scrin.  
Eccl. Ar-  
gent \*.

nam proponere, nec volumus<sup>f</sup> cothurnos facere aut ambiguitatibus ludere: sed semota omni prudentia carnis, veram, perspicuam, ac S. Litterarum normæ convenientem doctrinæ formam ad posteros transmittere; ut et apud omnes gentes extet testimonium doctrinæ nostræ gravi doctorum et piorum autoritate traditum, et universa posteritas normam habeat quam sequatur. Ad perficiendam rem totam eruditorum hominum præsentia nobis opus esse judicavimus, qui collatis nobiscum judiciis, doctrinæ controversias tollant, et integrum corpus veræ doctrinæ extruant. Accersivimus igitur plerosque pios et doctos viros, quorum & alios habe-

Letter he was at the head of the reformed Church at Bremen, over which he presided from 1547 to 1561. He then retired, to avoid the troubles of the Ubiquitarian controversy, to Embden; where he died in 1574. His character is thus given by Gerdes, *Hist. Evang. Renov.* vol. iii. p. 158. "Erat theologus insignis, atque tum doctrina excellebat, tum "facundia præstabat, et recte de religione sentiebat; præterea, prudentia, moderatione animi, morum commoditate valebat, et has dotes "singulari pietate ornat."]

\* [This fragment is printed from a copy, furnished by Mr. Salmon Hess, of a manuscript at Zurich. The reference in the margin is given on the same authority.]

<sup>f</sup> [Cranmer seems here to be replying to a letter from Melancthon, dated the 1st of May in this year. A strong opinion is there expressed against ambiguities in Confessions of Faith, and against the mode attempted by Charles V. in his *Interim*, of settling controversies by the use of generalities; by which, said Melancthon, "cothurnos facit, qui novas "discordias excitabunt." Melancthon, *Epist.* lib. i. 66. The applicability of the proverb to such articles of faith as each party might interpret according to their own tenets, will be understood from its explanation by Erasmus. "'Versatilior cothurno,' dictum est in hominem "parum constantem, lubricaque fide, quive incertæ et ancipitis esset "factionis, similitudine ducta a calceamento, quod Græci *κνημιον*, Latini, "mutata literula, cothurnum vocant. Erat autem quadrangulum et "utrique conveniens pedi, quodque vel dextro vel sinistro pedi potuit "accommodari." Erasmus, *Adag.* cent. i. 94.]

‡ ["I find divers outlandish learned and godly men this year [1547] "at Canterbury; among the rest was John Utenhovius, a person of honourable rank and quality, afterwards elder and assistant to John a Lasco's church in London. Here was also Valerandus Pollanus, and "one Franciscus. There was a loving correspondence held between "the said Utenhovius here, and Peter Martyr now at Lambeth." Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 78. A notice of some other foreigners of less eminence, entertained by the Archbishop about this time, will be found in the same work, p. 404. The following is Archbishop Parker's account of Cranmer's attentions to continental divines. "Cranmerus Archiepiscopus, ut evangelicam doctrinam in Cantebriensi "atque Oxoniensi Academiis, et quibus ad totius regni institutionem "doctores infiniti prodeunt, firmaret, celeberrimos theologos ab exteris

mus jam, alios vero brevi expectamus. Sed de Philippo Melanchthone nihil adhuc certi habemus<sup>h</sup>. Quare te summo opere rogamus, ut illum, si id ullo modo facere possis, ad iter ad nos suscipiendum inducas. Tertiam nunc ad ipsum epistolam misi, qua illum hortor ut ad nos veniat; quibus epistolis si tuæ adhortationes accesserint, non diffido illum persuaderi posse, ut toties iteratam vocationem sequatur. Nullas, ut arbitror, insidias hostium, nullaque itinerum pericula pertimescit, quæ si quæ sunt, minora tamen sunt iis, in quibus nunc est<sup>i</sup>. Adde, quod exigui temporis

“nationibus in Angliam accersivit, Petrum Martyrem Vermilium, Florentinum, et Martinum Bucerum, Germanum, ex Argentorato profectum: ille Oxonii docuit, hic Cantebrigiæ. Cum hoc etiam Paulus Fagius Hebraicas literas Cantebrigiæ professus est. Ac præter hos Immanuel Tremellium, Bernardinum Ochium, Petrum Alexandrum, Valerandum Pollanum; quos omnes cum liberis atque conjugibus abunde alebat. Philippus etiam Melanchthon atque Musculus accessiti sunt; sed a patriis retenti se per literas excusabant. In hos aliosque doctos theologos tanta beneficentia Cranmerus usus est; ut collectis quotannis suarum expensarum rationibus, nihil sibi ex reditibus residui superesse poterat.” Matt. Parker, *Antiq. Brit. Eccles.* p. 508. It will be observed, that Archbishop Parker, in mentioning these invitations to foreigners, does not hint at any project for effecting a protestant union.]

<sup>h</sup>[Three letters from Melancthon to Cranmer in this year have been printed, but none of them contain a positive answer to the invitation to England. The strongest expression on the subject is in the letter of the 1st of May, cited above. He there says: “Si meum judicium ac suffragium flagitabit, libenter et audiam alios doctos viros, et dicam ipse sententiam meo loco, et sententiæ causas ostendam, τὰ μὲν πειθόν, τὰ δὲ πειθόμενος, ut decet in colloquio piorum.” In a subsequent letter he gives much advice respecting drawing up such a sum of necessary doctrine as would leave no μῆλον ἑρπιδος; but says nothing of coming to England himself. Melancth. *Epist.* lib. i. 66. lib. iii. 43, 44. Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 406.]

<sup>i</sup>[Cranmer alludes to the attempt of Charles the Vth, in 1548, to force the *Interim* on the German Protestants. Melancthon's conduct on the occasion so deeply offended the Emperor, that he only escaped the effects of his anger by the refusal of Maurice of Saxony to deliver him into his hands. Yet he afterwards made concessions of sufficient importance, to lay the foundation of the Adiaphoristic controversy and of a serious schism in the Lutheran Church. The following is his own account of the dispersion of many Protestant ministers, and of the principles on which he himself resolved to remain at his post. “Pulsi sunt pastores plures quadringentis in Suevia et ad Rhenum. Tubingæ nunc, pulsus pastoribus et concionatoribus, unicus est sacrificulus, qui ut libro Augustano satisfiat, oblationem restituit. Mirum est igitur, cur adhuc ætatem auream promittat Islebius, cum manifeste videat vastari tam multas ecclesias, pios et doctos viros exulare cum totis familiis. Tantæ culamitates cum alibi fiant, nos etiam duram servi-



molestiis, multorum annorum quietem sibi, reipublicæ vero utilitatem adferet æternam. Quod si ei hoc ad nos iter aut inutile aut injucundum fore prospicerem, nemo me certe hoc illi vehementius dissuaderet, sed cum videam nihil ab eo aut ipsi aut reipublicæ posse fieri utilius, quam ut hoc tempore ad nos veniat, opto vehementius, teque oro, ut omnem curam cogitationemque tuam in hoc convertas, ut Philippum nostrum plane nostrum facias. Qualis ipsius hic futura sit conditio, jam ostendi. Ita tamen ostendi, ut experientia ipsa potius quam mea prædicatione Angliam nostram ei placere cupiam. Quod si noster Philippus videat, ad quid vocetur, a quibus autem hominibus, certe et ipsius et veræ religionis amantissimis, et quanto studio vocetur simul et exspectetur; profecto non video et nescio an vocationem hanc negligere possit, præsertim cum nullam pene certam se vocationem illic habere videat, quam huic merito opponere queat. Si in simili vocatione deesse noluit sanctissimo illi seni Electori<sup>k</sup> Coloniensi, sane ne nunc quidem illi licebit in causa multo graviore et magis etiam necessaria. Inviti fortasse sui illum dimittunt, et ipse quoque invitatus suos dimittet, hoc potissimum tempore; sed interim metuo, ne illum omnes istic pro eo ac vellemus audiant, et ut audiant, non scio an tanto cum fructu illic nunc esse possit, quantum ex sua præsentia in Anglia nostra nunc haberi possit; qui tamen negligendus nobis non est, si-

"tutem, modo sit sine impietate, tolerandam potius existimamus, quam discedendum ab ecclesiis." Melanct. in Melch. Adam, *Vita Theolog.* Bucer and Fagius took a different view of the matter, and accepted Cranmer's offer of an asylum in England. See Camerarius, *Vita Melanct.* §. 79; Sleidan. *De Statu Relig.* book xx. xxi; Mosheim, *Eccles. Hist.* cent. xvi; Mount's Letter in Burnet, *Ref.* vol. iii. App. book iv. No. 3.]

<sup>k</sup> [Melancthon accepted the invitation of Herman, Archbishop and Elector of Cologne in April 1543, and resided with him at Bonne till August. See some account of the *Simplex et pia deliberatio*, &c. which he and Bucer then compiled, in Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 26, and of the use made of it in drawing up the English Book of Common Prayer, in Archbishop Lawrence's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 439. Herman however failed in his attempts at reformation, and being unable to withstand the Pope and the Emperor united, resigned his see in 1547. He died in August 1552. Camerarius, *Vita Melanct.* §. 59; Melanct. *Epist.* lib. i. 74. iii. 38. 74, 75, 76. 119; Strype, *Cranm.* p. 286; Sleidan, *De Statu Relig.* lib. xxiv.]

quidem nobis Christi Domini gloriam vere et ex animo quærendam esse putamus. Utinam semel aliquid statuatur, et nos de animo suo certiores faciat, aut ipse mox accurrat, omnesque nuntios prævertat. De sumptu prospiciemus, vel apud te, vel alibi, modo sciamus, quantum et quo loco curari velit.

Cantabrigiæ, 28. Julii, 1548.

#### CCLXXIV. TO MARTIN BUCER<sup>1</sup>.

Gratiam et pacem Dei in Christo. Legi tuas literas ad <sup>Buceri</sup> Johannem Halesium, in quibus tristissimos Germaniæ <sup>Scripta</sup> casus <sup>Anglic.</sup> commemorans, te in tua urbe verbi ministerio vix <sup>Strype,</sup> diutius præesse posse scribis. Gemens igitur prophetæ illud <sup>Cranm.</sup> exclamavi, *Mirifica misericordias tuas, qui salvos facis* <sup>App. No. 43.</sup> *sperantes in te a resistantibus dextera tua.* Nec dubito quin Deus hoc et similes piorum gemitus exauditurus sit: et veram doctrinam, quæ hactenus in vestris ecclesiis sincere propagata est, et conservaturus et defensurus sit, adversus omnes diaboli et mundi furores. Interim sævientibus fluctuum procellis, in portus confugiendum est iis, qui vela in altum tendere non possunt. Tibi igitur, mi Bucere, portus longe tutissimus erit nostrum regnum, in quo, Dei beneficio, semina veræ doctrinæ feliciter spargi cœperunt. Veni igitur ad nos; et te nobis operarium præsta in messe Domini. Non minus proderis catholicæ Dei Ecclesiæ cum apud nos fueris, quam si pristinas sedes retineres. Adde, quod afflictæ patriæ vulnera absens melius sanare poteris, quam nunc possis præsens. Omni igitur semota cunctatione, quamprimum ad nos venias. Ostendemus nobis præsentia Buceri nihil gratius aut jucundius esse posse. Sed cave ne quid ex itinere incommodi accipias. Nosti quos habeas vitæ insectatores: eorum manibus ne te commiseris. Est istic mercator quidam Anglus Richardus Hills<sup>n</sup>, vir pius et

<sup>1</sup> [See Strype, *Cranm.* p. 196.]

<sup>n</sup> [See Letter cclxxiii. note (i.)]

<sup>n</sup> [The same person, from whose long letter Burnet has extracted many interesting particulars, (*Ref.* vol. iii. p. 275.) He however chose to

summa fidelitate præditus, cum quo de tota itineris ratione te conferre velim. Præterea, Deum æternum Patrem Domini nostri. Jesu Christi toto pectore oro, ut in ira misericordiæ recordetur, et afflictæ Ecclesiæ calamitates respiciat, et lucem veræ doctrinæ apud nos magis magisque accendat; apud vos vero jam multos annos præclare lucentem, non extingui patiatur. Is te quoque, mi Bucere, regat et servet, et incolumem ad nos traducat. Bene et feliciter Vale. Londini, 2 Octob. Anno 1548.

Tui ad nos accessus cupientissimus,  
Thomas Cranmerus, Archiep. Cantuar.

CCLXXV. To MATTHEW PARKER °.

MSS.  
C.C.C.C.  
CXIV. p.  
395.  
*Original.*

I commend me heartily unto you; signifying, that my Lord Protector's Grace having good opinion of your learned knowledge and godly zeal in the advancement of God's word, hath, by the advice of the Council, specially appointed you to preach one sermon before the King's Majesty's person the third Sunday of Lent, now coming. Wherefore I pray you in the mean season to prepare yourself in a readiness for the purpose, and to repair unto the Court against the day appointed, to satisfy the office whereunto you are called accordingly. Thus heartily fare ye well. From my manor at Lambhith, the 17th of Februarii, anno 1548. [1549.]

Your loving friend,  
T. Cant.

exclude it from his Collection of Records, because, though written with much good sense and piety, it was in very bad Latin. Many more of Hills' letters are preserved at Zurich. Sal. Hess, *MS. Catalogue of Letters at Zurich.*

° [This is the Letter referred to by Strype, *Life of Parker*, p. 25.]

## CCLXXVI. TO MELANCTHON P.

*Viro tum eruditione tum pietate clarissimo D. Philippo  
Melancthon dentur hæ litteræ.*

Verissima esse experimur, Melancthon doctissime, quæ Dominus noster Jesus Christus de cruce Ecclesiæ suæ prædixit; sed fidelis est Deus, qui non patietur suos tentari supra id quod possunt, sed faciet una cum tentatione proventum ut possimus sustinere. Etsi enim odio Filii Dei diabolus horribilem tyrannidem exercet in membra Christi, tamen promisit Deus Ecclesiam suam non interituram esse. Imo de ultimis temporibus diserte inquit: *Ego senescentem gestabo: ego feram: ego salvabo.* Et semper Deus aliquas politias voluit esse hospitia Ecclesiarum, et aliquot gubernatores fovere studiosos doctrinæ cœlestis, ut Abdias pavit auditores Helix, quos Reges Israel undique pellebant. Quamobrem Tibi, æternæ Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ingentes ago gratias, quod insulam nostram non aliter quam arcam Noë e fluctibus eripuisti, nobisque tales dederis gubernatores, qui Tui gloriam quærunt, et suas ædes ditio-<sup>Ex copia manu Huberti in MSS. vol. ix. p. 37. Scrin. Eccl. Argent.</sup>nesque Ecclesiæ et studiis patere cupiunt, ut olim viduæ Sareptanæ casa præbebat hospitium Helix. Oroque Deum, ut nos regat, et colligat sibi inter nos perpetuam Ecclesiam, non solum ex nostratibus, sed etiam ex peregrinis, id quod facere pro sua immensa misericordia jam incepit.

Multi enim pii doctique viri<sup>q</sup> partim ex Italia, partim ex Germania, ad nos convenerunt, et plures quotidie expectamus, cujus ecclesiæ chorum si ipse tua præsentia ornare et augere non gravaberis, haud scio qua ratione gloriam Dei magis illustrare poteris. Scio te sæpius optasse<sup>r</sup>, ut pii et sapientes viri, communicato consilio et collatis sententiis, gravi autoritate opus aliquod conderent, quod præcipuas materias ecclesiasticæ doctrinæ complecteretur, et veritatem ad posteros incorruptam transmitteret. Hoc nos sedulo

<sup>p</sup> [This Letter, together with the reference in the margin, is printed from a copy by Mr. Salomon Hess of a manuscript at Zurich.]

<sup>q</sup> [See Letters cclxxii, cclxxiii. note (g).]

<sup>r</sup> [In a letter to Hen. VIII. of the 26th of March, 1539, Melancthon had referred to his known wishes on this point in the following terms:

pro virili conamur. Quare te rogamus, ut præsens cum præsensentibus sententiam tuam et consilium communices, et ne animum ita obfirmes, ut tuis ipsius votis deesse, aut tam manifeste Dei vocationi repugnare videaris. Plurima hoc loco recensere poteram, quæ te in nostram sententiam flecterent, sed ea omnia non capit epistolæ brevitās. Proinde ex hoc tabellario, D. Joanne a Lasco, viro optimo, ea te cognoscere malim. Is enim mecum hosce aliquot menses conjunctissime et amantissime vixit, cui in his, quæ tibi meo nomine narrabit, fidem adhibeas oro. Dominus noster Jesus Christus, custos Ecclesiæ, qui dixit: *Nemo rapiet oves meas de manibus meis*, servet et defendat ministerium evangelii sui, et te ad Ecclesiæ nostræ hospitium tuto deducat. Vale. Londini 10. Februarii 1549.

Tui ad nos accessus avidissimus

Thomas Cantuariensis.

Nostri Germani, qui nobiscum sunt, rogant, ut adducas tecum Doctorem Albertum Hardenbergium<sup>s</sup>, ut Jonas<sup>t</sup> referet tibi nostro nomine.

### CCLXXVII. TO MARTIN BUCER.

C.C.C.C.  
MSS. cxix.  
p. 27.

Quanto dolore animum meum vulneraverit Fagii nostri

"Opto, ut antea sæpe scripsi, consensum piæ doctrinæ constitui in iis ecclesiis omnibus, quæ Romani episcopi tyrannidem et impietatem damnant." Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i. App. No. 101. Again in 1549: "Quod autem sæpe optavi, ut aliquando auctoritate seu regum, seu aliorum piorum principum, convocati viri docti de controversiis omnibus libere colloquerentur, et relinquerent posteris firmam et perspicuam doctrinam, idem adhuc opto." And not longer ago than Jan. 1548, he had written to Edward VI, praising his father's endeavours to settle the controversies of the reformed churches, and adding; "Quod igitur in regno tuo deliberationes instituisti de ecclesiis, recte facis, et paternum exemplum imitaris.——Cavendum autem erit tibi in hac emendatione, ne prava ingenia corruptelas misceant. Ideo prudenter et tuæ gentis hominum et hospitum sensus atque opiniones considerabis." *Epist.* lib. iii. 7. See Archbishop Lawrence, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 223, who corrects the mistake of historians, in supposing the plan to have originated with Cranmer.]

<sup>s</sup> [See Letter cclxxiii.]

<sup>t</sup> [This appears from Strype, *Cranm.* p. 407, to have been Justus Jonas the younger.]

mors<sup>u</sup>, Bucere doctissime, non est nunc instituti mei narrare, ne vulnus tuum jam (ut opinor) tum theologiæ tuæ medelis, tum ipso temporis progressu aliquo modo curatum, refricare videar. Quin potius impræsentiarum tecum communicare decrevi, quibus curationibus me ipsum consolatus sum; non quod prudentia tua mea consolatione indigeat, (novi enim animi tui moderationem et æquitatem) sed ut his sæpius repetendis et mecum revolvendis ægritudinem meam quodammodo discuterem. Primum sic cogitabam, humanum quidem fuit, cum amicus noster gravi morbo diu multumque cruciaretur, συμπαθεῖν, condolere, et collachrymari. Nunc vero, postquam omnibus miseriis defunctus, a bello ad pacem, a fluctibus ad portum tranquillissimum, ab ærumnis ad felicitatem perpetuam translatus est, illius statum deplorare, invidi esset, non amici. *Sanctorum enim animæ in manu Dei sunt, et non tanget illos tormentum.* Et Psalmista ait, *Pretiosa est in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus.* Quum enim Deum vera pietate hic noster coluerit, et contulit industriam et operam suam ad studia literarum propaganda, nihil est causæ cur non speremus, eum vitam æternam quam hic tanta diligentia inchoaverit, jam agnothetæ gratia, nactum esse. Optarem quidem (si sic Deo placuisset) ut diutius in hoc curriculo nobiscum versari potuisset. Sed quum benignissimo Patri nostro visum sit, eum in aliam meliorem et eruditorem scholam evocare, debemus ei gratulari, quod Paulus Fagius ad Christi et Divi Pauli consuetudinem, et ad sanctissimum collegium Angelorum, Prophetarum, et Apostolorum evocatus sit.

His aliisque rationibus ego animum jacentem excito, inducoque in spem cogitationemque meliorem. Eas autem ad te scribens commemoro, non quod tibi his opus sit, sed potius, ut his similibusque fomentis dolores fœminæ optimæ uxoris Fagii nostri lenias et mitiges. Et ne angoribus se dedat ut horteris, magnopere a te peto quæsoque.

“ Ploratur lacrymis amissa pecunia veris,”

<sup>u</sup> [Fagius died at Cambridge, where he was Professor of Hebrew, on the 15th of Nov. 1549. Strype, *Cranm.* p. 197, who refers to this Letter, but has not printed it.]

dixit poeta quidam. Quare ut hac in parte ego illam aliquo pacto recrearem, mitto ad eam per hunc tabellarium viginti septem libras monetæ nostratis. Quam quidem summam etsi adhuc a quæstore regis pro stipendio Pauli Fagii non acceperim, brevi tamen me accepturum spero. Interim, ut viduæ dolorem aliquo modo levarem, de meo hanc pecuniam numerare visum est. Debebantur quidem illius marito pro stipendio quinquaginta libræ, sed tres decedunt a summa pro impensis in regia diplomata, &c. viginti autem a me numeratæ sunt. Quod tu adhuc literas a Regia Majestate commendatitias ad Academiam Cantabrigiensem, et stipendium tuum in præsentia non acceperis, imputabis non negligentiae meæ, sed consiliatorum et quæstorum fere omnium occupationibus, quos hoc comitorum \* tempore publica negotia sic distrahunt, ut privatas causas tractare non vacet. Interim tamen si quid desideres, significes oro, et ego omni cum diligentia illud ad te mitti curabo. Vale. Lambethi, ultimo Novembris. [1549.]

Tuæ paternitatis  
amantissimus,  
T. Cant.

CCLXXVIII. To VOYSEY, BISHOP OF EXETER.

Wilkins,  
*Concilia*,  
vol. iv.  
p. 62, from  
Voysey's  
Regist.  
fol. 117.  
Todd, *Life*  
*of Cran-*  
*mer*, vol. ii.  
p. 200.

After my hearty commendations ; the King's Majesty's pleasure and high commandment to me is, that I shall, will, and charge you to ascertain me the names of all such benefices within your diocese, as at any time have been or yet be impropriated, in whose hands and possession the same been, either in his Majesty or any his Grace's subjects, with your true certificate also of all vicarages endowed within your said diocese, and of all other churches impropriated, having no vicarages endowed, being either served by a manual priest, or destitute of a curate, with the several values of such vicarages and benefices, as nigh as you may ; fail you not this to do with all celerity, as you tender the ac-

\* [The Parliament met on the 4th of November, 1549.]

complishment of his Grace's pleasure. Fare you well.  
From my manor of Lambeth, this xx. of April, anno  
1550.

Your loving brother,  
T. Cant.

CCLXXIX. TO MARTIN BUCER Y.

After my hearty salutations, right well beloved Master Bucer; I have read that book which you have sent to Doctor Peter Alexander concerning the controversy betwixt Master Hooper and the Bishop of London<sup>2</sup>. In which book many things are learnedly declared, and largely handled; wherefore now, I pray you, that you would send unto me your judgment of these questions, expressed with as short brevity of words as you can.

*A brief Examination, &c.*  
Todd, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. ii. p. 229.

Whether, without the offence of God, it may be lawful to the ministers of the Church of England to use those vestures which at these days they wear, and so are prescribed of the magistrate?

Whether he that shall affirm that it is unlawful, or shall refuse to wear this apparel, offendeth against God, for that he sayeth that thing to be unclean that God hath sanctified; and offendeth against the magistrate, for that he disturbeth the politic order?

To these questions, if you will make most brief answer<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> [This Letter was written originally in Latin, but the editor has not been able to obtain a copy of it in that language. This translation is taken from a pamphlet printed in 1564, entitled, *A brief Examination for the time of a certain declaration lately put in print, in the name and defence of certain ministers of London refusing to wear the apparel prescribed by the laws of the realm.*]

<sup>2</sup> [See Burnet, *Ref.* vol. ii. p. 314; Strype, *Cranm.* p. 211; *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 224, and App. LL. MM. NN.]

<sup>3</sup> [The following was Bucer's judgment:]

1. "Qui jam ecclesiarum Anglicarum ministri sunt, eos sentio posse vestibus illis, quarum hodie usus est, uti cum gratia Dei.

2. "Mea est sententia, hausta, ut credo, ex divinis literis: eos, qui dicunt vestibus de quibus agitur quovis modo uti, etiam eo quem descripti, nefas esse, ad minimum errare; et hoc eo, quod negant sanctificatis sancta esse omnia. Idem affirmo de iis, qui ex eadem causa vestibus illis nolunt uti." But he added, "Cum constet hodie, vestes



and send unto me your judgment as soon as you may possibly, you shall do me great pleasure ; God be with you. From Lambeth, the second of December. [1550.]

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CCLXXX. To MATTHEW PARKER.

C.C.C.C.  
MSS. CXIV.  
p. 391.  
Strype,  
*Life of  
Parker*,  
p. 28.

I commend me heartily unto you ; and whereas the King's Majesty, by the advice of his most honourable Council, hath appointed you to preach one sermon before his Highness' person at the Court, upon Sunday the 22<sup>nd</sup> of March next coming, being the sixth Sunday in Lent, and hath commanded me to signify unto you his Grace's pleasure in this behalf ; these therefore shall be to require you to put yourself in a readiness in the meantime to satisfy the day and place to you appointed, according to the King's Majesty's expectation, and not to fail in any wise. Thus heartily fare ye well. From my manor at Lambeth, the xiith of February 1550. [1551.]

Your loving friend,  
T. Cant.

To my loving friend, Mr. Doctor  
Parker.

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CCLXXXI. To CECIL <sup>b</sup>.

Ball. Coll.  
Libr. Arch.

After my very hearty commendations. Whereas the bearer hereof, Mr. Coverdale, Bishop Elect of Exeter, is now through in all matters to the consecration, save only in doing his homage and in the dispatch of his first fruits <sup>c</sup> : these

" has esse occasione aliis ad superstitionem, aliis ad perniciosam contentionem, præstare eas tollere." His answer may be read at length in his *Scripta Anglica*, p. 681. And there is a letter to Hoper on the same subject, *ibid.* p. 705.]

<sup>b</sup> [The authority for this Letter is a copy in Strype's handwriting, preserved with other manuscript additions to his *Life of Cranmer*, in the Library of Balliol College, Oxford.]

<sup>c</sup> [He was discharged from the payment of first fruits on account of his poverty. Strype, *Cranm.* p. 267 ; *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 527.]

shall be heartily to desire, that, in consideration of his long attendance and of the great lack that the West parts have of him, you will show him your accustomed favour and help at this present: that by your procurement he may the sooner take his oath, and have your gentle assistance for the obtaining of his suit concerning the first fruits. For I mind, by God's grace, the 30th day of this month, to accomplish the King's Majesty's mandate concerning the consecration of him and of the Bishop of Rochester<sup>d</sup>. And thus I bid you most heartily well to fare. From my manor at Croydon, the 23d of August 1552. <sup>c</sup> [1551.]

Your loving friend,

T. Cant<sup>r</sup>.

To the Right Worshipful and my very good friend, Mr. William Cecil, one of the King's Majesty's two principal Secretaries.

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CCLXXXII. TO CECIL, OR CHEKE.

After my very hearty commendations; these be to signify unto you, that Rayner Wolf, at my desire, hath fully finished the printing of my book, for answer to the late<sup>f</sup> Bishop of Winchester's, written against mine of the doctrine of the sacrament. And forasmuch as both printing and selling of any matters in the English tongue is prohibited by a proclamation set forth, unless the same matter be first allowed by the King's Majesty, or six of his Majesty's Privy Council, as you shall more plainly perceive by the proclamation, which herewith I send unto you: therefore I heartily pray you to be a suitor to the King's Majesty, or

*Strype,*  
*Cranmer,*  
App. No.  
62. from  
Sir W.  
Hicks's  
MSS.

<sup>d</sup> [John Scory; who, according to Cranmer's intention, was consecrated with Coverdale at Croydon on the 30th of Aug. 1551. *Strype, Cranm.* p. 271.]

<sup>c</sup> [This is the date in Strype's copy, but the passages referred to in the preceding notes prove clearly that it must be an error for 1551.]

<sup>f</sup> [Gardiner was deprived on the 14th of Feb. 1551. *Foxe, Acts, &c* vol. ii. p. 738.]

to the Privy Council, that Mr. Rayner may have license for the printing and selling of my said book accordingly ; and the same so obtained to send me with convenient speed. For in the beginning of the term I think it were very necessary to be set forth, for the contentation of many which have had long expectation of the same. As soon as I shall receive advertisement, when the King's Majesty will be at Hampton Court, I will come thither to see his Grace, and do my duty towards the same. Thus fare ye heartily well. From my manor at Croydon, the xxix. of September, 1551.

Your loving friend,

T. Cant.

To my very loving friends, Mr. Cecill,  
one of the King's Majesty's two  
principal Secretaries. Or to Mr.  
Cheeke.

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CCLXXXIII. TO BULLINGER 3.

*Eximio Viro D. Heinricho Bullingero, Tigurinae Ecclesiae  
Ministro fidelissimo, dentur hæ litteræ.*

In Archiv.  
Eccl. Tig.  
ex autogr.  
originali.  
Epist. tom.  
vii. part  
prior. pag.  
2187. Kas-  
ten. B.

S. P. Quod ad litteras tuas Tiguri datas 24 Februarii, post annum respondeo, imputabis partim occupationibus meis, partim indiligentiæ cuidam meæ in hoc officii genere, quam in me hæere ingenue confiteor. Sed quia præstat sero quam nunquam officium facere, nunc ad omnia accipies [responsum].

Duas apud ne causas agis, publicam et privatam. Quod ad publicam attinet<sup>h</sup>, nempe ut consultor esse velim, ne Regia Majestas legatum ad Concilium Tridentinum<sup>i</sup> mitteret, non fuit opus me consultore ad dissuadendum ab eo, quod nunquam illi in mentem venit, sed potius consilium dandum esse duxi, ut quemadmodum adversarii nostri nunc

<sup>3</sup> [Printed from Mr. Salomon Hess's copy of the manuscript at Zurich.]

<sup>h</sup> [Bullinger wrote also to Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, on the same subject, in March 1551. See Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. (254.)]

<sup>i</sup> [Several of the German protestant states sent delegates to Trent in 1551 and 1552. See Burnet, *Ref.* vol. ii. pp. 386. 434.]

Tridenti habent sua concilia ad errores confirmandos ; ita ejus pietas auxilium suum præbere dignaretur, ut in Anglia, aut alibi, doctissimorum et optimorum virorum Synodus convocaretur, in qua de puritate ecclesiasticæ doctrinæ et præcipue de consensu controversiæ sacramentariæ tractaretur. Ad quod institutum (quia reipublicæ Christianæ utilissimum esse judicavit) animum Majestatis illius admodum propensum esse sensi. Quare non est nobis committendum, ut Ecclesiæ Dei in re tam ardua deesse velimus. Scripsi hac de re ad D. Philippum, et ad D. Calvinum <sup>k</sup>, oroque ut consultetis, qua ratione Synodus hæc aut in Anglia, aut alibi congregari commodissime possit.

Privata causa, de qua ad me scripsisti, fuit, ut controversiam inter D. Londinensem et D. Hoperum, Gloucestrensem componerem, de qua nunc nimis ærum est respondere. Nam diu abhinc <sup>l</sup> audisse te sat scio controversiam illam compositam et penitus sublatam fuisse. Et D. Hoperus ea est apud nos æstimatione, ut Wigorniensis Episcopus jam sit designatus, et hoc tempore, quo comitia apud nos Londini congregantur, in ædibus meis mecum conjunctissime vivit. Dominus Jesus Spiritu suo sancto te gubernet et tueatur. Vale. Lambethi, 20 Martii, 1552 <sup>m</sup>.

Tuæ paternitatis Studiosissimus,  
Thomas Cantuariensis.

<sup>k</sup> [See Letters CCLXXXIV, CCLXXXV.]

<sup>l</sup> [The news had been communicated both by Peter Martyr and Hoper himself. Hoper was consecrated Bishop of Gloucester, according to the usual form, in March 1551, and on the deprivation of Hethe, in Oct. of the same year, was appointed to the see of Worcester, which he held in *commendam*. Strype, *Cranm.* pp. 216. 218. Hess, *MS. Catalogue of Letters at Zurich*.]

<sup>m</sup> [Strype and Mr. Todd appear to limit Cranmer's exertions for a union of the reformed Churches, to the period between 1548 and 1550. Archbishop Lawrence extends them to 1551. (Strype, *Cranm.* pp. 208. 407, &c.; Todd, *Life of Cranm.* vol. ii. p. 221; Lawrence, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 224.) But it is clear, from this and the following Letters, that they were still continued in the following year. The hope, which the Archbishop so long cherished, of succeeding in this design, may perhaps have been one reason for his allowing five years to elapse, without any formal Declaration of Faith on the part of the English Church. For he must of course have felt, that the publication of a *separate* Formulary would add to the difficulties of agreeing on a *joint* one. See Preface.]

CCLXXXIV. To CALVIN <sup>n</sup>.*Th. Cranmerus Calvino.*

Arch. Eccl.  
 Tig.  
 Calvin.  
 Opera,  
 tom. ix. p.  
 268. Amst.  
 1667.

S. P. Ut nulla res Ecclesias magis dissipat, quam hæreses et dissidia circa dogmata religionis, ita nihil efficacius Ecclesias Dei congregat et potentius ovile Christi munit, quam incorrupta Evangelii doctrina et dogmatum consensus. Quare sæpius optavi atque etiamnum opto, ut docti et pii viri, qui alios antecellunt eruditione et judicio, in tutum aliquem locum convenirent, ubi communicato consilio et collatis sententiis, capita omnia ecclesiasticæ doctrinæ tractarent, et non solum de rebus ipsis, sed etiam de formis loquendi, gravi autoritate opus aliquod posteritati traderent. Adversarii nostri habent nunc Tridenti sua concilia, ut errores stabiliant, et nos piam Synodum congregare negligemus, ut errores refutare, dogmata repurgare et propagare possimus? Illi *περὶ τῆς ἀπολατρίας* (ut audio) decreta condunt<sup>o</sup>, quare nos omnem lapidem movere debemus, non solum ut alios adversus hanc idololatriam muniamus, sed etiam ut ipsi in doctrina hujus sacramenti consentiamus. Quantum Ecclesiam Dei labefactarint circa hoc unitatis sacramentum dissensiones et opinionum varietates, prudentiam tuam latere non potest: quæ etsi nunc alicubi sublatae sint, tamen in hac doctrina consensionem optarem, non solum de rebus ipsis, sed etiam de verbis et loquendi formulis. Habes meum votum, de quo etiam scripsi ad D. Philippum et ad D. Bullingerum, oroque ut vos inter vos deliberetis, qua ratione Synodus hæc congregari commodissime possit P. Vale. Lambethi, 20 Mart. 1552.

Frater tuus in Christo carissimus,

Th. Cantuariensis.

<sup>n</sup> [Printed from Mr. Salomon Hess's copy of the manuscript at Zurich.]

<sup>o</sup> [See Letter cclxxxiii. The decree of the Council of Trent on the Lord's Supper, was passed on the 11th of October 1551. Sleidan, *De Stat. Rel.* lib. 23.]

<sup>p</sup> [A letter is printed among Calvin's works, which is clearly an answer to this proposal of Cranmer, though Archbishop Lawrence has followed Beza in assigning it to the preceding year. It begins: "Tu quidem, illustrissime Domine, vere et prudenter in hoc tam confuso Ecclesiæ statu nullum aptius afferri posse remedium judicas, quam si

“inter se convenient pii, cordati, et in Dei schola probe exercitati homines, qui suum in pietatis doctrina consensum profiteantur.” After mentioning the arts of the papists, and the intemperance of some reformers, he declares, that those who are in authority must not be idle, since God “eodem sibi destituit ministros, quorum opera sanam in Ecclesia doctrinam ab omnibus corruptelis purget, ac incolumem ad posterum transmittat. Tibi præsertim, ornatissime Præsul, quo altiore in specula sedes, in hanc curam, ut facis, incumbere necesse est. Quod non ideo dico, quasi tibi addendum esse novum calcar existimem; qui non modo sponte præcurris, sed aliis quoque instas voluntarius hortator: verum ut te in tam fausto præclaroque studio, mea gratulatione confirmem.” Shortly afterwards he says: “Deinde scio non ita unius Angliæ haberi abs te rationem, quin orbi simul universo consulas. Regis serenissimi non modo generosa indoles, sed rara etiam pietas merito exosculanda, quod sanctum consilium de habendo ejusmodi conventu favore suo prosequitur, et locum in regno suo offert. Atque utinam impetrari posset, ut in locum aliquem docti et graves viri ex præcipuis Ecclesiis coirent, ac singulis fidei capitibus diligenter excussis, de communi omnium sententia certum posteris traderent doctrinam.” He then declares in strong terms his zeal for the completion of the work, but enlarges on its difficulties, and excuses himself from lending his assistance. “Quantum ad me attinet,” he says, “si quis mei usus fore videbitur, ne decem quidem maria, si opus sit, ob eam rem trajicere pigeat.”——“Verum tenuitatem meam facit spero, ut mihi parcatur. Si votis prosequar quod ab aliis susceptum erit, partibus meis defunctus ero. D. Philippus [Melancthon] longius abest, quam ut ultro citroque commear brevi tempore literæ queant. D. Bullingerus tibi forte jam rescripsit. Mihi utinam par studii ardori suppetet facultas.” He appears to have received soon afterwards an announcement from Cranmer, that the scheme was relinquished, and that it was now resolved to draw up a separate Confession of Faith for the Church of England. For he commences another letter thus: “Quando hoc tempore minime sperandum fuit, quod maxime optandum erat, ut ex diversis ecclesiis, quæ puram Evangelii doctrinam amplexæ sunt, convenirent præcipui quique doctores, ac ex puro Dei verbo certam de singulis capitibus hodie controversis ac dilucidam ad posterum confessionem ederent: consilium quod cepisti, reverende Domine, vehementer laudo, ut mature apud se religionem Angli constituent; ne diutius rebus incertis vel minus rite compositis queam decebat, suspensi hæreant plebis animi.” He then urges the Archbishop to complete the reformation, thinking, as it appears, that the spur which he had before said was not needed, might now be administered with advantage. He complains particularly of the want of efficient pastors. “Id quominus fiat, occultis quidem artibus obsistit Satan. Unum tamen apertum obstaculum esse intelligo, quod prædæ expositi sunt Ecclesiæ redditus. Malum sane intolerabile. Sed præter illam dissipationem, quæ nimis crassa est: non multo lenius mihi videtur aliud vitium, quod ex publico Ecclesiæ proventu aluntur otiosi venter, qui lingua incognita vespertas cantillent.” He had already made a similar complaint respecting the revenues of the Church to the Protector Somerset, in a letter dated the 25th of July 1551, which is printed by Strype. See Calvin, *Epist.* pp. 134 and 135. (Genev. 1616.) Lawrence, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 224; Strype, *Cranmer*, App. No. 58.]

CCLXXXV. TO MELANCTHON<sup>9</sup>.

*Doctissimo viro et amico suo singulari D. Philippo Melancthoni dentur hæc litteræ.*

Ex Epistolis  
ad Camerarios  
MSS.  
in Bibl.  
Cl. Meis-  
teri Past.  
in Küss-  
nach prope  
Tigur.

Legimus in Actis Apostolorum, cum orta esset controversia, an ii qui ex gentibus conversi fuerant ad Deum, adigendi essent ad circumcisionem et observationem legis Mosaicæ, convenisse Apostolos ac presbyteros ut dispicerent de hoc negotio, et collatis inter se sententiis, decretum Concilii sui epistola scripta edidisse. Hoc exemplum utinam et nos imitemur, in quorum Ecclesiis Evangelii doctrina restituta et repurgata est. Etsi autem omnes controversiæ in hoc mundo non possint dirimi, (quia pars inimica veritati, non adsentitur iudicio Ecclesiæ) tamen optandum est, ut veræ Ecclesiæ membra de præcipuis ecclesiasticæ doctrinæ capitibus inter se consentirent.

Quantum autem Ecclesiam dilacerarint dissensiones religionis, maxime in causa sacramentaria, prudentiam tuam latere non potest, quæ si antea compositæ fuissent, nunquam (opinor) Cæsar bellum vobis intulisset. Et dolendum sane est, sacramentum unitatis invidia diaboli factam esse escam dissidii, et veluti *μῆλον ξιδος*<sup>r</sup>. Quare optarem, ut ii qui alios antecellunt eruditione et iudicio, exemplo Apostolorum congregarentur, et sententiam tum de aliis capitibus controversis, tum de hac controversia mutuam exponerent, et consensum edito in publicum scripto testarentur. Sed fortasse dices: Idem et ego sæpissime optavi<sup>s</sup>; verum hæc res sine principum ope ad effectum deduci non potest. Ego igitur hac de re cum Regia Majestate. . .<sup>t</sup>, quæ Angliam suam vobis apertam esse vult, et ad hos pios conatus non solum locum tutum et quietem, verum etiam operam et auxilium suum benignissime pollicetur. Scripsi etiam ad D. Calvinum et ad D. Bullingerum, eosque hortatus sum, ne operi tam necessario, adeoque utili reipublicæ Christianæ deesse vel-

<sup>9</sup> [Printed from Mr. Salomon Hess's copy of the manuscript at Zurich.]

<sup>r</sup> [See Letter cclxxxiii. note (n).]

<sup>s</sup> [See Letter cclxxvi. note (r).]

<sup>t</sup> [Something seems to be omitted here.]

lent. In proximis ad me litteris scripsisti Areopagitas Concilii Tridentini περί της ἀπολατρείας decreta condere. Quare cum adversarii Evangelii tanto studio conveniunt ad errores stabiliendos, non est nobis committendum, ut illi sint diligentiores ad confirmandam impietatem, quam nos ad piam doctrinam propagandam et illustrandam.

Amori meo erga D. Georgium Majorem<sup>t</sup>, quem merita illius apud me pepererunt, magnam accessionem attulit commendatio tua, cui si qua in re gratificari potero, citius facultatem quam voluntatem mihi deesse experietur. Bene et feliciter vale. Lambethi, 27 Martii a. 1552.

Tui aliquando videndi cupidissimus,  
T. Cantuariens.

CCLXXXVI. TO KING EDWARD VI<sup>u</sup>.

*Thomas Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus R. Edwardo VI.  
Gratia et pax a Deo Patre et Domino nostro Jesu  
Christo.*

Etsi prudenter moneat Horatius, illustrissime Princeps,

“ Qualem commendes etiam atque etiam adspice, ne mox

“ Incutiant aliena tibi peccata pudorem :”

Bodl. Libr.  
Smith's  
MSS.  
LXIX. p.  
229.

tamen quum D. Radulphus Chevalærus \* Gallus me orave-

<sup>t</sup> [A life of this Wittemberg Professor will be found in Melchior Adam, *Vite Theol.* He gave offence to some of his brethren, by the unguarded terms in which he insisted on the necessity of good works.]

<sup>u</sup> [A note on the manuscript in the Bodleian Library states that it was copied “ ex autographo.”]

<sup>\*</sup> [Rafe Cavelarius or Cavalier, otherwise called Mr. Anthony, a native of France, assisted Tremellius in reading Hebrew lectures at Cambridge: for which he had a grant to be a free denizen, and to enjoy the advowson of a prebend in Canterbury. The grant was dated in August 1552. Under Elizabeth he was again in England, and being appointed, by means of Sir Anthony Cook and Sir William Cecil, Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, was sent down there in 1569, with a letter of recommendation from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, (Parker and Grindal.) In the same year he was admitted to the seventh prebend in the Church of Canterbury. He is supposed to have died in Guernsey in 1572. Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. pp. 207, 531; *Annals*, vol. i. p. 567, and App. No. 41; *Life of Parker*, p. 366.]



rit, ut aditum aliquem ad gratiam tuam commendatione mea illi aperirem, non potui juveni optimo hoc officii denegare, tum quod is olim a piæ memoriæ viro D. Bucero commendatus mihi fuerat; tum quod hoc merentur singularis ejus modestia et eruditio, quæ domestica consuetudine mihi cognita et explorata sunt. Nam annum integrum aut amplius domi meæ vixit, ubi eximiæ pietatis et ingenii excellentis plurima documenta dedit; postea Cantabrigiam profectus, Hebraicas literas, non sine magna auditorum laude et utilitate, gratis professus est. Victum autem non aliunde habet, quum ex me et Domino Eliensi ⁊ Cancellario, qui pro facultatibus nostris annum quoddam stipendium illi numeramus. Sed quum nunc tanta sit temporum iniquitas ut omnia fere duplo carius quam antea veneant, necessitas eum cogit ad tuam Majestatem omnium piorum et eruditorum asylum confugere, et a tua benignitate subsidium petere. Nihil attinet me plura scribere, cum norim voluntatem Majestatis vestræ erga pios et doctos esse benignissimam: tantum significare volui D. Radulphum in talium catalogo esse numerandum, illud obsecrans ut ad eam voluntatem quam sua sponte M. T. erga Radulphum propter præclaras illius dotes habitura esset, aliquis cumulus accedat, quod peregrinus sit: nam. de talibus diserte dicit Moses, *Deus amat peregrinum, et dat ei victum et vestitum, et vos ergo amate peregrinos.* Debent vero præ aliis hi qui Dii in Scripturis dicuntur, Deum in hoc pietatis genere imitari, et ad illius similitudinem quam proxime accedere. Quod si curarit Majestas tua, Dominus noster Jesus Christus (qui sibi acceptum fert quod hospitibus datur) non solum in hac vita te gubernabit, et mansionem apud te faciet, sed et hac vita defunctum in æterna sua tabernacula introducet, et pro regno temporario perpetuum daturus est. [1552.]

Serenissimæ tuæ

Majestatis famulus,

T. Cant.

⁊ [Thomas Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, was sworn in as Lord Chancellor on the 22nd of Jan. 1552. Stow, *Annals.*]

## CCLXXXVII. To CECIL.

After my most hearty commendations and thanks, as Strype,  
 well for your gentil letters, as for the copy of the Pacifi- <sup>Cranmer,</sup>  
 cation<sup>y</sup>, and for your good remembrance of the two matters, <sup>App. No.</sup>  
 which I desired you not to forget, the one concerning the <sup>67. from</sup>  
 B. of Colen's<sup>z</sup> letters, and the other, Mr. Mowse<sup>a</sup>: for <sup>Sir Wm.</sup>  
 whom eftsoons I give you my most hearty thanks. <sup>Hicks's</sup>  
<sup>MSS.</sup>

As for your admonition, I take it most thankfully, as I  
 have ever been most glad to be admonished by my friends,  
 accounting no man so foolish as he that will not hear  
 friendly admonishments. But as for the saying of S. Paul  
*Qui volunt ditescere, incidunt in tentationem*, I fear it not  
 half so much, as I do stark beggary. For I took not half  
 so much care for my living, when I was a scholar of Cam-  
 bridge, as I do at this present. For although I have now  
 much more revenue, yet I have much more to do withal:  
 and have more care to live now as an archbishop, than I  
 had at that time to live like a scholar. I have not so much  
 as I had within ten years passed by 150*l.* of certain rent,  
 beside casualties. I pay double for every thing that I buy.

<sup>y</sup> [The Pacification of Passau, which secured to the German pro-  
 testants liberty of worship for the present, and which laid the founda-  
 tion of the definitive peace of religion agreed on in 1555, was concluded  
 on the 31st of July 1552. The paper here alluded to seems to have  
 been a draft for it. See Letter cclxxxix. Sleidan, *De Statu Relig.* lib.  
 xxiv.]

<sup>z</sup> [See Letter cclxxxiii. note (k.) "What the contents of these let-  
 ters of the Archbishop of Cologne were, it appeareth not: but I am  
 very apt to think the purport of them was, that Cranmer should  
 solicit some certain business in the English court relating to the  
 affairs of religion in Germany, and for the obtaining some favour from  
 the King in that cause." Strype, *Cranm.* p. 286.]

<sup>a</sup> [Master of Trinity Hall Cambridge. See a memoir of him in Strype,  
*Cranm.* p. 400. "He seemed," says that writer, "to be none of the  
 steadiest in his religion." And the charge is fully proved. For  
 upon the first tidings that fled to Cambridge of Queen Mary's success  
 against the Lady Jane's party, he with several other temporising uni-  
 versity men, changed his religion, and in four and twenty hours was  
 both protestant and papist." . . . "And when the next change happened  
 under Queen Elizabeth, Mowse came about again, and in the year  
 1560, obtained a prebend in the church of York. He lived till the  
 year 1588." Strype, *ibid.*]

If a good auditor have this account, he shall find no great surplusage to wax rich upon <sup>b</sup>.

And if I knew any bishop that were covetous, I would surely admonish him, but I know none, but all beggars, except it be one <sup>c</sup>, and yet I dare well say he is not very rich. If you know any, I beseech you to advertise me, for peradventure I may advertise him better than you. To be short, I am not so doted to set my mind upon things here, which neither I can carry away with me, nor tarry long with them. If time would have served, I would have written of other things unto you, but your servant making haste, compelleth me here to cut off the thread; beseeching Almighty God to preserve the King's Majesty with all his Council and family, and send him well to return from his progress <sup>d</sup>. From my manor of Croydon, the xxi. of July.

Your own ever,

T. Cant.

To my loving friend Sir William  
Cycil, one of the King's Majesty's  
principal Secretaries.

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CCLXXXVIII. To CECIL.

Strype,  
*Cranmer*,  
App. No.

Though in England there be many meet men for the  
Archbishoprics of Ireland, yet I know very few that will

<sup>b</sup> [See an entertaining narrative of the mode adopted by Henry VIII. for refuting an accusation of covetousness brought against the Archbishop by Sir Thomas Seymour, in Strype, *Cranm.* p. 432. The complaint of poverty which Cranmer here makes, is strongly supported by the frequent mention of debts which occurs in his Letters, and by the account given by Strype of the manner in which the see of Canterbury was fleeced by Henry VIII. *Cranmer*, pp. 281. 434.]

<sup>c</sup> [Probably Robert Holgate, Archbishop of York. "In this month of May [1552] did Holgate Archbishop of York, the only wealthy bishop then in England, bestow some part of his wealth very commendably, for the benefit of his successors in that see. For he made purchase from the King of the lordship and manor of Scroby." Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 402.]

<sup>d</sup> ["To divert the King after the loss of his uncle, whom he dearly loved, Northumberland took him in progress in the summer of this year." [1552.] Strype, *Cranm.* p. 279. On the 20th of July he was at Petworth. *Edw. VI's Journal*.]

gladly be persuaded to go thither. Nevertheless I have <sup>65. from</sup> sent unto you the names of four, viz. Mr. Whiteheade of <sup>Sir Wm. Hickes's MSS.</sup> Hadley, Mr. Tournier of Canterbury, Sir Thomas Rosse, and Sir Robert Wisdome<sup>e</sup>. Which being ordinarily called, I think for conscience sake will not refuse to bestow the talent committed unto them, wheresoever it shall please the King's Majesty to appoint them. Among whom I take Mr. Whiteheade for his good knowledge, special honesty, fervent zeal, and politic wisdom, to be most meet. And next him Mr. Tournier, who, besides that he is merry and witty withal, *nihil appetit, nihil ardet, nihil somniat, nisi Jesum Christum*; and in the lively preaching of him and his word declareth such diligence, faithfulness, and wisdom, as for the same deserveth much commendation. There is also one Mr. Whitacre<sup>f</sup>, a man both wise and well learned, chaplain to the Bishop of Winchester, very meet for that office, if he might be persuaded to take it upon him.

I pray you commend me unto Mr. Cheke, and declare unto him, that mine ague, whether it were a quotidian, or a double tertian (whereof my physicians doubted) hath left me these two days, and so I trust I am quit thereof: notwithstanding my water keepeth still an high colour. Now the most danger is, that if it come again this night, it is like to turn to a quartan. However the matter chance, the most grief to me is, that I cannot proceed in such matters as I have in hand, according to my will and desire. This *terrenum domicilium* is such an obstacle to all good purposes. Forasmuch as I perceive that the King's Majesty's progress is altered, I pray you send me the gests of the latter end of his progress, from this time unto the end, that I may from time to time know where his Majesty shall be; whom I beseech Almighty God to preserve and

<sup>e</sup> [Memoirs of all these divines will be found in Strype, *Cranm.* p. 274, &c. Respecting Thomas Rosse, see also Letter xcviir.]

<sup>f</sup> ["I suppose this might be a slip of the Archbishop's pen or memory, writing Whitacre for Goodacre, who afterwards was placed in that Irish see, [Armagh,] and had been Poynt's chaplain." Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 274. Some further account of him will be found, *ibid.* p. 278. See also *Phanix*, vol. i. p. 131.]

prosper in all his affairs, with his most honourable Council and all his Court. From my manor of Croydon, the xxvth. of August, 1552.

Your own assured,  
T. Cant.

To my very loving friend Sir William  
Cecyl, knight, one of the King's  
Majesty's principal Secretaries.

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CCLXXXIX. To CECIL.

Strype,  
*Crummer*,  
App. No.  
106. from  
Sir Wm.  
Hickes's  
MSS.

After my very hearty commendations; I thank you for your news, but specially for that ye advertise me that the King's Majesty is in good health; wherein I beseech God long to continue his Highness, as he hath twice (as I trust) restored me to the same.

It seemeth by your letters, that a peace should be concluded betwixt the Emperor and Duke Morrise, which, whether it be according to the articles that afore ye sent unto me<sup>z</sup>, or otherwise, I would gladly understand.

The commodity that might arise by printing the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of Sacraments in the French tongue, (if any be,) I reckon it were meet that it should come to them which have already taken pains in translating the same; which was first done by Sir Hugh Paullet's<sup>h</sup> commandment, and overseen by my Lord Chancellor<sup>i</sup>, and other at his appointment: and now altered according to that which must be put in execution at the feast of All Saints next<sup>k</sup>, at the appointment of my Lord Chancellor, by a learned Frenchman, a doctor in divinity. And therefore needless of any other to be travailed in. Aug. 26, 1552.

<sup>z</sup> [See Letter cclxxxvii.]

<sup>h</sup> [Governor of Calais. Strype.]

<sup>i</sup> [Thomas Goodrich, Bishop of Ely.]

<sup>k</sup> [This was the *second* Service Book of Edward VI, which was ordered, by Act of Parliament, to be every where used on the All Saints day following. A translation of the *first* Book, it seems, had been

## CCXC. To CECIL.

After my very hearty recommendations ; now at the last, <sup>Strype,</sup> against his will, Turner<sup>1</sup> is come up unto the Court. He <sup>Cranm.</sup> preached twice in the camp that was by Canterbury<sup>m</sup> ; for <sup>App. No.</sup> the which the rebels would have hanged him : and he seemed <sup>66. from</sup> then more glad to go to hanging, than he doth now to go <sup>Sir Wm.</sup> to Armachane, he alleged so many excuses, but the chief is <sup>Hickes's</sup> this, that he shall preach to the walls and stalls, for the <sup>MSS.</sup> people understand no English. I bear him in hand, Yes, and yet I doubt whether they speak English in the diocese of Armachane. But if they do not, then I say, that if he will take the pain to learn the Irish tongue, (which with diligence he may do in a year or two) then both his person and doctrine shall be more acceptable not only unto his diocese, but also throughout all Ireland<sup>n</sup>. I commit him to your cure, praying you to help him to have as ready a dispatch as may be, for he hath but a little money.

I have sent the book of Articles for Religion<sup>o</sup> unto Mr. Cheke, set in a better order than it was, and the titles upon every matter, adding thereto that which lacked. I pray you consider well the Articles with Mr. Cheke, and whether you think best to move the King's Majesty therein before my coming ; I refer that unto your two wisdoms.

I pray you let me have your advice unto whom I might best write concerning Rayner Wolfe<sup>p</sup> ; for I wot not to whom I might write, but to my Lord of Northumberland. The everliving God ever preserve you in this life, and in

already published for the use of Calais, Jersey, and Guernsey ; but it was now of course necessary to print a new edition containing the last corrections. This was not completed till 1553. See Strype, *Cranm.* p. 290.]

<sup>1</sup> [See Letter cclxxxviii.]

<sup>m</sup> [During the insurrection in 1549. See Strype, *Cranm.* p. 275.]

<sup>n</sup> [Turner after all did not go to Ireland : and the Archbishopric of Armagh was conferred on Hugh Goodacre. See Letter cclxxxviii.]

<sup>o</sup> [The Forty Two Articles of 1552. See Strype, *Cranm.* p. 272.]

<sup>p</sup> [See Letter cclxxxii ; and Strype, *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 357.]

the life to come. From Croydon, the xixth of September.  
[1552.]

Your assured friend,  
T. Cant.

To my loving friend Sir William  
Cecyl, Knight, one of the King's  
Majesty his principal Secretaries.

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CCXCI. To CECIL.

Strype,  
*Cranm.*  
App. No.  
107. from  
Sir Wm.  
Hickes's  
MSS.  
Todd, *Life*  
*of Cranm.*  
vol. ii. p.  
354.

After my very hearty recommendations, and no less thanks for your friendly letters and advertisements; be you assured, that I take the same in such part, and to proceed of such a friendly mind, as I have ever looked for at your hands. Whereof I shall not be unmindful, if occasion hereafter shall serve to requite the same. I have written letters unto my Lord of Northumberland, declaring unto him the cause of my stay in the commission<sup>9</sup>; which is, because that all the gentlemen and justices of the peace of Kent, which be in commission with me, be now at London: before whose coming home, if I should proceed without them, I might perchance travail in vain, and take more pain than I should do good. I have written also unto him in the favour of Michael Angelo<sup>r</sup>: whose cause I pray you to help so much as lieth in you.

The Sophy and the Turk, the Emperor and the French King<sup>s</sup> (not much better in religion than they) rolling the

<sup>9</sup> [This was a commission "for inquiry after such as had embezzled the plate and goods belonging to chauntries, &c. given by the parliament to the King, and converting them to their own uses. But this being somewhat an odious work, he was not very forward to enter upon, especially because he thought, whatsoever he and the other commissioners should recover, would be but swallowed up by the Duke of Northumberland and his friends." Strype, *Cranm.* p. 292.]

<sup>r</sup> ["The minister of the Italian protestant Church in London." Todd, *Life of Cranmer.*]

<sup>s</sup> [Henry II. King of France, and the Sultan Solymán, were at this time acting in concert against the Emperor. See Turner, *Modern Hist. of England.*]

stone, or turning the wheel of fortune up and down, I pray God send us peace and quietness with all realms, as well as among ourselves; and to preserve the King's Majesty, with all his Council. Thus fare you well. From my house of Forde, the xx. day of November, Anno 1552.

Your assured,  
T. Cant.

To my loving friend Sir William Cecil,  
Knight, and Secretary to the King's  
Majesty.

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CCXCII. TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

After my very humble recommendations unto your good Lordships; I have sent unto the same the book of Articles<sup>t</sup> which yesterday I received from your lordships. I have sent also a cedula enclosed, declaring briefly my mind upon the said book: beseeching your lordships to be means unto the King's Majesty, that all the bishops may have authority from him, to cause all their preachers, archdeacons, deans, prebendaries, parsons, vicars, curates, with all their clergy, to subscribe to the said Articles<sup>u</sup>. And then I trust, that

Strype,  
*Cranm.*  
App. No.  
64. from  
Sir Wm.  
Hickes's  
MSS.

Todd, *Life*  
*of Cran-*  
*mer*, vol. ii.  
p. 289.

<sup>t</sup> [The Forty Two Articles mentioned above, p. 355.]

<sup>u</sup> [It does not appear that any such authority as Cranmer here applied for, was given before June in the following year, when a letter from the King was sent to the bishops, willing and exhorting them to subscribe these Articles, and observe them in their preachings, readings, and teachings, and also to cause them to be subscribed and observed of all other, which do or hereafter shall preach or read within their dioceses. Those who being beneficed, not only refused to set their hands to them, but also obstinately exhorted their parishioners to withstand the same, were to be reported to the Council. And those who were presented to any ecclesiastical office, were to be refused admission to it, unless they subscribed. A mandate in accordance with this letter was issued in the King's name on the 19th of June, 1553, requiring all rectors, vicars, &c. to appear before their ordinary at a certain time, "his, quæ tunc eis ex parte nostra fuerint significanda, humiliter obtemperaturus, facturosque ulterius et recepturos, quod consonans fuerit rationi, ac suo convenerit erga nostram regiam dignitatem officio." See



such a concord and quietness in religion shall shortly follow thereof, as else is not to be looked for many years. God shall thereby be glorified, his truth shall be advanced, and your lordships shall be rewarded of Him, as the setters forward of his true word and gospel. Unto whom is my daily prayer, without ceasing, to preserve the King's Majesty; with all your honourable lordships. From my house at Forde, the 24. of this present month of November. [1552.]

Your lordships ever to command,

T. Cant.

To my very good lords of the King's  
Majesty his most honourable Coun-  
cil.

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CCXCIII. TO CECIL.

Strype,  
*Cranm.*  
App. No.  
108. from  
Sir Wm.  
Hickes's  
MSS.

After my hearty commendations and thanks for your letters; there is no man more loth to be in contention with any man, than I am, specially with my Lord Warden<sup>u</sup>, my near neighbour, dwelling both in one country, and whose familiar and entire friendship I most desire, for the quietness of the whole country. For the example of the rulers and heads will the people and members follow.

And as touching learned men I shall send you my mind with as much expedition as I can, which by this post I can not do, even in the cold snow sitting upon coals, until he be

Appendix, No. XLIII; Burnet, *Ref.* vol. iii. book iv. No. 8; Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 421; Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iv. p. 79. In the reign of Mary it was one of the charges brought against the Archbishop, that he *compelled* his clergy to subscribe; but it was not proved, and he himself denied it, declaring that he exhorted such as were willing, to subscribe, but against their wills compelled none. See *Examination before Brokes*, vol. iv. p. 102. And Ridley also made a similar answer to a similar accusation; 'I compelled,' he said, 'no man to subscribe.' Foxe, *Acts, &c.*]

<sup>u</sup> ["It was Sir Thomas Cheyne, who lived not far from him; and so "probably it might be about some worldly matters." Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 453.]

gone. But heartily fare you well in the Lord Jesus. From Forde, the last day of November. [1552.]

Your loving friend,  
T. Cant.

To my loving friend Sir William  
Cecill, Knight, Secretary to the  
King's Majesty, Yeve these.

#### CCXCIV. To CECIL.

After my very hearty recommendations; yester night I <sup>Strype,</sup> heard reported that Mr. Cheke is indicted\*: I pray you <sup>Cranm.</sup> heartily, if you know any thing thereof, to send me know- <sup>App. No.</sup> ledge, and whereupon he is indicted. I had great trust <sup>109. from</sup> that he should be one of them that should feel the Queen's <sup>Sir Wm.</sup> great mercy and pardon, as one who hath been none of the <sup>Hickes's</sup> great doers in this matter against her: and my trust is not <sup>MSS.</sup> yet gone, except it be for his earnestness in religion. For <sup>Todd, Life</sup> the which if he suffer, blessed is he of God, that suffereth <sup>of Cran-</sup> for his sake, howsoever the world judge of him. For what <sup>mer, vol. ii.</sup> ought we to care for the judgment of the world, when God <sup>p. 371.</sup> absolveth us? But alas, if any means could be made for him, or for my Lord Russel, it were not to be omitted, nor in any wise neglected. But I am utterly destitute both of counsel in this matter and of power, being in the same condemnation that they be<sup>y</sup>. But that only thing which

\* [Sir John Cheke had favoured the settlement of the Crown on Lady Jane Grey, and had acted as Secretary of State during her short reign. On "the 28th of July he was committed to the Tower as a traitor. And "whereas the rest that acted as Queen Jane's counsellors, being either "papists, or indifferent in religion, were easily pardoned; Cheke and "some few others were sent to the Tower, or kept under harder and "longer restraint. An indictment was drawn against him the 12th or "13th day of August, and his friends feared it would go hard with "him." But, "the next year, being almost spoiled of all his substance, "he obtained the favour of the Queen's pardon." Strype, *Life of Cheke*, chap. v. sect. 2. The same work may be consulted for an account of his subsequent imprisonment and recantation.]

<sup>y</sup> [It seems that at this time Cranmer, for the unwilling support which he had given to Lady Jane Grey, was ordered "to keep his house, and "be forthcoming." In September "he was committed to the Tower,

I can do, I shall not cease to do, and that is only to pray for them and for myself, with all other that be now in adversity. When I saw you at the Court, I would fain have talked with you, but I durst not<sup>z</sup>: nevertheless if you could find a time to come over to me, I would gladly commune with you. Thus fare you heartily well, with my lady your wife. From Lamhith, this 14. day of this month of August. [1553.]

Your own assured,  
T. Cant.

To my very loving friend Sir William  
Cecyl, knight.

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### CCXCV. TO QUEEN MARY.

Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 1. Most lamentably mourning and moaning himself unto your Highness, Thomas Cranmer<sup>a</sup>, although unworthy either to write or speak unto your Highness, yet having no

"partly for setting his hand to the instrument of the Lady Jane's succession, and partly for the public offer he made a little before of justifying openly the religious proceedings of the deceased King. But the chief reason was the inveterate malice his enemies conceived against him, for the divorce of King Henry from the Queen's mother." Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 307. Foxe also speaks of the Queen's "old grudge against the Archbishop for the divorcement of her mother," and applies to it the lines of Virgil, slightly altered:

Manet alta mente repostum  
Judicium Paridis, spretæque injuria matris.

*Acts*, &c. vol. iii. p. 648. See *Declaration concerning the Mass*, (vol. iv. p. 1.)]

<sup>z</sup> ["He durst not, as it seems, out of his love and care of him, lest his very talking with Cecyl might have been prejudicial to that pardon, which he [Cecil] now lay fair for." Strype, *ibid.*]

<sup>a</sup> [Cranmer, the Lady Jane, her husband, and two other sons of the Duke of Northumberland, were tried on the 13th of November at Guildhall, and found guilty of high treason. The Parliament which was then sitting, confirmed this judgment by an Act of attainder. 1 Mar. St. 2. c. 16. "And now Cranmer was legally divested of his archbishopric, which was hereupon void in law, since a man that is attainted can have no right to any church benefice. But it being now designed to restore the ecclesiastical exemption and dignity to what it had been anciently, it was resolved that he should be still esteemed archbishop, till he was solemnly degraded according to the canon law." Burnet, *Ref.* vol. ii. p. 515. Accordingly, degradation from his

person that I know to be mediator for me, and knowing your pitiful ears ready to hear all pitiful complaints, and seeing so many before to have felt your abundant clemency in like case, am now constrained most lamentably, and with most penitent and sorrowful heart, to ask mercy and pardon for my heinous folly and offence, in consenting and following the testament and will of our late Sovereign Lord King Edward VI. your Grace's brother; which will, God he knoweth, I never liked; nor never any thing grieved me so much that your Grace's brother did. And if by any means it had been in me to have letted the making of that will, I would have done it. And what I said therein, as well to the Council as to himself, divers of your Majesty's Council can report: but none so well as the Marquis of Northampton, and the Lord Darcy, then Lord Chamberlain to the King's Majesty; which two were present at the communication between the King's Majesty and me. I desired to talk with the King's Majesty alone, but I could not be suffered, and so I failed of my purpose. For if I might have communed with the King alone, and at good leisure, my trust was, that I should have altered him from that purpose, but they being present, my labour was in vain.

*Strype, Cranmer, App. No.*

*He desired to be released of his offence for consenting unto King Edward's will, and so he was; but after was accused of heresy; which he best liked, for then he knew his cause was Christ's. [Coverdale b.]*

Then when I could not dissuade him from the said will, and both he and his Privy Council also, informed me that the Judges and his learned counsel said, that the act of entailing the Crown, made by his father, could not be prejudicial to him: but that he being in possession of the Crown, might make his will thereof; this seemed very strange unto me; but being the sentence of the Judges, and other his learned counsel in the laws of this realm, (as both he and his Council informed me) methought it became not me, being unlearned in the law, to stand against my Prince therein. And so at length I was required by the King's Majesty himself to set to my hand to his will;

archbishopric formed part of the final sentence passed on him by the Pope two years afterwards, in Dec. 1555. See vol. iv. pp. 118. 128; Foxe, *Acts, &c.* vol. iii. p. 997.]

<sup>b</sup> [The marginal notes in this and some of the following Letters are preserved from the old editions.]

saying, that he trusted that I alone would not be more repugnant to his will then the rest of the Council were: (which words surely grieved my heart very sore,) and so I granted him to subscribe his will, and to follow the same. Which when I had set my hand unto, I did it unfeignedly and without dissimulation<sup>c</sup>.

For the which I submit myself most humbly unto your Majesty, acknowledging mine offence with most grievous and sorrowful heart, and beseeching your mercy and pardon: which my heart giveth me shall not be denied unto me, being granted before to so many, which travailed not so much to dissuade both the King and his Council as I did.

And whereas it is contained in two Acts of Parliament<sup>d</sup>, as I understand, that I, with the Duke of Northumberland, should devise and compass the deprivation of your Majesty from your royal Crown, surely it is untrue. For the Duke never opened his mouth to me, to move me any such matter, nor I him; nor his heart was not such toward me, (seeking long time my destruction,) that he would either trust me in such a matter, or think that I would be persuaded by him. It was other of the Council that moved me, and the King himself, the Duke of Northumberland not being present. Neither before, neither after, had I ever any privy communication with the Duke of that matter, saving that openly at the Council table the Duke said unto me, that it became not me to say to the King as I did, when I went about to dissuade him from the said will.

Now as concerning the estate of religion, as it is used in

<sup>c</sup> [See Burnet, *Ref.* vol. ii. p. 458, &c. who seems to think that Cranmer may have had recourse to the same distinction as Cecil, that he subscribed, not as a *counsellor*, but as a *witness*. But there is no trace of any such subterfuge in the simple and straight forward statement of the Archbishop. See Letter ccxcvii.]

<sup>d</sup> [One of these Acts probably is 1 Mary St. ii. c. 16. "for confirming the attainder of the late Duke of Northumberland and others," the preamble to which names Cranmer among those, who "have committed many detestable and abominable treasons, to the most fearful peril and danger of the destruction of your most royal person, and to the utter loss, and disherison, and destruction of this your realm of England." *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. iv. p. 217.]

this realm of England at this present, if it please your Highness to license me, I would gladly write my mind unto your Majesty. I will never, God willing, be author of sedition, to move subjects from the obedience of their heads and rulers: which is an offence most detestable. If I have uttered my mind to your Majesty, being a Christian queen and governor of this realm, (of whom I am most assuredly persuaded, that your gracious intent is, above all other regards, to prefer God's true word, his honour and glory,) if I have uttered, I say, my mind unto your Majesty, then I shall think myself discharged. For it lieth not in me, but in your Grace only, to see the reformation of things that be amiss. To private subjects it appertaineth not to reform things, but quietly to suffer that they cannot amend. Yet nevertheless to show your Majesty my mind in things appertaining unto God, methink it my duty, knowing that I do, and considering the place which in times past I have occupied. Yet will I not presume thereunto without your Grace's pleasure first known, and your license obtained: whereof I most humbly prostrate to the ground do beseech your Majesty; and I shall not cease daily to pray to Almighty God for the good preservation of your Majesty from all enemies bodily and ghostly, and for the increase of all goodness heavenly and earthly, during my life, as I do and will do, whatsoever come of me.

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CCXCVI. TO MRS. WILKINSON<sup>e</sup>.

The true comforter in all distress is only God, through

MSS.  
Emmanuel  
Coll. Camb.

<sup>e</sup> ["The favourers of religion, seeing it was now determined to proceed in all manner of severity against them, began to flee into other countries for their safety as fast as they could. Indeed there were some that made a case of conscience of it: among the rest, one Mrs. Wilkinson, a woman of good quality, and a great reliever of good men. Her the Archbishop out of prison advised to escape, and avoid a place where she could not truly and rightly serve God." Strype, *Cranm.* p. 313. A letter to her from Bishop Hoper, and two or three from Bradford, will be found in the *Letters of the Martyrs*, and in Foxe. In the Preface to the Embden edition of *Cranmer's Defence*,

Coverdale's *Lett-  
ers of the  
Martyrs*,  
p. 23.

Foxe, *Acts*,  
&c. vol. iii.  
p. 677.  
Strype,  
*Cremm.*  
App. No.  
72.

his Son Jesus Christ, and whosoever hath Him, hath company enough, although he were in a wilderness all alone. And he that hath twenty thousand in his company, if God be absent, he is in a miserable wilderness and desolation. In Him is all comfort, and without Him is none. Wherefore I beseech you, seek your dwelling there, whereas you may truly and rightly serve God, and dwell in Him, and have Him ever dwelling in you. What can be so heavy a burden as an unquiet conscience, to be in such a place as a man cannot be suffered to serve God in Christ's true religion? If you be loth to part from your kin and friends, remember, that Christ calleth them his mother, sisters, and brothers, that do his Father's will. Where we find therefore God truly honoured according to his will, there we can lack neither friend nor kin.

If you be loth to depart for slandering of God's word, remember, that Christ, when his hour was not yet come, departed out of his country into Samaria, to avoid the malice of the Scribes and Pharisees; and commanded his Apostles, that if they were pursued in one place, they should fly to another. And was not Paul let down by a basket out at a window, to avoid the persecution of Aretas? And what wisdom and policy he used from time to time, to escape the malice of his enemies, the Acts of the Apostles do declare. And after the same sort did the other Apostles. Mary, when it came to such a point, that they could no longer escape danger of the persecutors of God's true religion, then they showed themselves, that their flying before came not of fear, but of godly wisdom to do more good, and that they would not rashly, without urgent necessity, offer themselves to death; which had been but a temptation of God. Yet, when they were apprehended, and could no longer avoid, then they stood boldly to the profession of Christ: then they showed, how little they passed of

she and the Duchess of Suffolk are mentioned as women deserving of an everlasting name, who had left their country for conscience sake. Foxe states that she died in exile at Frankfort. *Acts*, &c. vol. iii. p. 164.]

death: how much they feared God more than men: how much they loved and preferred the eternal life to come, above this short and miserable life.

Wherefore I exhort you, as well by Christ's commandment as by the example of Him and his Apostles, to withdraw yourself from the malice of your and God's enemies, into some place where God is most purely served. Which is no slandering of the truth, but a preserving of yourself to God and the truth, and to the society and comfort of Christ's little flock. And that you will do, do it with speed, lest by your own folly you fall into the persecutors' hands. And the Lord send his holy Spirit to lead and guide you, wheresoever you go. And all that be godly will say, Amen.

T. Cranmer.

CCXCVII. TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL<sup>f</sup>.

In most humble wise sueth unto your right honourable lordships Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury §; beseeching the same to be a means for me unto the

MSS.  
Emman.  
Coll. Camb.

<sup>f</sup> [In this and the preceding Letter, the manuscript copies in the Library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, have been followed in printing. In the present case the Emmanuel copy differs considerably from those in Foxe and Strype, but agrees, excepting a few words, with that in the *Letters of the Martyrs*.]

<sup>§</sup> [According to Foxe, Cranmer was now released from his action of treason, and accused only of heresy; but Strype states, and his statement is supported by this Letter, that "so little favour could he find at Court, that he had not yet this pardon absolutely granted him." However this might be, "it had been determined by the Queen and the Council, that he should be removed from the Tower, where he was prisoner, to Oxford, there to dispute with the doctors and divines. And although the Queen and the bishops had concluded before what should become of him, yet it pleased them that the matter should be debated with arguments, that under some honest show of disputation the murder of the man might be covered." Foxe, *Acts*, &c. vol. iii. p. 648. For this *Disputation*, which ended in his condemnation for heresy on the 20th of April 1554, see vol. iv. pp. 4, 77. "On Monday next ensuing, after these things done and past, being the 23rd of the said month of April, Dr. Weston, Prolocutor, took his journey up to London, by whom the Archbishop of Canterbury directed his letters supplicatory unto the Council. The which letters after the Prolocutor had received, and had carried them well near half way to London, by



Coverdale's Queen's Highness for her mercy and pardon. Some of you know by what means I was brought and trained unto the will of our late Sovereign Lord King Edward VI, and what I spake against the same; wherein I refer me to the reports of your honours<sup>b</sup>.

*Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 16.  
*Foxt, Acts, &c.* vol. iii. p. 92.  
 Strype, *Cramm.* App. No. 79.

They put to him three questions, but they suffered him not to answer fully in one. [Coverdale.]

Furthermore, this is to signify unto your lordships, that upon Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday last past, were open disputations here in Oxford, against me, Master Ridley, and Master Latymer, in three matters concerning the sacrament. First, of the real presence. Secondly, of transubstantiation. And thirdly, of the sacrifice of the mass. How the other two were used I cannot tell; for we were separated: so that none of us knew what the other said, nor how they were ordered. But as concerning myself, I can report, that I never knew nor heard of a more confused disputation in all my life. For albeit there was one appointed to dispute against me, yet every man spake his mind, and brought forth what him liked without order. And such haste was made, that no answer could be suffered to be given fully to any argument, before another brought a new argument. And in such weighty and large matters there was no remedy, but the disputations must needs be ended in one day, which can scantily well be ended in three months. And when we had answered them, then they would not appoint us one day to bring forth our proofs, that they might answer us again, being required of me thereunto: whereas I myself have more to say, than can be well discussed in twenty days. The means to resolve the truth had been, to have suffered us to answer fully to all that they could say, and then they again to answer to all that we could say. But why they would not answer us, what other cause can there be, but that either they feared the matter, that they were not able to answer us; or else (as by their haste might well appear) they came, not to speak

"the way he opened the same, and seeing the contents thereof, sent them back again, refusing to carry them." *Foxt, Acts, &c.* vol. iii. p. 92. The Letter here printed seems to be that which Weston thus refused to deliver.]

<sup>b</sup> [See Letter ccxcv.]

the truth, but to condemn us in post haste, before the truth might be thoroughly tried and heard? for in all haste we were all three condemned of heresy upon Friday. Thus much I thought good to signify unto your lordships, that you may know the indifferent handling of matters, leaving the judgment thereof unto your wisdoms. And I beseech your lordships to remember me, a poor prisoner, unto the Queen's Majesty; and I shall pray, as I do daily, unto God for the long preservation of your good lordships in all godliness and felicity. April 23. [1554.]

Behold Satan sleepeth not. Their cruel desire to revenge could abide no delay. [Cover-dule.]

### CCXCVIII. TO MARTYN AND STORY<sup>i</sup>.

I have me commended unto you; and, as I promised, I have sent my letters unto the Queen's Majesty unsigned, praying you to sign them, and deliver them with all speed. I might have sent them by the carrier sooner, but not surer: but hearing Master Bailiff say, that he would go to the Court on Friday, I thought him a meeter messenger to send my letters by; for better is later and surer, than sooner and never to be delivered. Yet one thing I have written to the Queen's Majesty enclosed and sealed, which I require you may be so delivered without delay<sup>k</sup>, and not be opened

Certain Letters to the Queen, &c. Foxe, *Acts*, &c. vol. iii. p. 676.

<sup>i</sup> [The sentence mentioned in the last Letter "was void in law; because the authority of the Pope was not yet received;" therefore "there was a new commission sent from Rome for the conviction of Cranmer. Brokes, Bishop of Gloucester, was the Pope's subdelegate under Cardinal de Puteo, and Martyn and Story, doctors of the civil law, were the Queen's commissioners." Strype, *Cranm.* p. 371. For their proceedings, see vol. iv. p. 79, &c. The present Letter was obviously written after these proceedings were terminated, and was accompanied by a report drawn up by Cranmer for the perusal of the Queen, of the arguments which he had used on the occasion. See note (k).]

<sup>k</sup> [There is a strong presumption that the Letters here described are the two which follow, Nos. ccxcix, ccc. For the one contains a full report of Cranmer's argument at his Examination before Brokes, which might well be left unsealed; and the other touches upon what he considered a contradiction between the Queen's oath to the Pope and that to her realm; a matter which might be reasonably thought of too delicate a nature to be submitted to any other eyes than her Majesty's. This conjecture, however, is not without serious objection. In the Letter sent open to Martyn and Story, Cranmer, as he states, did not

until it be delivered unto her Grace's own hands. I have written all that I remember I said, except that which I spake against the Bishop of Gloucester's own person, which I thought not meet to write. And in some places I have written more than I said, which I would have answered to the Bishop, if you would have suffered me.

You promised I should see mine Answers to the Sixteen Articles<sup>1</sup>, that I might correct, amend, and change them, where I thought good; which your promise you kept not. And mine answer was not made upon my oath, nor repeated; nor made *in judicio*, but *extra judicium*, as I protested; nor to the Bishop of Gloucester as judge, but to you the King's and Queen's proctors. I trust you deal sincerely with me, without fraud or craft, and use me as you would wish to be used in like case yourselves. Remember, that *Qua mensura mensi fueritis, eadem remetietur vobis*, i. *What measure you mete, the same shall be measured to you again*. Thus fare you well, and God send you his Spirit to induce you into all truth. [Sept. 1555.]

think it meet to write what he had spoken against the Bishop of Gloucester's own person. Can it then be the same with Letter ccxcix, in which he describes him as doubly perjured and as an "enemy to the laws and state of this realm?" Yet if it is not the same, it still remains to be explained, how it was "meet" to insert personal reflections in one address to the Queen, which it was "not meet" to insert in another. And it is possible, that the personal reflections, which he chose to suppress, were distinct from these charges of perjury and treason, which he seems to have had no scruple in repeating. Again it may be said, that any conjecture which rests on Cranmer's supposed delicacy towards her Majesty, is completely overturned by his public declaration before Brokes, that she "must needs be for-sworn" either to the Pope, or to the state of England. But perhaps he might then have been led to such an assertion by the heat of debate, and might subsequently, on reflection, and when communicating directly with the Queen herself, have seen the propriety of omitting the subject in his open letter, and reserving it for one which was sealed. See Letters ccxcix, ccc; and *Examination before Brokes*, vol. iv. pp. 84, 111.]

<sup>1</sup>[See the Articles and Answers, vol. iv. p. 99, &c. and Cranmer's Appeal, *ibid.* p. 124.]

CCXCIX. TO QUEEN MARY <sup>m</sup>.

It may please your Majesty to pardon my presumption, that I dare be so bold to write to your Highness, but very necessity constraineth me, that your Majesty may know my mind, rather by mine own writing, than by other men's reports. So it is, that upon Saturday <sup>n</sup>, being the seventh day of this month, I was cited to appear at Rome the eightieth day after, there to make answer to such matters as should be objected against me upon the behalf of the King and your most excellent Majesty: which matters the Thursday following were objected against me by Dr. Martin and Dr. Storie, your Majesty's proctors, before the Bishop of Gloucester, sitting in judgment by commission from Rome. But, alas! it cannot but grieve the heart of any natural subject, to be accused of the King and Queen of his own realm, and specially before an outward judge, or by authority coming from any person out of this realm: where the King and Queen, as if they were subjects within their own realm, shall complain, and require justice at a stranger's hands against their own subject, being already condemned to death by their own

*Certain Letters to the Queen,*  
&c.

Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs*,  
p. 3.

Foxe, *Acts*,  
&c. vol. iii.  
p. 672.

The King and Queen  
make  
themselves  
no better  
than sub-  
jects in com-  
plaining of  
their own

<sup>m</sup> [This and the following Letter, as may be proved from their contents, were addressed by Cranmer to Queen Mary in Sept. 1555, soon after his Examination before Brokes. It is strange therefore, that Strype should mention them, as if they were written subsequently to his degradation, in the beginning of the next year; especially as at the distance of a few pages he assigns the correct date of November the 6th to Cardinal Pole's answer to them. Strype also states, that the Archbishop "thought not fit to entrust them with the commissions, since Weston had served him such a trick in the case before." But this assertion again is not well founded, for these were probably the very letters which accompanied the preceding note to Martyn and Story; and even if they were not, it is clear from the expressions there used, that distrust was not the cause of their being sent by another conveyance. See Letter ccxcviii; *Examination before Brokes*, (vol. iv. p. 79, &c.) Strype, *Cranm.* pp. 377. 381.]

<sup>n</sup> ["Saturday being the seventh." This is the reading in *Certain Letters to the Queen*, in Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs*, and in the first edition of Foxe's *Acts*, and is undoubtedly the true one. In some later editions of Foxe it has been altered to "Wednesday being the twelfth;" but the 12th of Sept. 1555, fell on a Thursday, and was the day on which Cranmer, as he says just below, was brought before Brokes at St. Mary's. See *Processus contra Cranmerum*, in Strype, *Cranm.* Add. p. 1073. Oxford, 1812; Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biogr.* vol. iii. p. 570.]

VOL. I.

B b

subject to an outward judge, as though they had no power to punish him. [Coverdale.] laws. As though the King and Queen could not do or have justice within their own realms against their own subjects, but they must seek it at a stranger's hands in a strange land; the like whereof, I think, was never seen. I would have wished to have had some meaner adversaries: and I think that death shall not grieve me much more, than

The first cause why the Archbishop would not make answer to the Pope's commissary, is to avoid perjury. [Certain Letters to the Queen.] to have my most dread and most gracious Sovereign Lord and Lady, (to whom under God I do owe all obedience,) to be mine accusers in judgment within their own realm, before any stranger and outward power. But forasmuch as in the time of the prince of most famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, your Grace's father, I was sworn never to consent that the Bishop of Rome should have or exercise any authority or jurisdiction in this realm of England, therefore, lest I should allow his authority contrary to mine oath, I refused to make answer to the Bishop of Gloucester, sitting here in judgment by the Pope's authority, lest I should run into perjury.

The second cause is, that the Pope's laws are contrary to the crown and laws of England. [Ibid.] Another cause why I refused the Pope's authority is this, that his authority, as he claimeth it, repugneth to the crown imperial of this realm, and to the laws of the same, which every true subject is bounden to defend. First, for that the Pope saith, that all manner of power, as well temporal as spiritual, is given first to him of God; and that the temporal power he giveth unto emperors and kings, to use it under him, but so as it be always at his commandment and beck.

The Crown and temporal power is taken immediately from God. [Ibid.] But contrary to this claim, the imperial crown and jurisdiction temporal of this realm is taken immediately from God, to be used under Him only, and is subject unto none, but to God alone.

The oath of the King and justices, and the duty of subjects. [Ibid.] Moreover, the imperial laws and customs of this realm, the King in his coronation, and all justices when they receive their offices, be sworn, and all the whole realm is bounden, to defend and maintain. But contrary hereunto, the Pope by his authority maketh void<sup>o</sup>, and commandeth to

<sup>o</sup> [See *Collection of Tenets*, &c. (vol. ii. p. 1. &c.)]

blot out of our books, all laws and customs being repugnant to his laws; and declareth accursed all rulers and governors, all the makers, writers, and executors of such laws or customs: as it appeareth by many of the Pope's laws, whereof one or two I shall rehearse. In the Decrees, *Dist.* 10. is written thus, "Constitutiones contra canones et decreta præsulorum Romanorum vel bonos mores, nullius sunt momenti." That is, "The constitutions or statutes enacted against the canons and decrees of the bishops of Rome or their good customs, are of none effect." Also, *Extrav. De Sententia Excommunicationis*, "Noverit:" "Excommunicamus omnes hæreticos utriusque sexus, quocunque nomine censeantur, et fautores et receptatores et defensores eorum; nec non et qui de cætero servari fecerint statuta edita et consuetudines introductas contra Ecclesiæ libertatem, nisi ea de capitularibus suis intra duos menses post hujusmodi publicationem sententiæ fecerint amoveri. Item, excommunicamus statuarios, et scriptores statutorum ipsorum, nec non potestates, consules, rectores, et consiliarios locorum, ubi de cætero hujusmodi statuta et consuetudines editæ fuerint vel servatæ; nec non et illos qui secundum ea presumpserint judicare, vel in publicam formam scribere judicata." That is to say, "We excommunicate all heretics of both sexes, what name soever they be called by, and their favourers and receptors and defenders; and also them that shall hereafter cause to be observed the statutes and customs made against the liberty of the Church, except they cause the same to be put out of their records and chapters within two months after the publication of this sentence. Also we excommunicate the statute makers and writers of those statutes, and all the potestates, consuls, governors and counsellors of places where such statutes and customs shall be made or kept; and also those that shall presume to give judgment according to them, or to write into public form the matters so adjudged."

Now by these laws, if the Bishop of Rome's authority which he claimeth by God, be lawful, all your Grace's laws and customs of your realm, being contrary to the Pope's

Either the  
Pope's laws  
be unlaw-  
ful, or else

all Eng-  
land is ac-  
cursed.  
[*Ibid.*]

laws, be naught : and as well your Majesty, as your judges, justices, and all other executors of the same, stand accursed among heretics, which God forbid. And yet this curse can never be avoided, if the Pope have such power as he claimeth, until such times as the laws and customs of this realm, being contrary to his laws, be taken away and blotted out of the law books. And although there be many laws of this realm contrary to the laws of Rome, yet I named but a few ; as to convict a clerk before any temporal judge of this realm for debt, felony, murder, or for any other crime ; which clerks by the Pope's laws be so exempt from the King's laws, that they can be no where sued but before their ordinary.

Note  
wherein the  
Pope's  
laws and  
the laws of  
England  
do vary.  
[*Ibid.*]

Also the Pope by his laws may give all bishoprics and benefices spiritual, which by the laws of this realm can be given but only by the King and other patrons of the same, except they fall into the lapse.

By the Pope's laws, *jus patronatus* shall be sued only before the ecclesiastical judge, but by the laws of this realm it shall be sued before the temporal judges.

And to be short, the laws of this realm do agree with the Pope's laws like fire and water. And yet the Kings of this realm have provided for their laws by the *præmunire* ; so that if any man have let the execution of the laws of this realm by any authority from the see of Rome, he falleth into the *præmunire*.

But to meet with this, the Popes have provided for their laws by cursing. For whosoever letteth the Pope's laws to have full course within this realm, by the Pope's power standeth accursed. So that the Pope's power treadeth all the laws and customs of this realm under his feet, cursing all that execute them, until such time as they give place unto his laws.

But it may be said, that notwithstanding all the Pope's decrees, yet we do execute still the laws and customs of this realm. Nay, not all quietly without interruption of the Pope. And where we do execute them, yet we do it unjustly, if the Pope's power be of force, and for the same we

stand excommunicate, and shall do, until we leave the execution of our own laws and customs. Thus we be well reconciled to Rome, allowing such authority, whereby the realm standeth accursed before God, if the Pope have any such authority. Mark this well.  
[*Ibid.*]

These things, as I suppose, were not fully opened in the parliament house, when the Pope's authority was received again within this realm; for if they had, I do not believe that either the King or Queen's Majesty, or the nobles of this realm, or the commons of the same, would ever have consented to receive again such a foreign authority, so injurious, hurtful, and prejudicial, as well to the crown as to the laws and customs, and state of this realm, as whereby they must needs acknowledge themselves to be accursed. But none could open this matter well but the clergy, and that such of them as had read the Pope's laws, whereby the Pope hath made himself as it were a god. These seek to maintain the Pope, whom they desired to have their chief head, to the intent they might have as it were a kingdom and laws within themselves, distinct from the laws of the crown, and wherewith the crown may not meddle; and so being exempt from the laws of the realm, might live in this realm like lords and kings, without damage or fear of any man; so that they please their high and supreme head at Rome. For this consideration, I ween, some that knew the truth held their peace in the parliament, whereas if they had done their duties to the crown and whole realm, they should have opened their mouths, declared the truth, and showed the perils and dangers that might ensue to the crown and realm. The duty of the clergy neglected in the Parliament.  
[*Ibid.*]

And if I should agree to allow such authority within this realm, whereby I must needs confess that your most gracious Highness, and also your realm, should ever continue accursed, until you shall cease from the execution of your own laws and customs of your realm; I could not think myself true either to your Highness, or to this my natural country, knowing that I do know. Ignorance, I know, may excuse other men, but he that knoweth how prejudicial and injurious the power and authority, which he challengeth every where, is



to the crown, laws, and customs of this realm, and yet will allow the same, I cannot see in any wise, how he can keep his due allegiance, fidelity, and truth to the crown and state of this realm.

The third cause why he could not allow the Pope.

The Pope's religion is against Christ's religion. [*Ibid.*]

Why Latin service ought not to be restored in England. [*Ibid.*]

Another cause I alleged why I could not allow the authority of the Pope, which is this, That by his authority he subverteth not only the laws of this realm, but also the laws of God: so that whosoever be under his authority, he suffereth them not to be under Christ's religion purely, as Christ did command. And for one example, I brought forth, that whereas by God's laws all Christian people be bounden diligently to learn his word, that they may know how to believe and live accordingly, for that purpose he ordained holy days, when they ought, leaving apart all other business, to give themselves wholly to know and serve God. Therefore God's will and commandment is, that when the people be gathered together, ministers should use such language as the people may understand and take profit thereby, or else hold their peace. For as an harp or lute, if it give no certain sound that men may know what is stricken, who can dance after it, for all the sound is in vain? so is it in vain and profiteth nothing, saith Almighty God by the mouth of St. Paul, if the priest speak to the people in a language which they know not; for else he may profit himself, but profiteth not the people, saith Saint Paul. But herein I was answered thus; that Saint Paul spake only of preaching, that the preacher should preach in a tongue which the people did know, or else his preaching availeth nothing. This I would have spoken, and could not be suffered. But if the preaching availeth nothing, being spoken in a language which the people understand not, how should any other service avail them, being spoken in the same language? And yet that Saint Paul meant not only of preaching, it appeareth plainly by his own words. For he speaketh by name expressly of praying, singing, lauding, and thanking of God, and of all other things which the priests say in the churches, whereunto the people say Amen; which they used not in preaching, but in

other divine service; that whether the priests rehearse the wonderful works of God, or the great benefits of God unto mankind above all other creatures, or give thanks unto God, or make open profession of their faith, or humble confession of their sins, with earnest request of mercy and forgiveness, or make suit or request unto God for any thing; that then all the people, understanding what the priests say, might give their minds and voices with them, and say Amen, that is to say, allow what the priests say; that the rehearsal of God's universal works and benefits, the giving of thanks, the profession of faith, the confession of sins, and the requests and petitions of the priests and the people might ascend up into the ears of God altogether, and be as a sweet savour, odour, and incense in his nose; and thus was it used many hundred years after Christ's ascension. But the foresaid things cannot be done, when the priests speak to the people in a language not known, and so they (or their clerk in their name) say Amen, but they cannot tell whereunto. Whereas Saint Paul saith, *How can the people say Amen to thy well saying, when they understand not what thou sayest?* And thus was Saint Paul understanden of all interpreters, both the Greeks and Latins, old and new, school authors and others, that I have read, until about thirty years past. At which time one Eckius, with other of his sort, began to devise a new exposition, understanding St. Paul of preaching only.

But when a good number of the best learned men reputed within this realm, some favouring the old, some the new learning, as they term it, (where indeed that which they call the old is the new, and that which they call the new is indeed the old;) but when a great number of such learned men of both sorts<sup>9</sup> were gathered together at Windsor, for the reformation of the service of the Church;

The papists can say Yea and Nay to one thing with one breath.  
[*Ibid.*]

<sup>9</sup> [These were the Commissioners who drew up Edward VI's first Communion Book, and first Common Prayer Book. King Edward in his Journal mentions them thus: "A parliament was called, when an uniform order of prayer was institute, before made by a number of bishops and learned men gathered together in Windsor." *Journal*, Ann. 2.]

it was agreed by both, without controversy (not one saying contrary <sup>r</sup>) that the service of the Church ought to be in the mother tongue, and that Saint Paul in the fourteenth chapter to the Corinthians was so to be understanden. And so is Saint Paul to be understanden in the civil law, more than a thousand years past, where Justinianus, a most godly Emperour, in a synod writeth on this manner: “Jubemus ut  
 “omnes episcopi pariter et presbyteri non tacito modo, sed  
 “clara voce, quæ a fidei populo exaudiatur, sacram obla-  
 “tionem et preces in sacro baptisinate adhibitas celebrent,  
 “quo majori exinde devotione in depromendis Domini Dei  
 “laudibus audientium animi efferantur. Ita enim et Divus  
 “Paulus docet in Epistola ad Corinth. *Si solummodo benedicat spiritus, quomodo is qui privati locum tenet, dicet  
 “ad gratiarum actionem tuam, Amen? quandoquidem quid  
 “dicas non videt. Tu quidem pulchre gratias agis, alter  
 “autem non ædificatur.*” That is to say, “We command  
 “that all bishops and priests celebrate the holy oblation  
 “and prayers used in holy baptism, not after a still, close  
 “manner, but with a clear, loud voice, that they may be  
 “plainly heard of the faithful people, so as the hearers’  
 “minds may be lifted up thereby with the greater devo-  
 “tion, in uttering the praises of the Lord God. For so  
 “Paul teacheth also in the Epistle to the Corinthians. *If  
 “the spirit do only bless (or say well) how shall he that oc-  
 “cupieth the place of a private person, say, Amen, to thy  
 “thanksgiving? for he perceiveth not what thou sayest.  
 “Thou dost give thanks well, but the other is not edified.*”  
 And not only the civil law, and all other writers a thousand  
 and five hundred years continually together have expounded  
 Saint Paul not of preaching only, but of other service said  
 in the church; but also reason giveth the same, that if

<sup>r</sup> [So also Ridley: “When I was in office, all that were esteemed  
 “learned in God’s word, agreed this to be a truth in God’s word  
 “written, that the common prayer of the Church should be had in the  
 “common tongue. You know I have conferred with many, and I  
 “ensure you I never found man, (so far as I do remember,) neither old  
 “nor new, gospeller nor papist, of what judgment soever he was, in  
 “this thing to be of a contrary opinion.” Letter to West, his chap-  
 lain, in Coverdale’s *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 42.]

men be commanded to hear any thing, it must be spoken in a language which the hearers understand, or else (as Saint Paul saith) what availeth it to hear? So that the Pope giving a contrary commandment, that the people coming to the church shall hear they wot not what, and shall answer they know not whereto, taketh upon him to command, not only against reason, but also directly against God.

And again I said, whereas our Saviour Christ ordained the sacrament of his most precious body and blood to be received of all Christian people under the forms both of bread and wine, and said of the cup, *Drink ye all of this*: the Pope giveth a clean contrary commandment, that no lay man shall drink of the cup of their salvation; as though the cup of salvation by the blood of Christ pertained not to lay men. And whereas Theophilus Alexandrinus (whose works Saint Jerome did translate about eleven hundred years past) saith, "That if Christ had been crucified for the devils, his cup should not be denied them;" yet the Pope denieth the cup of Christ to Christian people, for whom Christ was crucified. So that if I should obey the Pope in these things, I must needs disobey my Saviour Christ.

But I was answered hereunto (as commonly the papists do answer) that under the form of bread is whole Christ's flesh and blood: so that whosoever receiveth the form of bread, receiveth as well Christ's blood as his flesh. Let it be so: yet in the form of bread only, Christ's blood is not drunken, but eaten; nor is it received in the cup in the form of wine, as Christ commanded, but eaten with the flesh under the form of bread. And, moreover, the bread is not the sacrament of his blood, but of his flesh only; nor the cup is not the sacrament of his flesh, but of his blood only. And so the Pope keepeth from all lay persons the sacrament of their redemption by Christ's blood, which Christ commandeth to be given unto them.

And furthermore, Christ ordained the sacrament in two kinds, the one separated from the other, to be a representation of his death, where his blood was separated from his

flesh, which is not represented in one kind alone : so that the lay people receive not the whole sacrament, whereby Christ's death is represented, as he commanded.

Misorder  
in the  
Pope in as-  
soiling the  
disobedi-  
ence of  
subjects to-  
wards their  
princes.  
[Fore.]

Moreover, as the Pope taketh upon him to give the temporal sword, or royal and imperial power, to kings and princes : so doth he likewise take upon him to depose them from their imperial states, if they be disobedient to him, and commandeth the subjects to disobey their princes, assailing the subjects as well of their obedience as of their lawful oaths made unto their true kings and princes, directly contrary to God's commandment, who commandeth all subjects to obey their kings, or their rulers under them.

One John, Patriarch of Constantinople in the time of Saint Gregory, claimed superiority above all other bishops. To whom Saint Gregory writeth, that therein he did injury to his three brethren, which were equal with him, that is to say, the Bishop of Rome, the Bishop of Alexandria, and of Antiochia : which three were patriarchal sees as well as Constantinople, and were brethren one to another. "But" (saith St. Gregory) if any one shall exalt himself above "all the rest, to be the universal bishop, the same passeth "in pride." But now the Bishop of Rome exalteth himself not only above all bishops, but also above all kings and emperors, and above all the whole world, taking upon him to give and take away, to set up and put down, as he shall think good. And as the Devil having no such authority, yet took upon him to give unto Christ all the kingdoms of the world, if he would fall down and worship him : in like manner the Pope taketh upon him to give empires and kingdoms being none of his, to such as will fall down and worship him and kiss his feet.

The Devil  
and the  
Pope are  
like.  
[Certain  
Letters to  
the Queen.]

And moreover his lawyers and glossers so flatter him, that they feign he may command emperors and kings to hold his stirrup when he lighteth upon his horse, and to be his foot-men : and that, if any emperor and king give him any thing, they give him nothing but that is his own, and that he may dispense against God's word, against both the Old

and New Testament, against St. Paul's Epistles, and against the Gospel. And furthermore whatsoever he doth, although he draw innumerable people by heaps with himself into hell, yet may no mortal man reprove him, because he being judge of all men, may be judged of no man<sup>s</sup>. And thus he sitteth in the temple of God, as if he were a God, and nameth himself God's vicar, and yet he dispenseth against God. If this be not to play Antichrist's part, I cannot tell what is Antichrist, which is no more to say but Christ's enemy and adversary, who shall sit in the temple of God, advancing himself above all other, yet by hypocrisy and feigned religion shall subvert the true religion of Christ, and under pretence and colour of Christian religion shall work against Christ, and therefore hath the name of Antichrist. Now if any man lift himself higher than the Pope hath done, who lifteth himself above all the world; or can be more adversary to Christ, than to dispense against God's laws, and where Christ hath given any commandment, to command directly the contrary, that man must needs be taken for Antichrist. But until the time that such a person may be found, men may easily conjecture where to find Antichrist.

The Pope  
is Anti-  
christ, that  
is, Christ's  
enemy.  
[*Ibid.*]

Wherefore, seeing the Pope thus (to overthrow both God's laws and man's laws) taketh upon him to make emperors and kings to be vassals and subjects unto him, and specially the crown of this realm, with the laws and customs of the same; I see no mean how I may consent to admit his usurped power within this realm, contrary to mine oath, mine obedience to God's law, mine allegiance and duty to your Majesty, and my love and affection to this realm.

Note this  
conclusion.  
[*Ibid.*]

This that I have spoken against the power and authority of the Pope, I have not spoken (I take God to record and judge) for any malice I owe to the Pope's person, whom I know not, but I shall pray to God to give him grace that he may seek above all things to promote God's honour and glory, and not to follow the trade of his predecessors in these latter days.

The cause  
why the  
Archbishop  
spoke and  
wrote thus.  
[*Ibid.*]

<sup>s</sup> [See *Collection of Tenets, &c.* (vol. ii. p. 4.)]

Nor I have not spoken it for fear of punishment, and to avoid the same, thinking it rather an occasion to aggravate than to diminish my trouble; but I have spoken it for my most bounden duty to the crown, liberties, laws, and customs of this realm of England, but most specially to discharge my conscience in uttering the truth to God's glory, casting away all fear by the comfort which I have in Christ, who saith; *Fear not them that kill the body, and cannot kill the soul, but fear him that can cast both body and soul into hell fire.* He that for fear to lose this life will forsake the truth, shall lose the everlasting life: and he that for the truth's sake will spend his life, shall find everlasting life. And Christ promiseth to stand fast with them before his Father, which will stand fast with Him here. Which comfort is so great, that whosoever hath his eyes fixed upon Christ, cannot greatly pass on this life, knowing that he may be sure to have Christ stand by him in the presence of his Father in heaven.

The sacrament.  
[*Ibid.*]

And as touching the sacrament, I said; forasmuch as the whole matter standeth in the understanding of these words of Christ: *This is my body, This is my blood*; I said that Christ in these words made demonstration of the bread and wine, and spake figuratively, calling bread his body and wine his blood, because he ordained them to be sacraments of his body and blood. And where the papists say in those two points contrary unto me, that Christ called not bread his body, but a substance uncertain, nor spake figuratively: herein I said I would be judged by the old Church, and which doctrine could be proved the elder, that I would stand unto. And forasmuch as I have alledged in my book many old authors, both Greeks and Latins, which above a thousand years after Christ continually taught as I do; if they could bring forth but one old author, that saith in these two points as they say, I offered six or seven years ago, and do offer yet still, that I will give place unto them<sup>t</sup>.

But when I bring forth any author that saith in most

<sup>t</sup> [See *Defence*, &c. (vol. ii. p. 376.)]

plain terms as I do, yet saith the other party, that the authors meant not so; as who should say, that the authors spake one thing, and meant clean contrary. And upon the other part, when they cannot find any one author that saith in words as they say; yet say they, that the authors meant as they say. Now, whether I or they speak more to the purpose herein, I refer me to the judgment of all indifferent hearers: yea, the old Church of Rome, above a thousand years together, neither believed nor used the sacrament as the Church of Rome hath done of late years.

For in the beginning the Church of Rome taught a pure and a sound doctrine of the sacrament. But after that the Church of Rome fell into a new doctrine of transubstantiation; with the doctrine they changed the use of the sacrament, contrary to that Christ commanded, and the old Church of Rome used above a thousand years. And yet to deface the old, they say that the new is the old; wherein for my part I am content to stand to the trial. But their doctrine is so fond and uncomfortable, that I marvel that any man would allow it, if he knew what it is. But howsoever they bear the people in hand, that which they write in their books hath neither truth nor comfort.

For by their doctrine<sup>u</sup>, of one body of Christ is made two bodies; one natural, having distance of members, with form and proportion of man's perfect body, and this body is in heaven; but the body of Christ in the sacrament, by their own doctrine, must needs be a monstrous body, having neither distance of members, nor form, fashion, or proportion of a man's natural body. And such a body is in the sacrament, teach they, and goeth into the mouth with the form of bread, and entereth no farther than the form of bread goeth, nor tarrieth no longer than the form of bread is by natural heat in digesting. So that when the form of bread is digested, that body of Christ is gone. And forasmuch as evil men be as long in digesting as good men, the body of Christ, by their doctrine, entereth as far, and tarrieth as long in wicked men as in goodly men. And what

The papists  
make  
Christ two  
bodies.  
[*Ibid.*]

<sup>u</sup> [See *Disputation at Oxford, with Harpsfield*, (vol. iv. p. 79.)]



comfort can be herein to any Christian man, to receive Christ's unshapen body, and it to enter no farther than the stomach, and to depart by and by as soon as the bread is consumed?

The sound  
true doc-  
trine of the  
sacrament.  
[*Ibid.*]

It seemeth to me a more sound and comfortable doctrine, that Christ hath but one body, and that hath form and fashion of a man's true body; which body spiritually entereth into the whole man, body and soul: and though the sacrament be consumed, yet whole Christ remaineth, and feedeth the receiver unto eternal life, (if he continue in godliness,) and never departeth until the receiver forsake him. And as for the wicked, they have not Christ within them at all, who cannot be where Belial is. And this is my faith, and (as me seemeth) a sound doctrine, according to God's word, and sufficient for a Christian to believe in that matter. And if it can be showed unto me that the Pope's authority is not prejudicial to the things before mentioned, or that my doctrine in the sacrament is erroneous, which I think cannot be showed, then I never was nor will be so perverse to stand wilfully in mine own opinion, but I shall with all humility submit myself unto the Pope, not only to kiss his feet, but another part also.

The Bishop  
of Gloucester  
twice  
perjured.  
[*Ibid.*]

Another cause why I refused to take the Bishop of Gloucester for my judge, was the respect of his own person being more than once perjured. First, for that he being divers times sworn never to consent that the Bishop of Rome should have any jurisdiction within this realm, but to take the King and his successors for supreme heads of this realm, as by God's laws they be: contrary to that lawful oath, the said Bishop sat then in judgment by authority from Rome: wherein he was perjured and not worthy to sit as a judge.

The second perjury was, that he took his bishopric both of the Queen's Majesty and of the Pope, making to each of them a solemn oath: which oaths be so contrary, that the

The Bishop  
of Gloucester  
a traitor  
and an ene-

one must needs be perjured. And furthermore in swearing to the Pope to maintain his laws, decrees, constitutions, ordinances, reservations, and provisions, he declareth him-

self an enemy to the imperial crown, and to the laws and state of this realm: whereby he declared himself not worthy to sit as a judge within this realm. And for these considerations I refused to take him for my judge. [Sept. 1555.]

### CCC. TO QUEEN MARY.

\* . . . I learned by Doctor Martin, that at the day of your Majesty's coronation you took an oath of obedience to the Pope of Rome, and the same time you took another oath to this realm, to maintain the laws, liberties, and customs of the same. And if your Majesty did make an oath to the Pope, I think it was according to the other oaths which he useth to minister to princes; which is to be obedient to him, to defend his person, to maintain his authority, honour, laws, lands, and privileges. And if it be so, (which I know not but by report) then I beseech your Majesty to look upon your oath made to the Crown and realm, and to expend and weigh the two oaths together, to see how they do agree, and then to do as your Grace's conscience shall give you: for I am surely persuaded that willingly your Majesty will not offend, nor do against your conscience for no thing. But I fear me that there be contradictions in your oaths, and that those which should have informed your Grace throughly, did not their duties therein. And if your Majesty ponder the two oaths diligently, I think you shall perceive you were deceived; and then your Highness may use the matter as God shall put in your heart.

Furthermore, I am kept here from company of learned men, from books, from counsel, from pen and ink, saving at this time to write unto your Majesty, which all were necessary for a man being in my case. Wherefore I be-

\* [This is manifestly, as Foxe calls it, only "a piece of another letter "to the Queen;" but no more is contained in any of the authorities referred to. See Letter ccxcviii. note (k).]

my to the  
realm.

&c.

Coverdale's  
Letters of  
the Queen,  
&c.  
Coverdale's  
Letters of  
the Mar-  
tyrs, p. 15.  
Foxe, Acts,  
&c. vol. iii.  
p. 676.

Contradiction in the  
Queen's  
oaths,  
sworn both  
to the  
realm and  
to the Pope  
in one day.  
[Foxe.]

seech your Majesty, that I may have such of these as may stand with your Majesty's pleasure. And as for mine appearance at Rome <sup>y</sup>, if your Majesty will give me leave, I will appear there. And I trust that God shall put in my mouth to defend his truth there as well as here. But I refer it wholly to your Majesty's pleasure <sup>z</sup>. [Sept. 1555.]

Your poor orator,  
T. C.

### CCCI. TO A LAWYER.

Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 19.  
Foxe, *Acts, &c.* 1st edit. p. 1492.

Naturæ lex hoc ab omnibus postulat, ut quatenus citra divini numinis injuriam fieri potest, quisque vitam tueatur suam. Quod cum tribus abhinc diebus mihi in mentem venisset, simulque memoriæ occurrisset appellatio Martini Lutheri a Leone Decimo ad Concilium Generale, constitui et ipse Concilium Generale legitimum et liberum appellare, ne temere et inconsulto vitam proderem meam. Verum cum appellationis materia ad legisperitos spectet, cujus ego ignarus sum, cumque Lutheri appellatio ad manum mihi non sit: decrevi amico alicui fido et jurisperito, consilium meum hac

<sup>y</sup> [See Letter CCXCIX. p. 369.]

<sup>z</sup> ["These and other of Cranmer's smart and learned letters no question made impression upon the Queen, or at least upon those that read them; for they were delivered by the Queen to no less a person than the holy father Cardinal Pole himself; who was advised to frame an answer to them." Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 381; in the Appendix to which work, No. 89, the answer, dated St. James's, 6 Nov. 1555, will be found at length. "By comparing of this letter of Pole's with that of Cranmer's, any one may see a mighty difference; strength, evidence, and conviction in the Archbishop's, who had truth on his side; but a flashiness and debility in the Cardinal's, made up of poor shifts, and weak arguings, and impertinent allegations of Scripture, and personal reflections, to help out a weak cause." Strype, *ibid.* For instance, the Cardinal admitted Cranmer's doctrine on the Eucharist to be the more probable; 'but,' he answered, 'the more probable it is, the more false it is, the great sophister and father of lies ever deceiving us by probability of reason.' "The consequence whereof," Strype remarks, "one would think should be, the more improbable any opinion in religion was, the more true." It seems that Pole at the same time sent him another letter, in which he treated the question of the Eucharist more largely. See Strype, *ibid.* and App. p. 216.]

in re pandere, cujus opera in hoc negotio uterer: ac tu quidem unus occurristi, qui mihi in hac Academia visus es ad hoc munus idoneus. Sed summam hæc res taciturnitatem postulat, ut antequam res fiat, nemo resciscat. Dies mihi dictus est ut respondeam Romæ decimo sexto<sup>a</sup> hujus mensis, ante quem mihi provocandum esse puto, ac post sententiam appellandum. Sed an primum mihi provocandum et appellandum sit a iudice delegato ad ipsum Pontificem, ac deinde ad Concilium Generale<sup>b</sup>, an omissio Pontifice ad Concilium primum appellandum sit, consilio mihi opus est tuo.

Porro appellationis causæ mihi multæ sunt.

Primo quod juramento astrictus sim, nunquam me censurum in auctoritatem Romani Pontificis.

Deinde cum ego respondere omnino renuerem ad articulos mihi objectos ab Episcopo Gloucestrensi iudice delegato, responderam tamen Doctori Martino et Storeo cum hac protestatione, quod responsio mea non daretur iudici neque in iudicio, sed extrajudicialis esset, et post responsum datum petebam responsionis meæ copiam, ut eandem mihi emendare liceret, vel addendo, vel mutando, vel subtrahendo: quoniam hæc mihi promissa sunt, et a Gloucestrensi et a procuratoribus Regis et Reginae, omnino tamen fefellerunt fidem, non dantes emendandæ responsionis meæ copiam, et nihilo minus (ut audio) inter acta judicialia adscripserunt<sup>c</sup>.

Postremo, cum causa defectionis a Romano Pontifice et papistica religione in jus vocor, ut jam mihi lis sit adversus

<sup>a</sup> [Perhaps *vicesimo* sexto should be read here; for the citation was delivered on the 7th of September, the 80th day from which is the 26th of November. Strype understands it of the 16th of February, 1556, but Cranmer could not have been summoned to appear at Rome on that day, for the Pope's letters, announcing the definitive sentence of excommunication and deprivation, and granting authority to degrade, and deliver him over to the secular power, were dated on the 14th of the preceding December. Foxe, *Acts*, &c. 1st edit. p. 1491.]

<sup>b</sup> [Luther appealed first, from the Pope's legate Cardinal Caietan, to the Pope himself, or, as it is expressed in the appeal, "a Pontifice minus edocto ad Pontificem rectius edocendum;" and secondly, from the Pope to a General Council. Sleidan, *De Statu Relig.* lib. i.]

<sup>c</sup> [See Letters ccxcviii, ccxcix; and *Examination before Brokes*, (vol. iv. p. 106.)]

pontificem Romanum, et nemo æquus judex sit in causa propria, æquum mihi videtur ut Concilium appellem, præsertim cum jus naturæ (ut aiunt) appellationis remedium nemini negandum censeat.

Jam cum ad hanc rem maxima taciturnitate opus sit, si forsitan ob rerum imperitiam aliorum consiliis tibi opus sit, obtestor tum te per Christianam fidem ac charitatem, ut cujus causa sit, nemini significes. Et cum jam instet tempus, et mature opus sit facto, hoc me sinas a te impetrare, ut sepositis aliis studiis atque negotiis, huic uni incumbas quousque perfeceris. Potissima sane appellationis meæ causa est, ut (si ita Deus voluerit) donetur eousque vivendi tempus, quousque cœptum contra Marcum Antonium Constantium responsum absolvero. Quod si veritatis hostes meæ appellationi deferre nolint, (quod existimo,) fiat voluntas Dei, susque deque fero, modo glorificetur Deus, sive per vitam, sive per mortem. Melius est enim multo mori pro Christo et cum illo regnare, quam in hoc carnis ergastulo concludi, nisi in fratrum utilitatem ad majorem Dei gloriam propagandam liceat aliquamdiu militare; cui sit omnis gloria in ævum. Amen.

Est et alia appellationis causa quod cum Romam vocatus sim illic dicturus causam, interim carcere detineor, ut comparere mihi ad dictum diem non liceat. Cum autem de statu et vita mea agitur, et pro defensione mea jurisperitorum consilio mihi opus esset, quum id peterem, negatum est omne advocatorum, procuratorum, et jurisconsultorum consilium et auxilium. Vale. [Nov. 1555 <sup>d</sup>.]

<sup>d</sup> [See note (a). The design mentioned in this Letter was carried into execution; a formal appeal having been drawn up from the Pope to a free General Council, and presented by Cranmer to Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, immediately before his degradation on the 14th of Feb. 1556. It will be found vol. iv. p. 121.]

This Constantius was Stephen Gardiner, as constant indeed as a weathercock: who thus named himself, writing against this good Archbishop. [Fore.]



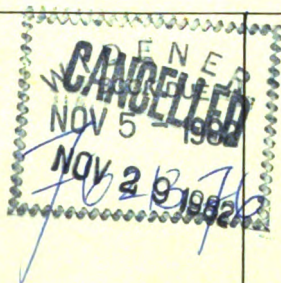








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